

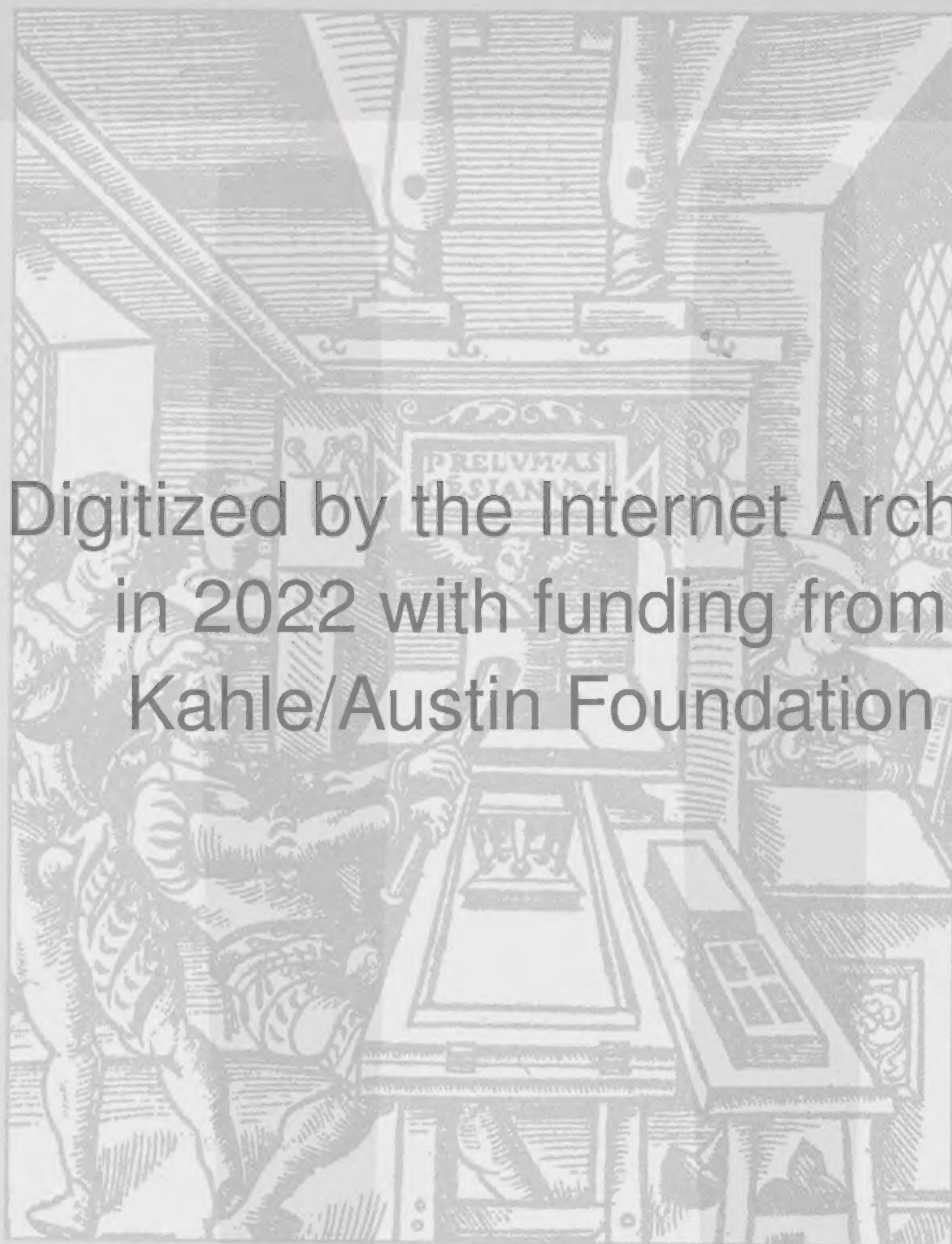


THE HISTORY OF THE LIBRARY IN WESTERN CIVILIZATION



KONSTANTINOS SP. STAIKOS

2012



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Libraries to the Universal Library of the Ptolemies*

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*The Roman World from the Beginnings of Latin Literature
to the Monumental and Private Libraries of the Empire*

III: *The Byzantine World*

*From Constantine the Great to Cardinal Bessarion
Imperial, Monastic, School, and Private
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V: *The Renaissance*

*From Petrarch to Michelangelo
The Revival of the Study of the Classics
and the First Humanistic Libraries
Printing in the Service of the World of Books
and Monumental Libraries*

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WESTERN CIVILIZATION



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FROM
PETRARCH
TO MICHELANGELO

*The Revival of the Study
of the Classics and the First
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of the World of Books
and Monumental Libraries*

V

KONSTANTINOS SP. STAIKOS

Translated by
TIMOTHY CULLEN
NICKOLAOS KOUTRAS

OAK KNOLL PRESS
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2012

*Non hic Centauros, non Gorgonas Harpyiasque invenies:
hominem pagina nostra sapit.*

*You will not find here Centaurs, or Gorgons, or Harpies;
my pages savour of man.*

Martial, *Epigrams* X.4.9-10

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank all those who contributed to the present and the preceding four volumes, in what turned out to be a twelve-year project. It is difficult to keep count; this project has occupied me for a period of well over a decade, and that would be usually described as a work of a lifetime – but which life would that be? I believe that, directly or indirectly, we are all contributors to something that escapes us.

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The practice of friends and colleagues criticizing each other's texts prior publication is truly time-honoured, reaching back to the era of the Presocratics: Pherecydes in his last testament asked Thales to judge his unpublished tracts and decide whether they should be published.

I could not forget the thousands of pages that were carefully reviewed by Stella Tsamou's attentive glance. All the volumes of *The History of the Library in Western Civilization* were expertly and faithfully translated into English by Timothy Cullen. Thanks to the publishing houses OAK KNOLL PRESS and HES & DE GRAAF, the *History of the Library* is available to all English speakers as well. I would like to express my gratitude to my dear friends Robert Fleck and John von Hoelle for providing a copy of this publication to every cultural centre. But most of all I would like to thank them for their unqualified confidence in all of my publishing projects.

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Preface

In the fifth and final volume of the *History of the Library in Western Civilization. From Petrarch to Michelangelo*, we have outlined the evolution and nature of libraries (private and others), as influenced by the pioneers of the humanistic ideal who, initially in Italy and from the mid-14th century, attempted to reconnect their present with Graeco-Roman tradition. This is the era of Petrarch and his quest for inspiration in the works of the great Roman authors, above all Cicero. Discovering lost manuscripts in monastic libraries during ‘forays’ from his base at Avignon, Petrarch succeeded in amassing an important book collection and zealously turned to text emendation, sometimes even compiling dispersed fragments, like in the case of Livy. He moulded the character of humanistic libraries: their aim was to celebrate, as much as possible, Graeco-Roman tradition, as a minimal homage to the words and deeds of Antiquity’s great poets and intellectuals. Between the 14th and the 16th centuries, this idea was embraced by almost all of the Italian humanists, and subsequently by the members of humanist communities in Continental Europe and the British Isles.

Men of letters, poets and prose-writers joined a common effort to revive the ancient world, with the aim of promoting their firm belief in the power of these texts to act as models for the fulfilment of human existence’s full potential, revealing the path towards securing the timelessness of their creations. The heroes of the past returned to the fore through the works of Homer, Virgil and others, while the humanists sought to define their own identity by delving into their personal collections, in dispersed ancient manuscripts, kept in monastic libraries, and in the copies they themselves prepared. Thus, their library became a treasure-trove for showcasing the orations of Cicero, the works of Seneca and Horace, but also

Lucretius, Livy and Terence, in the unshakable belief that they are responding to a purely metaphysical calling. Petrarch was not the only one who gradually transformed his circle into a closed, informal school. Around him gathered luminaries of complementary specializations such as Boccaccio, Leonzio Pilato, and Barlaam: Petrarch examined Barlaam's library, Pilato taught Boccaccio Greek.

Petrarch exclaimed "your Homer is mute!" when Nikolaos Sigeros offered him a manuscript of the *Iliad*; he then set out to learn Greek. Perhaps Petrarch's utterance influenced Coluccio Salutati, who in 1397 invited Manuel Chrysoloras from Constantinople to officially become a teacher of Greek in the Florentine Studium. Chrysoloras accepted the invitation, and through his teaching he drastically widened the intellectual horizon of Italy, reviving a language for centuries completely forgotten in Western Europe. Many of the most eminent Italian scholars became his students, such as Guarino Veronese, Leonardo Bruni, Pier Candido Decembrio, Jacopo Angelo da Scarperia, to name but a few. This is the time Chrysoloras produced his *Erotemata*, a tool for learning Greek at the elementary level. For more than two centuries, Western Europeans, Italian and Northern Europe humanists alike, studied Greek with a copy of the *Erotemata* in hand, like Erasmus, for instance.

To support Chrysoloras's work as a teacher, Palla Strozzi dispatched agents in the East to search for and acquire Greek manuscripts, while Chrysoloras himself 'endowed' the West with classical works unknown till then, such as Plato's *Republic*, Aristotle's *Politics*, Ptolemy's *Cosmographia* a.o. Chrysoloras thus became an eastern apostle of letters, and the library constructed by Strozzi, which features separate sections for Greek and Latin works, revived the Roman tradition of the 'double library', which had died out after the 4th century AD. Chrysoloras's students espoused his translation philosophy, captured in the emblematic phrase *transfere ad sententiam* (= translate according to meaning); in this spirit, he embarked upon a quest to provide Latin renditions of Greek works departing from the literal, pedantic approach of medieval scholastics. Outstanding among his students were Pier Candido Decembrio, who translated Plato; and da Scarperia, who edited the translation of

Ptolemy's *Cosmography*, an edition that would become the standard for centuries to come.

By the 1530s, new libraries of a purely humanistic and public orientation were being formed in monastic complexes, like San Giorgio Maggiore at Venice and St Mark's at Florence. The landscape of Italian humanist bibliophiles is populated by enlightened rulers and abbots, as well as private patrons and collectors, all keen to celebrate the cultural heritage of Antiquity. These libraries were designed to serve purposes quite diverse from those of medieval times: these libraries were not cloistered, but spaces open to the public; some in fact were adorned by renowned Renaissance artists, such as Brunelleschi and mainly Michelozzo, who established a new typology for designing libraries. Novello Malatesta's decision to commission Mateo Nuti in 1447 to design a library for his collection at Cesena left a definitive mark on Renaissance library architecture: not only was it masterly in conception, both in terms of its shell and its furnishings, but it still survives intact. The sense of a space impervious to the passing of time is consummated by the sight of manuscripts still chained to the reading desks, like a 12th century codex containing Demosthenes's orations, acquired from Constantinople.

The rapprochement between the Byzantine East and Western Europe, both on the level of letters and studies, and in the context of efforts to reconcile the two churches, allowed many of the most eminent Byzantine scholars to seek refuge in Italy shortly before the fall of Constantinople. With them they brought a significant number of codices. In their new environment, these men entered and formed academic circles, teaching Greek and interpreting ancient texts; others became members of royal and princely courts – overall, they were quickly incorporated into the intellectual milieu of the era. They started producing Latin translations of classical Greek and Byzantine authors, thus helping bridge the chasm between Greek and Latin literature. Georgios Trapezountios translated Plato's *Laws* as a member of Pope Nicholas V's Curia; Theodoros Gazis composed a grammar that would become a key textbook for teaching Greek, gave lectures at Ferrara and participated in Panormita's circle at Naples. Ioannes Argyropoulos lectured on Aristotle at Flo-

rence, inaugurating a new chapter in Aristotelian studies in the West. Members of his circle of enthusiastic students, like Donato Acciaiuoli, will transform this closed school into an Academy, the *Chorus Academiae Florentinae*. By the mid-15th century, Florence had become the cradle of humanist philosophy, and the city of Arno had evolved into a place of pilgrimage for all those working under the humanist ideal, while soon after its establishment by Marsilio Ficino the Platonic Academy functioned as a beacon of Platonic philosophy. All of Plato's works were translated, members of this Neoplatonist school formed important private libraries; in this context, Pico della Mirandola composed his humanist manifesto, the *Oratio*, where he argued that the meanings and principles immanent in classical works can contribute to the formulation of a personal 'existential' philosophy.

One Byzantine scholar realized Petrarch's vision, i.e. to have his library 'adopted' after death by an entity that will ensure its future survival and allow it to become *res communis*. This was Cardinal Bessarion. Bessarion was an upholder of Plato, and in his villa at Rome he formed an Academy which was frequented by some of the most prominent Italian and north European scholars, like Regiomontanus. His agents bought manuscripts from Western and Eastern Europe, while Bessarion assiduously sought out all texts that formed links in the chain of Graeco-Roman cultural continuity. Copyists and calligraphers worked under him, such as Ioannes Rossos, enriching his library with contemporary copies that laid side-by-side of historical manuscripts, like the Venetus A, the oldest surviving copy of Homer's epics. Like another Plethon, he promoted Platonic studies in Italy; his works elicited the enthusiasm of the then Rector of Sorbonne, Guillaume Fichet, who embraced Platonism and became the first scholar to spread this philosophy in Northern Europe, as early as 1470. Bessarion's wish that his book collection should become a guiding light of Hellenism in the West led him to donate it to the Republic of Venice, thereby giving birth to the *Biblioteca Marciana*.

By the mid-15th century, the library of the Holy See had become the single most important book collection in Europe. Pope Nicholas V

was the first to impart a more humanistic orientation to it, by searching manuscripts containing works of ancient literature and patronizing a new approach to translation, exemplified by figures such as Manetti, Decembrio, Valla, Tortelli, as well as Trapezountios, Gazis, Kallistos a.o. For the first time Herodotus, Thucydides, Diodorus Siculus, Xenophon and the Fathers of the Eastern Church became accessible to those not versed in Greek or unable to procure texts in the original. During the papacy of Sixtus IV (1471-1484) the library was revitalized when Platina was put in charge; he reaffirmed its role as a valuable repository of Graeco-Roman and Christian tradition. It is telling that its original 770 Greek and 1,575 Latin manuscripts were soon multiplied. Pope Sixtus V (1585-1590) drastically altered the site of the library, entrusting the architect Fontana with an ambitious renovation project; the result is a veritable jewel of Renaissance art with murals alluding to the unity of classical and Christian literature.

Gutenberg's efforts, from the 1450s on, to establish the art of printing with metal movable types were crowned with success, and with the 42-line Bible as an emblem German printers soon flooded the cities around Mainz and travelled to Italy and elsewhere, initiating craftsmen and men of letters into the art of typography. The availability of books in multiple copies drastically altered the purchasability of works, and allowed previously inaccessible and unique titles, kept by 'book-graves', to rise to prominence. Furthermore, university book collections were immensely enriched, thus forming a common educational library. By the 1470s, Latin grammars were being printed at Rome by Sweynheim and Pannartz in hundreds of copies; Academies and literary circles sprung up around printing houses. The art of printing is compatible with miniature art, and famous miniaturists, like Attavante degli Attavanti, in their school at Florence will continue to embellish pages of incunabula for the Medici, Corvinus, the Vatican Library and many more.

The first humanist library outside Italy, a collection rich enough to allow its owner to boast that it is the richest in the West, after the Vaticana of course, was amassed in the court of King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary. With the aid of Vitéz and Pannonius, rare codices were collected from the Italian market and purchased from cele-

brated calligraphy and micrography workshops, in translations by eminent Renaissance scholars. The content of Corvinus's library was purely encyclopaedic and, apart from philosophy, literature and almost the entire Graeco-Roman canon, it contained various other texts, like scientific treatises in the exact sciences, as well as astrology and astronomy. Plato was not absent from the Budapest court, and Corvinus went as far as to invite Ficino to establish a new Platonic Academy in Buda.

Since Cosimo's time, the Medici were seeking to put together a family library, mainly by incorporating Niccoli's remarkable collection of codices, which contained old and largely obscure manuscripts, like Pliny the Elder's *Historia Naturalis*. Following Cosimo's initiative, the public library at St Mark's abbey at Florence was established, containing a wealth of books; yet it was Lorenzo the Magnificent who imparted to it splendour worthy of the Medici name, whose members were prominent patrons of letters and the arts. Lorenzo commissioned Ianos Laskaris and Angelo Poliziano, his advisors, to search in Italy and the East for works unknown in the West, and compile lists of books his library should contain. Returning after a long tour, Laskaris enriched the library with over 200 Greek codices he collected from places such as Crete, Mt Athos and Constantinople. The Medici library was open to scholars, and members of the humanist community often 'sojourned' there. Politian, for instance, borrowed rare codices from it and dedicated himself to emendating passages relying on his philological instinct.

A decisive step towards the publication of Graeco-Roman literature in its entirety was started by Aldus in 1495, and his project was continued by his successors and associates. The practice of printing in small format and in many copies, starting in 1502 with a book of Sophocles's tragedies that was printed in 2,000 copies, reveals the great interest of the literati and students for Greek works. These books also contributed to the formation of private and other libraries, influencing the character of the humanistic library, where works of ancient literature were treated as indispensable learning tools and repositories of knowledge for practitioners of the arts and scholars alike. Aldus's printing presses produced hundreds of thou-

sands of copies, paving the way for other Italian and northern European publishing houses that followed, like the Judas, the Estiennes a.o. His printing press had become nothing short of an Academy and famous scholars 'studied' at Aldus's printing house, among them Grocyn, Linacre, Erasmus, Reuchlin, while many more perfected their knowledge of Greek language and literature under Mousouros, Laskaris and Doukas.

Gifted individuals, such as Cato, Mancini, Emili, Andrelini, travelled from Italy northwards, heading for Paris, intent on spreading the message of humanism in the Parisian world of letters. Paris soon became a centre of humanism in Northern Europe, and new books containing French translations of classical works, like Thucydides and Xenophon, were gradually published by Claude de Seyssel. Fichet introduced Platonic studies and Lefèvre d'Étaples evolved into an apostle of Neoplatonism and an advocate of Ficino's philosophy. The teaching of Greek had begun in 1458, yet it was only in the era of Ianos Laskaris and Aleandro that the level of instruction could be considered on a par with that offered in the illustrious Italian centres. This intellectual climate nurtured and motivated people like Budé, who published the *Commentarii Linguae Graecae*; the great printer Bade, who took his lead from Aldus in the world of publishing, and of the prodigious Robert Estienne, who as *Typographus regius* imparted unique prestige to his first editions. These books, and the output of the numerous printing press that gradually sprang up in France, invigorated and deeply influenced French literature, which was soon enriched by the poetic compositions of Ronsard and Du Bellay, as well as by French translations of works of classical literature by de Macault, like Cicero's *Philippics*.

The tone of the humanist renaissance in France was also set by certain members of the royal family: Charles VIII, returning from his victorious campaigns in Italy, brought with him as spoils invaluable books from the libraries of the Medici, the kings of Aragon a.e. Francis I was not content with the manuscripts he inherited from Luis XII, and dispatched learned agents to acquire more manuscripts, mainly Greek, for the royal library. The library was relocated from Blois to Fontainebleau; a small universe of people of the

book trade, calligraphers, miniaturists, book-binders, philologists authors and other prototypographers, will enrich his collection.

An unwritten law applied between the members of the humanist community: their collections form a *common library*. Erasmus, that apostle of Christian humanism, through his incessant travels to southern and northern Europe established personal rapports that led to the first notion of this common library: books were exchanged, purchased and borrowed or lent, and copies of recently published works travelled to and fro, in an effort to arrive at editions containing dependable texts. Once more, it was Erasmus that paved the way for a new chapter in Christian literature, through the publication of his Greek New Testament. Supporters of the Greek text's authenticity, detractors of the Vulgate, as well as upholders of Jerome's translation produced a rich, imposing and independently significant body of works. This is the context of the emergence of the Reformation; the publication of Luther's Bible was welcomed by many clergymen and inspired bishops: these persons believed that congregations everywhere should have access to and study the Scriptures through texts available in the national vernaculars, and therefore intelligible by all. Thus we have the birth of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, the Bibles of Coverdale and Matthew and many more, leading to an exponential multiplication of interpretive Bible translations, all of them printed and circulated in tens of thousands of copies.

Described as another Athens of the Classical era by Henry Estienne, the Frankfurt Book Fair attracted new publications, printers, calligraphers and font designers, collectors, and representatives of universities, who promoted their products. Bulky bibliographical lists from the fair, together with catalogues of well-known printing houses revealed the orientation of European book production on a yearly basis, and served as encyclopaedic and philological tools. Library owners proliferated, for no self-respecting scholar, be it a historian, philosopher, poet, jurist, mathematician, geographer, physician, professor or humble teacher, and in general no cultured person, and certainly no cleric or church official could operate outside this 'common circle' of bibliophiles. Characteristic cases, among many,

were those of Pontano and Orsini in Italy, Reuchlin in Germany, Chamelet in France, Ponce in Italy, Dee and Perne in England.

By the early 16th century, traditional libraries in virtually every European country were supplemented with new sections dedicated to various fields of knowledge, like poetry, theatre, as well as to sciences such as jurisprudence, geography, mathematics, geometry, medicine. By now classical literature, both Greek and Latin, had become available in printed form its entirety, and many of these works had been translated in national languages, and this made them available to an immensely larger readership. On these literary foundations a new literature was built; sometimes by paraphrasing treatises and medieval epics, other times drawing models from the works and days of Graeco-Roman heroes. New books and frequent reprints helped form a new setting in the production and marketing of books, with important consequences for local societies and Europe as a whole. Tasso, Ariosto; the members of the *Pléiade* in France, like Ronsard and Dolet, the anonymous author of *Faust*; Camões; Cervantes; Montaigne and Shakespeare; all these were protagonists and contributed to the creation of a new literary identity without borders; their works are still being translated and commented on today.

In terms of their architecture, libraries were designed and adorned by eminent Renaissance architects and sculptors, like Brunelleschi and Michelozzo, who restored libraries to their Graeco-Roman splendour. These libraries, public in their majority, attached to monastic complexes in big cities, like Venice, Rome and Florence, were modelled after important churches, like St Lawrence's at Florence. Colonnades, arches and groined vaults feature prominently in the typology of the three-aisle library, which is largely the norm for Italian libraries during the 15th and 16th centuries. We should also note the masterly designs of Michelangelo that were used to erect Medici library; and those of Sansovino for the library of the Holy See in Vatican.

Konstantinos Sp. Staikos

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I

FROM THE MIDDLE AGES
TO
THE RENAISSANCE



FROM THE MIDDLE AGES TO THE RENAISSANCE

*Pioneers of the humanist idea,
humanistic libraries,
the teaching of Greek gains ground*

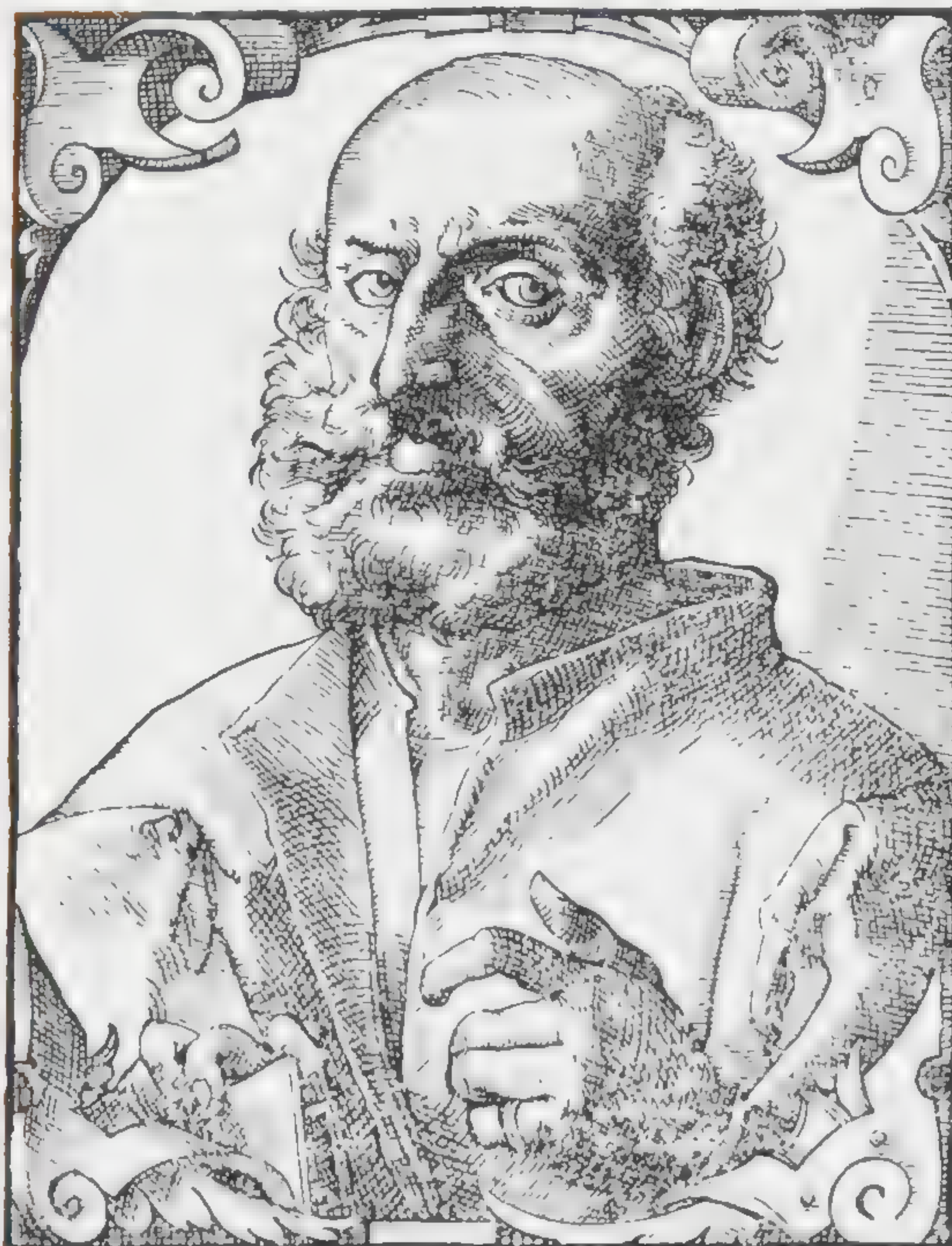
Introduction. In the matter of literary activity, the dissemination of knowledge through books and the formation of libraries consisting mainly of works of ancient literature, no hard and fast dividing line can be drawn between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Before the dawn of what we call the age of humanism – around the middle of the fourteenth century, in the period dominated by Petrarch – there were some individuals and groups whose ideas and actions were altogether in accordance with humanistic criteria: for example, Lovato Lovati (1241-1309) and his circle. But those cases involved no more than attempts to rediscover Latin literature through scholarly study and to write poetry in the metres and styles of Horace, Seneca, Virgil and others. Similar examples of this scholarly and literary trend had been seen sporadically from as early as the ninth century, as in the case of Lupus de Ferrières; and thereafter a similar intellectual approach was adopted by Richard de Fournival or Furnival (mid thirteenth century) and others. However, the name inseparably linked with the dawn of a new era is that of Petrarch: not only did he write poems embodying echoes of and whole passages from Roman literature, not only did he identify himself with Cicero and Virgil, but he built up a very fine library. Yet at the same time he rued his inability to ‘drink from the source’ of Greek literature, most notably Homer but also Plato.

*Lovati's
scholarly
circle*

After the first decades of the fourteenth century we find no change in the European cultural landscape that can properly be regarded as a humanistic landmark. New universities continued to spring up in all the major European capitals and also in cities which concentrated on specific branches of learning such as Montpellier, specializing in medicine. The curriculum had already been laid down and brought into operation in Paris, Bologna, Salerno and elsewhere, and thereafter there was no change. University libraries came into existence and multiplied, generally free of the Church's stifling constraints and total control, with the result

1. Wood panelling in the Studiolo of Federico da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino (in the Palazzo Ducale).

that intellectual life gradually passed into the hands of laymen. Monastic libraries, the repositories of the scholarly and Christian tradition, surrendered their privilege of exercising almost total control over knowledge: in fact many of them sank into oblivion, awaiting the pioneers who would re-evaluate the manuscript treasures they held in their libraries.



2. Nikolaos Leonikos Tomaios [1456-1531], a distinguished figure in the world of Renaissance philosophy. Woodcut from N. Reusner, *Icones sive Imagines viuae, literis Cl. Virorum, Italiae, Graeciae...* Basel, 1599.

The teaching of Greek gains ground. A radical change on the intellectual scene first became apparent in Italy with the introduction of systematic Greek teaching in Florence from the late fourteenth century and the institution of courses in philosophy as an academic discipline in its own right, completely separate from theology, at universities and centres of humanist learning. The teaching of Greek restored the character of the Graeco-Roman tradition in the West to some extent and enabled the standard-bearers of Italian humanism to read Greek texts in the original; for when Petrarch was given a manuscript of Homer by Nikolaos Sigeros in 1364, he had had to admit, 'Homerus tuus apud me mutus.' At the same time the first disciples of humanistic education were very keen to make the first-hand acquaintance of works of classical literature to

which their only access had been by means of quotations and passing references. The thirst for knowledge boosted demand and the circumstances were favourable for enterprises of this kind; so manuscript-hunting expeditions to the East were organized in the hope of locating the entire intellectual heritage of the ancient Greeks and acquiring all those works in one way or another, whether by purchase or by copying. The objectives were to re-evaluate the learning of past ages and rebuild it on new foundations, and to enrich the libraries of humanists and book-loving princes.

Aristotelian philosophy was taught systematically in Paris from the mid thirteenth century, using translations based on Arabic versions, contemporary renderings (like the one by Albertus Magnus) or abridgements, but never translations from the original Greek. However, the Greek manuscripts brought from Byzantine territo-

ries in the East contained divergences from the prevailing tradition and new Latin translations by scholars of the calibre of Ioannes Argyropoulos and Nikolaos Tomaios shed a fresh light on attempts to interpret Aristotle, especially his writings on ethics. Together with Aristotle there came manuscripts of Plato, until then unknown in the West. The lectures delivered by Plethon on the banks of the Arno during the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1437-1439) promoted the dissemination of Platonism and Neoplatonism, at first in Italy and very soon among the academics of the Sorbonne led by no less a figure than Guillaume Fichet, from the 1470s onwards.

The character of the humanistic library. A veritable revolution in the collecting of books by scholars, as regards both the contents and the size of their libraries, was brought about by two developments: first, the teaching of Greek and the resulting eagerness – initially of Italian scholars and then of nearly all the inhabitants of Northern Europe – to read books in the original Greek, and secondly the invention and general adoption of printing with movable types. The horizons of all students of classical literature were immeasurably broadened by the availability not only of a treasure trove of Greek works hitherto largely (though not completely) unknown in the West but also of a concerted series of translations, mostly into Latin. What is more, the spate of commentaries that now appeared greatly expanded the supply of reference works, the indispensable tools of every humanist. The discovery of so many new manuscripts gave rise to a flood of new collations, additions to and often revised versions of editions which had been considered immutable.

Then again, the all-conquering march of printing and the reproduction of the entire manuscript tradition in printed form made it possible for anyone to obtain copies of previously inaccessible works, to form their own private libraries and to have access, even in their student days, to the entire known corpus of world literature. One of the factors that helped to put students and scholars on a potentially equal footing for the enjoyment of the advances of textual scholarship in restoring the authenticity of the ancient tradition was the series of editions brought out by Aldus Manutius. The *editio princeps* of Sophocles' *Tragedies*, for example, was published in 1502, in a small format, in a run of 2,000 copies. This being the case, all libraries from then on were organized with the classics at their centre, leavened with books reflecting the particular interests of each collector.

The humanistic philosophy. There was no such thing as a manifesto of the humanistic philosophy: what is more, the term *humanismus* was not coined until the nineteenth century. The word *umanista*, however, was heard in the lecture halls

and corridors of the schools where the humanities were taught – the *studia humanitatis*, as they were called. The term ‘humanism’ is usually understood as denoting a general trend towards the revival of classical learning and general acceptance of the idea that classical antiquity provides the models for a person’s full development, shows the way to eternity and reflects the ideal polity. The humanist, then, imbued as he was with the precepts of classical thinking, sought to cultivate a personal relationship with his works, often with metaphysical overtones. There is no specific intellectual activity qualifying a person to be called a humanist. The humanist was possessed by the vision of helping to promote human values and formulate a personal ‘existential’ philosophy, and all this with a strong sense of altruism. Individualism, which might be the result of this attitude, did not influence his personality – to the extent that he saw his actions as serving the purposes of his intellectual enquiries and conducive to his all-round development – since he found personal vindication in the fact that the worth of his contribution was recognized by society as a whole.

*Humanists’
activities*

The humanists were not so privileged as to be able always to follow the path they would have liked, because the direction of their professional pursuits, and even of their writing, was often dictated by the will of their rulers, on whom they were usually financially dependent. The various posts they held, whether in the government or in a private capacity, entailed a good deal of travelling, often against their will. The men we now call humanists were to be found working as scribes, editors, librarians, private teachers, private tutors, professors and lecturers at universities and academies, and as advisers to patrons of learning or to church dignitaries, local lords, princes and kings. For those rulers the humanists wrote and delivered official speeches, for they were equally at home with poetry and rhetoric, and they immortalized historic events in their capacity as official historians. One of the pursuits they enjoyed most was hunting for lost works of classical literature in monastery and cathedral libraries, both to broaden their intellectual horizons and to satisfy their metaphysical enquiries. Often they identified themselves, through the medium of the Muses, with Homer, Virgil, Cicero or other writers.

A complete humanistic library. Early in the fourteenth century, on the initiative of Manuel Chrysoloras, who had taught Greek at the Studium in Florence from 1397, there came into being a princely library up to the standards of the Graeco-Roman tradition. It belonged to Palla Strozzi and was organized in two equal and independent sections: one Greek and one Latin. From Constantinople Chrysoloras had brought with him to Florence manuscripts of works then unknown in the

West, such as Plato's *Republic*, and the philosophy underlying his translations, based on the principle of conveying the meaning and spirit of the original (*ad sententiam transferre*) as opposed to a strict word-for-word (*ad verbum*) translation. Chrysoloras's pupils included some of the most brilliant scholars in Florence – Leonardo Bruni, Pier Paolo Vergerio, Jacopo d'Angelo da Scarperia, Roberto Rossi and many others – whose main occupation was translating from Greek in accordance with Chrysoloras's method. These men and other pupils and auditors of his handed on the torch of his learning by teaching Greek in various Italian cities, besides working systematically on new Latin translations of and commentaries on ancient Greek writings. The authoritativeness of their works is evidenced by the acclaim they received from the moment they were delivered to the printers: they were reissued over and over again as standard works in the incunabular period and for some time thereafter. Ptolemy's *Cosmographia* in da Scarperia's translation had already gone through six impressions by 1500!

*Chrysoloras's
circle*

Revision of the university curriculum. All these developments appear to be quite natural and took place gradually in a far-flung academic community, first in the South and then in the North and West, from Salerno to Oxford and from Pavia to Salamanca and Coimbra; but what is the essential difference? The Church and clergy, following the precepts of the Western Church Fathers, marginalized, belittled and more or less anathematized the writings of the ancient tradition, especially the philosophical and more particularly the Neoplatonist writings, from the first months of the late Roman Empire. We have only to think of St. Jerome's dream, in which the Holy Spirit accused him of being a Ciceronian, not a Christian, because he secretly preferred the great Roman orator's style to that of the patristic texts. The Church and the monasteries maintained this attitude throughout the Middle Ages; there were some exceptions, of course, when intellectuals and philosophers among the clergy refused to let themselves be bridled and thus changed the climate prevailing in some monastic communities, but these deviations from the norm were short-lived.

In the thirteenth century, with universities being founded in the big cities, the Church had no option but to acquiesce in the process of change and go along with public feeling, for otherwise it would have been excluded from university life altogether. The prerogative of founding a university or college and ratifying its charter now lay with the monarch; and the Church, in its efforts to keep in touch with higher education, did all it could to exercise at least some measure of control over the choice of subjects on the curriculum. For example, Aristotelian philosophy was

phased into the curriculum of the Sorbonne, only to be banned outright later by the Vatican before Aristotle was restored to primacy in Western philosophy thanks to Abelard and his followers. From the early fifteenth century onwards, however, everything began to change: the conservative defenders of Christian doctrine, formerly so hostile, reinvented themselves as protectors and champions of Greek philosophy – even Platonism – and promoted the wider study of ancient Greek literature of all kinds in Italy.



3. George of Trebizond. Woodcut from N. Reusner, *Icones sive Imagines viuae, literis Cl. Virorum, Italiae, Graeciae...*, Basel, 1599.

The Church's attitude to the classics.

Prelates in the West and metropolitans and bishops in the East – that is to say Catholics and Orthodox, and Uniates too, some of them crowned with the tiara or the mitre and others ordinary clergymen – were now transformed into humanist teachers. Among them were Pope Nicholas V, Cardinal Bessarion, Markos Mousouros, Arsenios Apostoles, Athanasios Chalkiopoulos, Leonardo Bruni, Lorenzo Valla, Marsilio Ficino and Politian, to name only a few. The spark was given and the tone was set for this reconciliation by Pope Nicholas V (1447-1455) himself, who turned the Curia into an open university, which it had never been before. There ensued a systematic drive for the translation of Greek literature, pagan as well as patristic, into Latin: Valla translated Thucydides, Pog-

gio the *Bibliotheca* of Diodorus Siculus; Giannozzo Manetti set to work on Philo Judaeus, then unknown in the West; and Ambrogio Traversari, drawing on his great fund of religious knowledge, tackled the works attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite. But the heaviest burden of responsibility was borne by George of Trebizond, who was commissioned by the Pope to translate Plato's *Laws* and *Republic* in addition to *De Evangelica Praeparatione* by Eusebius of Caesarea, the *Homilies* of John Chrysostom and other Christian writings.

From then on, that is from about the middle of the fifteenth century, not only did nothing happen to reverse this trend, but the Holy See's links with the Greek classical tradition became stronger than ever before. The papal throne was occu-

pired successively by members of the Medici family who were profoundly aware of the importance of ancient Greek literature to the development of a new approach to education, in association and complete harmony with Christian writings. Pope Pius II (1458-1464), for example, who came from a noble Sienese family, kept his private library in the cathedral of his birthplace, which leaves no doubt whatsoever as to his love of books. Cardinals, bishops and abbots embraced Greek literature and aspired to write like Cicero and act like Horace, but they also liked reading Homer and Virgil, formulating a personal philosophy that was influenced to some extent by Plato and Plotinus. The first head of the Neoplatonic Academy in Florence, Marsilio Ficino, who was a priest himself, used to light the candle he kept in his cell in front of a bust of Plato, rather than any Christian saint, before putting his body and mind to rest for the night.

Academies and scholarly coteries. It was normal for those who espoused humanistic ideals to establish centres of learning of this kind. Ficino's Platonic Academy came to be an essential stopping-point for every humanist and every visitor from the North. One was Erasmus, even though he had experienced Platonic teaching in Florence; another, the Englishman John Colet, who had already been introduced to Florentine humanism, was the person who initiated Erasmus into the mystical symbolism of the 'divine' Plato. Other centres of Platonic studies subsequently sprang up elsewhere on the model of the Florentine Academy, for instance the one founded in Buda under Matthias Corvinus. The most notable of these new academies were those of Panormita in Naples, Cardinal Bessarion in Rome, the Chorus Achademiae Fiorentinae of Argyropoulos in Florence and the New Academy of Aldus Manutius, which met in his printing house in Venice.

Side by side with the universities, which offered courses in civil law, canon law, theology and the seven liberal arts, humanistic academies and philosophy schools came into being and chairs of philosophy were established at the universities of Padua, Ferrara, Pavia, Venice, Messina and Naples, as well as 'closed' academic



4. Pomponio Leto. Woodcut from N. Reusner, *Icones sive Imagines viuae, literis Cl. Virorum, Italiae, Graeciae...*, Basel, 1599.

schools: Pomponio Leto delivered a speech in the ruins of the forum in Rome, dressed as an ancient Roman and attended by young disciples of his, whom he adjured to renounce their baptismal names and borrow the names of famous Romans of the imperial period.

Typography at the service of humanism. While this intellectual revolution was taking place in Italy, Europe north of the Alps was still cut off from the mainstream and the road ahead for the propagation of humanistic ideas seemed beset with obstacles. The same was not true of the East, however. Constantinople – all that was left of the Byzantine Empire, apart from the Despotate of Mystras – may have been hemmed in on all sides, but it boasted a fine university acknowledged by many Italian humanists as a beacon of the Greek intellectual tradition. This was the Katholikon Mouseion, which numbered among its teachers Georgios Chrysokokkes, Ioannes Chortasmenos, Georgios Scholarios and Ioannes Argyropoulos, while its students included numerous Italians led by Francesco Filelfo. Among them were many who played pivotal roles on the humanistic scene, such as Guarino Veronese, Antonio Massa, Sassolo da Prato and Gian Maria Filelfo. While studying Greek language and literature, either at the Katholikon Mouseion or privately with great teachers like Chrysoloras, these Italians searched systematically for manuscripts to buy or copy to add to their own collections.

The process of transfusing ancient Greek philosophy and Byzantine secular and Christian literature into the West was carried out entirely through books. The Byzantine scholars and literary patrons realized that nothing had any future outside the West. Over a period of a hundred and fifty years or more, Orthodox monasteries parted with many of the important manuscripts in their possession, whether by their own choice or not. Not all the manuscript hunters came from the West: some were Greeks, who donated, bequeathed or sold their private libraries to Italian princes. The humanists wanted nothing to remain hidden. No longer was there any room for what has aptly been called ‘bibliotaphy’ (keeping books ‘buried’), for the ideal of propagating knowledge of all kinds in accordance with the humanistic credo demanded that everybody should have access to everything. Kings and princes, nobles and church dignitaries all joined in this great ‘book hunt’ and the printing houses were kept busy by the humanists’ discoveries in the West and the East.

At about the time when Pope Nicholas, with the help of some of the most brilliant scholars in the East and West, was making every effort to obtain for the Vatican Library a corpus of Christian and secular literature, Johann Gutenberg, working near Mainz with his associates Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer, was perfecting

his technique for printing with movable metal types, paving the way for a cultural revolution. The invention and widespread adoption of the new method of reproduction was to give crucial support to the humanists' ideals: little by little it made knowledge and study tools accessible to people in all walks of life. The art and technique of printing spread rapidly to the rest of continental Europe and the British Isles. Before long every city, and many small towns as well, possessed a printing house, which usually functioned also as a bookshop.

Printed matter started coming from the presses in large quantities – many hundreds of thousands of copies – from the beginning of the 1470s, covering all branches of learning at every level and including documents for use in everyday life such as orders of service for weddings, indulgences and so on. The authoritativeness of editions of Greek and Latin literature varied according to the prestige of the editor and the printing house's reputation for accuracy in printing and proofreading. Men of letters worked together with the printing houses, and the scriptoria gradually lost their lustre: for the most part their work was now limited to illuminating dedicatory codices and other manuscripts intended for the collections of princes, noblemen and church dignitaries.

The invention of printing changed the face of the world and the printing houses came to resemble the literary coffee-houses of our own time. Master printers did not work all on their own: they were assisted by their typesetters and proofreaders, and also by anonymous scholars whom history remembers only as humble workers in the service of learning, like the servants of God who sought no recognition in this world. Printing houses evolved into academies frequented by writers, literary scholars, patrons, calligraphers and book collectors who did not keep their books hidden out of sight. Universities and academies turned to the printing houses for the textbooks they needed, and also for authoritative texts based on reliable manuscripts and bilingual editions containing the Greek text and Latin translation side by side. It is worth remarking that more than two hundred presses



5. Sketches by H. Müller depicting Gutenberg and Fust at work. Gutenberg Museum, Mainz.

were set up between 1469 and 1500 in Venice alone, while over five hundred editions of Aristotle's works and commentaries on them had come out by 1500, making him the *princeps* of the secular intellectual tradition.

Standing at the apex of the printing and publishing pyramid is Aldus Manutius, who in 1495 opened a press in Venice that soon became an essential stopping-point for every follower of the Graeco-Roman tradition, a point of reference for Italian and Greek literary scholars and talented persons fluent in both languages. The fame of his 'typographical academy' spread beyond the Alps and scholars from the North, including Erasmus, visited it to get a taste of authentic humanism. Those same people then became apostles of the humanistic philosophy in their countries of residence, like Girolamo Aleandro in Paris and Thomas Linacre in England.

Humanism's path of promise was opened up to the north in the early years of the sixteenth century when Aldus started exporting his books to Paris, so contributing to the creation of humanistic libraries in all the countries of Central Europe. The humanist spirit fired the enthusiasm of teachers, theologians, philosophers, linguisticians and wielders of the pen, who flocked southwards on pilgrimages to Venice, Florence and Rome. In this way Johann Reuchlin, Beatus Rhenanus, Johann Cuno, Girolamo Aleandro and many others wove a canvas that would soon be worked into a map of humanistic publishing in Europe. Books were exported from Italy to other countries, enriching scholars' private libraries and collections; centres of learning modelled on the Italian academies grew up in Basel, Strasbourg, Paris, Leiden and elsewhere.

Public libraries. In spite of the surge of interest in books during the fifteenth century, only two libraries modelled on those of the Graeco-Roman era came into being: one in Florence and the other in Cesena. These initiatives reflect the life's work of the local rulers, Cosimo de' Medici and Novello Malatesta respectively. Also of interest is the architecture of those libraries, which, though essentially in keeping with the medieval tradition as regards both the buildings and the furniture and equipment, nevertheless exemplifies the Renaissance tendency to monumentality in every detail, as we shall see in a later chapter.

The pillar of the Christian library tradition was the library of the Holy See in the Vatican, whose origins can be traced back to the reigns of Pope Damasus I (366-384) and especially Pope Agapetus I (535-536). But it, too, suffered its share of looting following the sack of the Apostolic See: the papal library was broken up on its removal to Avignon and gradually fell into a state of complete decay and degeneration: before the election of Pope Nicholas V it numbered no more than about

340 volumes. Nicholas, himself a humanist, thoroughly overhauled both the building and its contents, with the result that by his death in 1455 it boasted more than 1,200 manuscripts. Meanwhile princely and ducal libraries became the focal points of prestigious coteries of scholars, writers, philologists, calligraphers and miniaturists, and so they gradually built up very fine collections of books: those of the Aragonese kings of Naples, of Federico da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino, of the Medici in Florence and the Sforza and Visconti families in Milan, among many others. In an echo of the Italian humanist revolution, another great library sprang up to the north-east, at Buda: that of Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary, which not merely compared favourably with the princely libraries of Italy but in its time was rated second only to the Vatican Library.

Private libraries owned by scholars. Libraries of great importance and literary interest were formed by scholars and others who worked with the printing and publishing houses. The distinguishing feature of these collections was that they contained manuscripts with handwritten notes by teachers like Ianos and Konstantinos Laskaris, Politian, Markos Mousouros, Erasmus, Johann Cuno and Giorgio Valla, as well as printed books with marginal notes and scholia, many of them still unpublished. What eventually became of these libraries is in most cases unclear and very few of them survive as organized libraries in their entirety. A library in the Graeco-Roman tradition of particular importance in every respect was that of Cardinal Bessarion, which formed the nucleus of the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice. Another example of a well-stocked humanist library was the collection of Beatus Rhenanus, one of the pioneers of German humanism, which still exists almost intact in his birthplace, Sélestat.

This drive by Italian and Greek scholars to restore the textual integrity of ancient literature according to the rules of textual scholarship drew attention as never before to the importance of books as indispensable aids for all who cultivated grammar and literary studies. The critical recension of texts had been a characteristic feature of the Greek spirit in the Hellenistic period, and it found worthy continuators in Italy during the Renaissance: George of Trebizond, Lorenzo Valla, Politian and others. Those men of letters who travelled from North to South to study under eminent Greek and Italian teachers acquired the tools necessary to ensure that the art of Eratosthenes remained alive in Europe.

The scholarly circles and literary coteries that grew up in the major cities of Europe were centred on humanistic printing houses like those of Froben and the Estienne (Stephanus) family, or on universities and art schools like the Collège de

France, Calvin's Academy or the Trilingual College at Louvain. The humanistic corpus of Greek and Latin first editions, most of them published by Aldus (1495-1515), was greatly expanded and improved thereafter by the addition of new first editions of secular and Christian literature based on newly-discovered, more reliable manuscripts, which were used for many *editiones principes*.

France. From the first decade of the sixteenth century France, and more particularly Paris, was the cradle of French humanism. Men who had studied according to humanist principles – that is to say Italian scholars such as Fausto Andrelini, Paolo Emili and Girolamo Baldi – crossed the Alps, led the rebirth of learning in France and revived the study of rhetoric and dialectics, just as Petrarch had hoped and expected. Before long France was producing scholars on a par with the Italian luminaries: men like Guillaume Budé and Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, who not only learnt Greek with Ianos Laskaris but were initiated into the ideals of humanism and were fully aware of the role of libraries in the dissemination and cultivation of literature generally.

At the court of Louis XII, Claude de Seyssel (1450-1520) translated Diodorus Siculus and Xenophon into French with Laskaris's help, re-creating the scholarly atmosphere of Charlemagne's court in the time of Alcuin. An ambitious cultural nationalism then started developing in the French court, aspiring to emulate Italian humanism though it did not have the necessary literary resources. The prelude to the humanist movement in France arose from two sources: one was the Sorbonne's conservative educational philosophy and the other was the royal court. The driving force behind this university initiative was Guillaume Fichet, a brilliant orator, a theologian and a philosophy teacher, who was appointed Rector of the Sorbonne in 1468. A good friend of Cardinal Bessarion's, Fichet became an adherent of Platonism and was in the vanguard of Platonist thinking in the North. To counter the anti-Platonic tendencies and theories commonly held by theologians, he promised Bessarion that he would introduce Platonic philosophy into the Sorbonne's curriculum.

In pursuit of his humanistic aspirations, Fichet set up a press in the heart of the university in collaboration with three German pioneers of printing. It was the first in France and went into operation in 1471. The first titles to come from this press indicate the priorities of the university's curriculum: a Latin translation of Plato's *Epistles*, Virgil's *Bucolica* (*Eclogues*) and Cicero's *De Oratore*, and the *Rhetorica* of Gasparino Barzizza. Opposed to the nationalism of French humanism was the philosopher Lefèvre d'Étaples, who represents the 'internationalist' spirit

of Italian humanism. Deeply influenced as he was by the Neoplatonic school of Florence and also (after 1511) by Erasmus, Lefèvre set out to institute a genuinely philosophical system of education opposed to the Scholastic tradition.

Following the accession of François I to the French throne in 1515, Paris could hold its own against Venice and Florence, the famed humanistic centres of Italy. The king himself opened the gates of his court to poets, artists, writers and printers, and so brought into being a circle that would attract no less a person than Leonardo da Vinci, who left Italy to live first in Paris and then at Blois, under the king's patronage.

The story of textual scholarship in France opens with Guillaume Budé (1468-1540), who was a friend of Erasmus and Reuchlin but was not influenced by their ideology. Instead he chose to concentrate mainly on everyday life and manners, that is matters connected with politics, economics and law. He started his career in the royal court but later retired, like a latter-day Horace, to devote himself to textual studies. In his *Annotationes ad Pandectas* (1508) he surpassed all his predecessors: Valla, Politian and Zasius. His mastery of Latin and Greek (he had perfected his Greek under Laskaris's tuition) enabled him to write such seminal works as *Commentarii Linguae Graecae* (1529) and *De Transitu Hellenismi ad Christianismum* (1535). In the latter he distanced himself from the Erasmian view concerning the Greek philosophical underpinning of Christian doctrine and pointed out the differences. Budé was a *philologos* in the Eratosthenian sense, and it was not for nothing that Scaliger called him 'le plus grand Grec de l'Europe'.

What is more, it was thanks to Budé that the Collège Royal was founded in 1530. He envisaged it as a new 'Museum', as he avows in the preface to the *Commentarii*, and dreamed that it would be likened to the 'Museum' of the Ptolemies as a community of poets, scholars and scientists owing allegiance to the Muses, in contrast to the Platonic Academy of the Medici. Moreover, the name given to it by Ronsard, 'La Pléiade', is undoubtedly an allusion to the Ptolemaic Library of Alexandria. The lectures at the College attracted eminent scholars from all over

Budé's
work



6. Guillaume Budé (1468-1540). Engraving by an unknown artist.

Europe: Calvin, Rabelais, Ignatius de Loyola, Amyot, François de Sales and Ron-sard, among others, all went out of their way to broaden their intellectual horizons by attending courses there. The College's Hellenocentric approach is apparent from the fact that two *lecteurs royaux*, Pierre Danès and Jacques Toussain, were appointed to teach Greek, but none for Latin.

No Greek books were printed in Paris before 1500, but the year 1507 saw the inauguration of Greek printing in Paris. The innovator was a Frenchman, François Tissard, who had studied at Ferrara and taken lessons from Demetrios Spartiates: he commissioned Gilles de Gourmont to print a book entitled *Βίβλος ἡ γνωμαγυρική*. Greek textbooks were in great demand: Girolamo Aleandro, who had



7. Printer's mark of Simon de Collines.

been a member of Aldus's circle and was now teaching in Paris, wrote to Aldus in 1508 that the three boxes of Greek books he had brought from Venice had all been sold, and that if he had no copies of Laskaris's *Grammar* he could not carry out his teaching programme.

By the time the golden age of Greek books in Paris was inaugurated by the Estienne (Stephanus) printing firm, several French presses specializing in Greek editions had been established, including those of Josse Bade, Simon de Colines, Conrad Neobar and Christian Wechel. The Estienne family went into publishing in 1502, and in 1544 Robert Estienne brought out his first Greek

book in his capacity as 'Printer in Greek to the King', a title conferred on him by François I. Eusebius of Caesarea's *Ecclesiastical History* was the first in a series of first editions published by the Estiennes from Greek manuscripts in François' royal library at Fontainebleau, where the librarian was none other than Budé. Those manuscripts had been acquired by dint of systematic searches in Venice, where they had been brought by Greek scribes and owners of manuscripts of major works, such as Nikolaos Sophianos, Antonios Eparchos and Demetrios Zenos. In fact one of those Greeks, Angelos Vergikios, went to Paris himself, where he was accepted into the court circles of François I, won renown as the greatest calligrapher of his day and acted as the king's personal adviser on matters to do with books.

In this scholarly atmosphere, which made Paris the leading centre of learning in Europe, great collections of manuscripts and printed books were accumulated,

partly in imitation of the king's interest in literature, especially Greek. Among the notable book collectors were Jean de Pins, Bishop of Rieux, Georges de Selve, Bishop of Lavaur, the future cardinal Georges d'Armagnac (then Bishop of Rodez) and Guillaume Pellicier.

Germany. Humanist teachings reached Germany and the German-speaking lands in the form of 'memoirs' written by rich citizens of various free cities who could afford to tour Italy, like Willibald Pirckheimer of Nürnberg or Conrad Peutinger of Augsburg. Peutinger spent about eight years (1482-1488) in Italy, where he studied under Politian, attended lectures by Pico and was on familiar terms with the members of the Platonic Academy; and indeed he was steeped forever after in the Academy's Neoplatonic spirit. His contacts with Leto's Academy in Rome motivated him to collect Roman antiquities after his return to Germany and to found the Sodalitas literaria Augustana.

Pirckheimer studied at Padua and Pavia and then settled in Nürnberg in 1495. There he was instrumental in having Greek and Latin added to the high school curriculum, as he was the only person in his set who knew Greek, and he translated Greek books into German. He was sufficiently well off to be able to amass a fine collection of manuscripts and printed books. He funded a special mission and commissioned Dürer to go to Venice and buy copies of all Aldus's editions for him, and then to illuminate their title pages. Pirckheimer actually boasted that he had copies of 'all the Greek books printed in Italy'.

*Greek books
with illustrations
by Dürer*

Among the standard-bearers of early German humanism who travelled in Italy were Peter Luder (*ca.* 1415-1472), who actually went on to Greece as well, and Conrad Celtis (1459-1508). Luder was educated in Köln before going on a tour of Italy and studying under Battista Guarino in Ferrara, Mousouros in Padua and Leto in Rome. On his return to Germany he gave public lectures on Horace's poetry at Ingolstadt University. He himself was a good poet, too: his *Amores* and *Ars versificandi* were not surpassed by any other Latinist of his day.

Two other Germans who also studied in Italy and became firm friends with their Italian and Greek teachers were Nicolaus da Cusa and Rudolphus Agricola. The former studied mathematics and philology at Padua and spent some time in Rome, where he built up a fine collection of ancient literature, helped by the fact that he had been Cardinal Orsini's secretary and a collector of manuscripts on his behalf. Agricola, after studying at Ferrara under such teachers as George of Trebizond and Lorenzo Valla, went back to Germany and taught at Heidelberg University, where he was Professor of Greek until his death in 1485.

But the great centre of humanism in the German-speaking lands of the North was Basel, where a university was founded in 1460 with the blessing of Pope Pius II. This city-state in the Holy Roman Empire was a ridge over the Rhine between Italy, Germany and the Netherlands. The main driving force for its humanistic achievements was provided by its printing houses, which enjoyed the services of Erasmus, Beatus Rhenanus, Glareanus (Heinrich Loriti), Ulrich Zasius, Johann Reuchlin and many others. Reuchlin, who Hellenized his name to Capnion (from *καπνός* (smoke), the Greek equivalent of the German *Rauch*), was the leading intermediary for the propagation of Greek in Germany.

The first printing house in Basel had been opened as early as 1476 by a pupil of Gutenberg's, Berthold Ruppel, but until 1513, when Johann Amerbach died, its list was of no particular interest to students of the humanities.

The man who gave a purely humanistic impetus to printing in Basel was Johann Froben, who not only printed the first Greek books to come from that city but gave his editions a Renaissance character by including in them examples of the renowned German school of print-making. Ornate frames and compositions were engraved for his title pages by Urs Graf, Hans Holbein the Younger and many others. The publication in 1516 of his first bilingual (Greek and Latin) book, an edition of the New Testament edited by Erasmus, immediately established him as a presence on the European humanistic printing scene. Theodoros Gazis's *Grammar* came out that same year (1516), followed by Aesop's *Fables* (1517), the *Tragedies* of Euripides (1524), several works by John Chrysostom and a reissue of the *Adagia* of Erasmus.



8. Engraving of Conrad Celtis.

Geneva. What brought Geneva on to the humanist scene and put it on the European literary map was the Reformation, as the Catholic Church persecuted and condemned its adherents and thus forced men of letters, printers and publishers to seek refuge in the bastions of Protestantism. Anybody who declared that the authentic language of the New Testament was Greek, not the Latin of the Vulgate, had no place in the Catholic flock and had to emigrate. With Calvin and Théodore

de Bèze as the champions of the Reformation, the teaching of Greek was instituted in Geneva as the basis of high school and university education, the first teacher being François Bérauld in 1559. In 1561 a Greek, Frangiskos Portos, was appointed Professor of Greek at Calvin's Academy: this marked the beginning of the most fruitful period of Portos's life, besides giving a new dimension to the teaching of Greek literature.

Geneva's prestige in the field of literature, especially Greek literature, was enhanced by the arrival in 1551 of Robert Estienne, who launched his publishing career in his new home with an open declaration of faith in the Reformation. He had fled from Paris with his eldest son Henri, who later became his worthy successor at the helm of the Estienne printing firm. In his 1551 edition of the New Testament Estienne introduced an innovation, for the text was divided into verses for the first time. He adopted the division into verses again in a Latin edition of the Old Testament (1556), with the result that eventually this became the standard edition even in the Catholic Church. The Greek text of Estienne's New Testament was adopted by all the printing and publishing houses in Europe and soon established itself as the *textus receptus*, which remained unchanged until it was revised by Karl Lachmann in 1831.

In 1559 Henri Estienne took over the running of the business and, although he had been educated in Latin, he had learnt Greek so well at the Collège Royal in Paris that he made his name as one of the most brilliant Hellenists of his day. Not only did he speak Greek like a native, but he actually thought in Greek and was able to take sole responsibility for the evaluation and advancement of the Greek scholarly tradition, like any Greek intellectual of his time. At the height of his career he was turning out no less than 4,000 pages of Greek a year; and at the same time he travelled tirelessly in search of manuscripts to buy or collate, in order to arrive at the most accurate version of the original text. His editions and his textual



9. Portrait of Théodore de Bèze from *Poemata*, Geneva, C. Badius, 1548.

emendations were improvements on anything that had gone before and were considered the *ne plus ultra* of textual scholarship: the publication of the *Anacreontea* (1554) caused a great stir and opened up a new branch of contemporary literary studies. He expanded the *Anthology* of Maximos Planoudes by the addition of many more epigrams and his edition of Plato's *Complete Works* is used to this day as the standard basis for their page numbering, the so-called Stephanus pagination.



10. Calvin. Woodcut. 1557(?).

Besides his Greek publications, Henri Estienne brought out fifty-eight in Latin and three in Hebrew. Outstanding among all these publishing feats is his *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, published in five volumes in 1572.

During the time that the Estiennes were established in Geneva, other printers fled there for refuge and specialized in Greek books, winning for the city a reputation as a great literary and publishing workshop and a book centre. One of them was Jean Crespin of Arras, the founder of the family printing and publishing house, who in 1554 brought out a monumental Greek-Latin dictionary, the *Lexicon Graecolatinum*. His principal field of interest was theology and Calvin's religious propaganda, but he also reissued works by Homer, Hesiod, Pindar and Theocritus, as did his successors

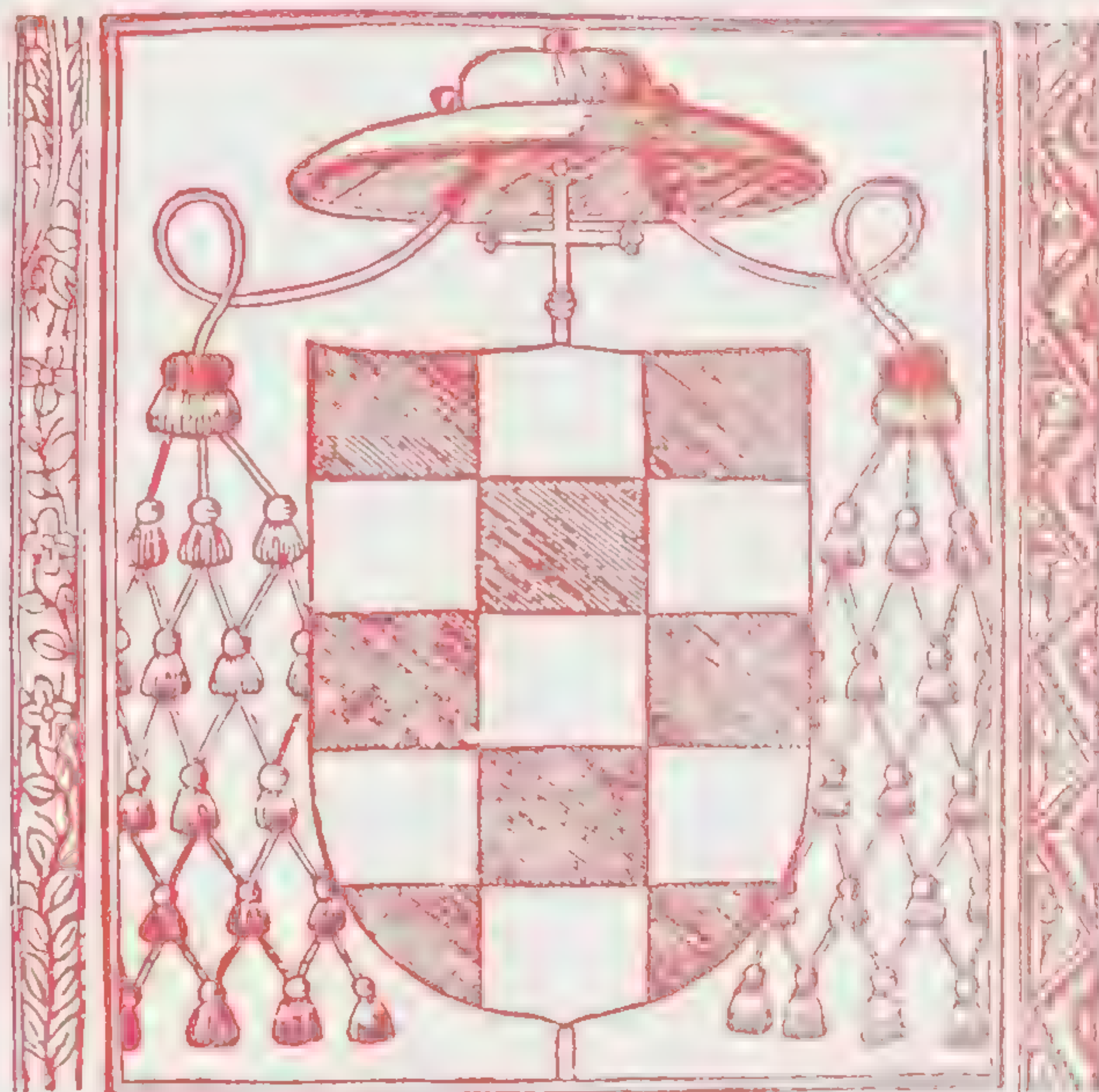
down to the seventeenth century. Mention should also be made of the well-known Geneva printing houses founded by Hieronymus Commelinus, Jean des Bois, Eustache Vignon and Jacobus Stoer, among others. This spate of publishing brought to the fore a number of highly-regarded literary scholars and grammarians who gave fresh impetus to classical studies, such as Isaac Casaubon.

Spain. Before 1500 no intellectual movement with a humanistic slant emerged, even though the House of Aragon possessed Sicily (from 1409) and (from 1435) the Kingdom of Naples, where humanist ideals had been in evidence since at least

the time of Petrarch. The first visitors to Italy from Iberian peninsula were the Portuguese Ayres Barbosa and the Spaniard Hernán Núñez, who on his return to Spain taught Greek and Latin at the University of Alcalá. These two humanist teachers were later joined by Demetrios Doukas, who had worked with Aldus in Venice and collaborated with Núñez and others on the preparation of the Polyglot Bible, funded from 1502 by Cardinal Francisco Ximenes de Cisneros (1437-1517). Another member of the team was Antonio de Lebrija (1444-1522), who had been studying Classics and Hebrew in Italy and came back to Spain to work on the project.

The university founded at Alcalá in 1499 with the name of the College of San Ildefonso was a breeding-ground of humanism in Spain. In its curriculum Latin was included on an equal footing with the two Biblical languages, Hebrew and Greek. Meanwhile Cardinal Ximenes, who was preparing the ground for the publication of the Polyglot Bible, commissioned Arnao Guillen de Brocar to design a fount of Greek characters, and in 1514 the first Greek printed book, the grammar by Chrysoloras entitled *Erotemata*, was published at his expense. But on the cardinal's death in 1517 events took an unexpected turn. The project was put on hold until the middle of the sixteenth century, when Don Antonio Agustín (1516-1586) was consecrated Bishop of Lérida, an event which signalled the rebirth of the humanities in Spain, chiefly through the agency of his well-stocked library, which formed the nucleus of the library of the Escorial Abbey.

The race to be the first to publish the New Testament and so secure exclusive rights for a period of ten years turned Spain into a literary battlefield. On the publication of Erasmus's New Testament in 1516, parties close to Cardinal Ximenes – who had hoped to beat Erasmus to it with his own Polyglot Bible – declared literary war on the Dutch humanist. Jacobus Lopis Stunica and others found fault with him for his translation of passages from the Bible. The war against Erasmus was joined by Juan Ginéz Sepulveda, a man with a powerful armoury at his disposal, as he had spent years in Bologna and other centres of learning in Italy. Yet



11. *The crest of Cardinal Francisco Ximenes de Cisneros, as it appears in the Complutensian Polyglot Bible.*

*Ximenes and his
 Polyglot Bible*

in spite of these literary squabbles, Erasmus's philosophical views as expressed in his *Philosophia Christi* exerted a profound influence on many Spanish thinkers, so much so that the charge of 'Erasmianism' is to be heard in Spain to this day.

England. The character of private and public college and university libraries in England remained unchanged through the fifteenth century and the early decades of the sixteenth, no alteration whatever being made in the higher education *curriculum*. The big collections continued to grow, centred on the study courses on offer at universities and colleges and in accordance with the special interests of the university authorities. Furthermore, the Hundred Years' War prevented talented students from travelling to Paris or south of the Alps, with the result that the gospel of humanism did not cross the Channel until the early decades of the sixteenth century.

The first person from England to make his presence felt on the Italian intellectual scene was Thomas Linacre, who accompanied his clergyman uncle William Sellyng on a journey to Rome and Florence. He studied Greek with Chalkokondyles and Politian and mixed with eminent humanists such as Ermolao Barbaro and Pomponio Leto. He was also a member of Aldus Manutius's academic circle and worked on the first edition of Aristotle's *De physico auditu* (*Φυσικὴ ἀκρόασις*) (1497). On his return to London he started giving public lectures, which were attended by men of the calibre of Thomas More.

On his educational tour he was accompanied by two friends, William Grocyn and William Latimer. On returning to England Grocyn, another pupil of Chrysoloras, became probably the first person to teach Greek at an English university (at Exeter College, Oxford). So strong had been the influences on him when studying Greek literature that he set out to impose an innovative programme whereby the faculty and students of the College were divided into Greeks and Trojans.

These forerunners of humanism in the Anglo-Saxon world made no material changes to the educational landscape: that is to say, they did not depart from the teaching methods used in English universities by introducing Platonic philosophy or literary studies, as a yardstick for evaluating Greek and Latin writings and literature generally. A change in the intellectual scene was wrought by John Colet, who had spent some time in Italy and had come into contact with the Neoplatonism of Ficino's school in Florence. Colet did not accept the mystical symbolism that the Neoplatonists preached in order to reconcile ancient thinking with Christian doctrine: he approached the Scriptures in a purely devotional spirit. His writings and teachings on St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians reflect his strongly-held

conviction that unfeigned respect is an essential of everyday life. This attitude of his strongly influenced Erasmus, who was living in Oxford from 1499; all the more so because his ideas were entirely compatible with the ways of the *Devotio Moderna*. However, he made no attempt to conceal the weak point in his literary armoury, which was that he did not know Greek. 'Without Greek,' he confided to Erasmus, 'we are nothing.'

The absence of the humanist spirit in England is reflected in the history of printing there. Although the first press was set up by William Caxton in 1476, the character of the books printed in England remained locked in the medieval tradition until the early part of the sixteenth century. Only a few of the books printed by Caxton, Richard Pynson and others are concerned with classical literature: two examples are the undated edition of Cicero printed by Theodoric Rood and Caxton's Aesop of 1484. No Greek book was published there until 1543: it was two homilies (*Homiliae duae*) by John Chrysostom, printed by Reginald Wolfe.

The Netherlands. The publishing tradition in the Netherlands owed its character to the persons who studied the humanities and applied themselves to literary studies and the diffusion of the Christian and classical

literary traditions. From the ranks of the Brethren of the Common Life (*Fratres Vitae Communis*) at Deventer came such men as Geert Groote, Cornelius Aurelius and, of course, Erasmus himself, who between them laid the foundations for the cultivation of a strong classical tradition in the Netherlands. From the very first decades of the sixteenth century this tradition was well received by the country's universities and printing houses.

Erasmus developed into an 'Italian', the apostle of the North who was the spokesman for the Italian centres of learning. He learnt printing at the Aldine press,



12. John Colet. Drawing by Hans Holbein the Younger.

CHAPTER I

*From the
Middle Ages to
the Renaissance*

where he met and mixed with the mightiest literary scholars of the Renaissance: Markos Mousouros, Ianos Laskaris, Ioannes Grigoropoulos, Andrea Navagero, Demetrios Doukas and others. In that environment he became proficient enough in Greek to be able later to produce his first edition of the New Testament (1516).

Erasmus was not content to spend the rest of his working life in Venice: armed with the scholarly resources he had acquired from Aldus's circle and the learned coteries with their well-stocked open libraries, he went back to northern Europe.



13. Engraving from a commemorative medallion of Erasmus dated 1519.

From 1509 to 1514 he was living in London and Cambridge, keeping company with Thomas More and Colet and making it his first concern to do his part in spreading the humanist philosophy. His firm belief that 'Christian philosophy' (*Philosophia Christi*) is inseparable from Socratic theory and that knowledge is absolutely necessary for leading a good life (*εὖ πράττειν*) did not waver at all during his stay in England: if anything, it was strengthened. In 1521 he moved to Basel and embarked on a marathon of editorial work for Johann Froben, who

printed and published a large number of first editions of Greek and Latin works.

A decisive turning-point in the promotion of classicism in the Netherlands was the founding at Louvain in 1517 of the Trilingual College, where Greek, Latin and Hebrew were all included in the curriculum. The town thus became one of the leading centres of learning in Europe. It was no mere coincidence that the bookmen of Louvain who wished to form academic or private libraries obtained the book they needed from local printers. Thierry Martins, a friend of Erasmus's, took the lead in printing and publishing university textbooks from 1512, so paving the way for the great age of Dutch printing with Plantin in the north of the country and the house of Elzevir in the south. From this hothouse of learning there emerged classical scholars of the highest calibre such as Willem Canter and Justus Lipsius, and many others later, who reinforced the tradition of printing with movable metal types and gave their names and their personal imprint to Dutch editions of the classics.

*The Trilingual
College*

Libraries of contemporary literature. The libraries formed during the Renaissance reflect not only the humanistic interests and tendencies of book-loving princes and court dignitaries but also the collections put together by burghers, especially in the cities and big towns, for their professional needs and their personal edification and enjoyment. The development of typography in the major commercial centres and crossroads of Europe like Lyon, Rouen, Strasbourg and Augsburg was the principal conduit for the transmission of contemporary writings to the general public. So we now have firm evidence concerning the subject matter of the books printed in the various towns, while the size of the print runs and the number of reissues afford proof of the wider interests and collecting trends of each local community.

Almost all these editions were published in the vernacular of the country, and often in local dialects. This corpus of publications included novels, poems and other literary works dating from the early thirteenth century, such as the *Receuil des histoires de Troie* by Raoul Le Fèvre, which was only to be expected as those works had lost none of their popularity.

Concurrently with the work in progress on the publication of this manuscript literary tradition in print, scholars and other authors wrote original works on a variety of subjects and also translated or adapted others, which were produced by local printers and well received by the public. Of those, mention should be made of *Melusine* by Jean d'Arras, the *Histoire de la Patience de Grisélidis*, translated into French from the Latin version edited by Petrarch, and *Fierabras*, in the adaptation by Jean Baygon.

These editions are distinguished by the uniformity of their printing and publishing style: format, easily readable print, wide margins, illustrations in the form of original prints of simple design. The popularity of these little books in local markets and in the areas round about their places of publication is evident when one considers the large print run and frequent reissues of the titles in question: the *Subtiles fables d'Ésope* went through five editions between 1480 and 1494.

While on the subject of localized genres of book production, mention should be made of an operation aimed at the publication of encyclopaedic reference works and scholarly textbooks on law, medicine (especially surgery at Lyon) and other specialized branches of learning which developed differently from one region to another. To those new works should be added encyclopaedic reference books containing a medley of facts culled from the written and oral medieval tradition, such as the *Propriétaire des choses* of Barthélemy l'Anglais edited by Jean Corbichon, which ran through six editions between 1482 and 1491.

*The medieval
literary tradition
in printed
editions*

From the middle of the fifteenth century onwards, some books belonging to the popular literary tradition, and others as well, were acquired by great princely libraries with a humanistic slant and so were preserved: one such was a manuscript of Petrarch's *Sonnets*, which is listed in the 1431 catalogue of Palla Strozzi's library. For a long time this literary output kept its strictly local character, except in certain cases when writers – usually persons of distinction in the humanist world – won recognition throughout the length and breadth of Europe, one such being Petrarch with his *Sonnets* and *Triumphs*.

The history of geography. The political upheavals and developments taking place in Europe towards the end of what we call the Middle Ages greatly affected the world of books and the conditions affecting the organization and running of public and private libraries. Two main factors were responsible for these changes in the background to the writing and reproducing of books: one was the decline of Latin, which was replaced by the vernacular even in public affairs, and the other was the invention of typography in the middle of the fifteenth century.

The events leading to the birth of Europe were, on the one hand, a series of fierce and long drawn-out civil wars and conflicts between German and Italian principalities and between England and France (in the Hundred Years' War); and, on the other, the union of the Scandinavian countries, the unification of Spain in the Iberian peninsula and the fall of the Eastern Roman Empire. The process of political ferment and change brought about on the European scene by these conflicts is also apparent at the ideological level. The word *Christianitas*, in use until the late fourteenth century, like the words *Occidens* and *Latinitas*, were replaced by the humanists with the term 'Europe', a term that does not exist in Dante's vocabulary but was used often by Petrarch (1303-1374). In the view of Pope Pius II, that Europe was not the Europe of geographers, for whom it covered all the territories as far as the River Don, but Christian Europe, which comprised 'Central Europe' (France, Italy, Spain, Germany), Hungary and Poland. That concept of 'Central Europe' did not include the Orthodox East nor the British Isles.

The collapse of the old perceptions of universality and a holy empire were to be a model for the creation of the new political landscape, which would see the emergence of new classes distinguished by wealth or social status and new occupations, with results visible on every plane.

The Holy Roman Empire and its future. The German Holy Roman Empire, regarded as the 'heir' to the Western Roman Empire, whose territories were one

hundred percent Christian, began to totter after the death of Frederick II Hohenstaufen in 1250. The kingdom of Arles and the Italian states threw off its sovereignty one by one, the Swiss cantons formed themselves into a confederation and before long the 'Empire' was confined to Bohemia and the German kingdom, which remained a bone of contention between the Czechs and the Germans. But even that political entity was fictitious, as the real power was exercised absolutely by a number of princely families, such as the Habsburgs in Alsace and Switzerland and the Wittelsbachs in the Palatinate, and not by the Emperor. Furthermore, several cities – Strasbourg, Mainz, Nürnberg and Köln, for example – enjoyed *de facto* administrative independence by virtue of their strong economies and thriving trade.

This being so, the imperial title lost its importance and power and its universality existed only on paper. Henceforth the emperors would be crowned not in Rome but at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), and they would be elected by a college composed of seven great electors (dukes and archbishops). Before long the electors were choosing the candidates according to their weakness and ineffectuality, so that they could impose their will on their nominal ruler on every issue.

The Italian peninsula and political anarchy. Germany's overlordship and influence over Italy and the Vatican declined after the death of Frederick II (1250). However, the process of breaking that dependence was not without bloodshed, and frequent imperial interventions in Italy, such as that of Ludwig IV the Bavarian (1328-1329), turned the Italian peninsula into an open battlefield. The Papacy was shaken to its foundations by the move of the Holy See to Avignon, while further south the kingdom of Naples and the Two Sicilies was on the ascendant under Alfonso V of Aragon. At the same time major cities like Ancona, Rimini, Urbino and Ferrara were evolving into autonomous principalities under the leadership of the Montefeltro, Malatesta and d'Este families respectively. From about the end of the fourteenth century the free cities of northern and central Italy were arenas where noble families competed for power with the object of controlling an urban population which, having secured substantial financial gains and privileges through commerce, had organized itself into powerful guilds.

In Milan the dictatorial rule of the Visconti came to an end when Francesco Sforza seized power and declared himself duke. In Florence a power struggle between two clans, the Guelphs and the Ghibellines, soon escalated into rioting and anarchy. The poor – artisans and wage-earners – came into conflict with the merchant princes and owners of workshops engaging in the 'superior arts and crafts', such as goldsmiths. The leaders of these factions were noblemen of the Albizzi and



Atlantic
Ocean

KINGDOM
OF SCOTLAND

KINGDOM
OF ENGLAND

KINGDOM
OF FRANCE

CHAR

KINGDOM
OF PORTUGAL

KINGDOM
OF CASTILE

SPAIN

KINGDOM
OF ARAGON

Mediterr

500 km



Medici families. In the first decades of the fifteenth century the strong personality of Cosimo established the dominance of the Medici in Florence, and that family set its imprint on the character of Italian humanism.

The two dominant maritime states of northern Italy, Venice and Genoa, developed systems of government based on the traditional nobility. Their rulers drew their strength from the trade relations they had established with the Byzantine Empire and the territories they acquired in the Greek East, which they retained until the seventeenth or even eighteenth century. For decades the Mediterranean was an open, lucrative market for their economies, and nothing deterred them from their dealings with the 'infidels' of the East.

The Iberian peninsula and the *Reconquista*. In the early part of the fourteenth century the Iberian peninsula could be described as a tetrarchy composed of four kingdoms: Castile, Aragon, Valencia and Navarre. The union of the Aragonese dynasty with the royal house of Castile through the marriage of Isabella to Ferdinand (1469) more or less created the kingdom of Spain. The first objective of the Spanish rulers was to consolidate their power within their borders. They therefore occupied the southern part of Navarre, and in 1492 Ferdinand II annexed Granada. The reconquest of the peninsula – the *Reconquista* – was completed when the last remaining Muslim state in Iberia was overthrown. The Catholic kings of Spain were determined to establish a Catholic kingdom, in which the Inquisition, an instrument of religious policy, would be born. In the reign of Isabella I the kingdom of united Spain started to take shape; and its expansion into gold-bearing regions and overseas territories, like the New World discovered by Columbus in 1492, further strengthened its position. Judicious marriages with related royal houses, such as the Habsburgs and the House of Burgundy, soon made the kingdom of Spain the greatest power in Europe.

The Scandinavian Union. Until the fourteenth century, the countries in what is called the Scandinavian peninsula had not made their presence felt in Europe and their subjects had risen in arms against the monarchy and the abuses of privilege by noblemen and clerics. Everything changed, however, with the penetration of the Hanseatic League – a Teutonic mercantile organization – into Scandinavia and the Baltic countries. By the last decades of the fourteenth century or thereabouts the whole of Scandinavia had been reduced to a German protectorate. Resistance

14. *Europe in the early 16th century, as it was after the victorious campaigns of Emperor Charles V.*

against this trend was led by Margaret I, the daughter of Waldemar IV, who in 1397 united the three kingdoms of Denmark, Norway and Sweden under her rule. This Nordic union – the Kalmar Union, as it was called – stipulated that each of the three countries was to retain its own traditional laws, though they were to owe allegiance to a single monarch in perpetuity.

The Scandinavian Union did not last long and the Danes were rebuffed in their attempts to impose their own supremacy. But by the end of the fifteenth century the Scandinavian countries had checked the German expansion and their peoples were reunited in solidarity, which enabled them to maintain their distinctive character and culture.

France, England and the consequences of the Hundred Years' War. Already by the end of the thirteenth century two powerful nation kingdoms had established themselves, both of which were determined to impose the monarchic system of government on the traditional feudal society. From the early fifteenth century these two countries became locked in rivalry, a rivalry which escalated into military skirmishes or full-scale war lasting more than a century. The Hundred Years' War was actually a series of military campaigns alternating with truces, with the result that for all that time life in both countries was in a state of upheaval.

The Hundred Years' War can be divided into three main phases, which may be summarized as follows. The first opened with a series of victories for the English army under King Edward III, which caused the people of Paris to rise up against the Dauphin, the future King Charles V 'the Wise'. By the time Charles VI 'the Beloved' came to the throne in 1380, France was on the brink of the abyss, as fierce infighting had broken out between Duke Louis I of Orléans and his cousin, Duke John the Fearless of Burgundy, turning the whole kingdom into a war zone.

The second phase began in 1415, when Henry V of England landed with his army in Normandy with the intention of restoring order in the corrupt kingdom of northern France. He routed the French knights at Agincourt and again in Artois that same year and thus made himself virtually master of France. On the death of Henry V (1422) and the accession of Henry VI, John, Duke of Bedford, became 'governor' of France with the title of Regent. The French kingdom was now divided into three parts: the one under Bedford's rule, the territory ruled by Charles VII (Poitou, Armagnac and Languedoc) and the Duchy of Burgundy under Philip III 'the Good', which also occupied Flanders.

The heroine of the third phase, in which the French bestirred themselves to win back the lost territories in the north and re-establish internal unity, was Joan

of Arc. The 'Maid of Lorraine' succeeded in raising the siege of Orléans (1429) and leading the French to a series of victories over the English. She it was who insisted on the coronation of Charles VII at Reims (1429), which had the effect of reinforcing the king's legitimacy and annulling the Treaty of Troyes.

The Hundred Years' War ended with no real winner, as neither of the belligerents succeeded in imposing its hegemony. It actually led to the resurgence of the royalists in France and set the French monarchy on a firm footing; but it greatly weakened both England and France and so

passed the reins of European power to the fledgling kingdom of Spain.



15. Engraving of Philip the Hardy from A. Thevet, *Les vrais pourtraits et vies des hommes illustres*, vol. 2, Paris, 1584.

The dawning of a sense of national identity. In the early fifteenth century all the indications pointed to a redrawing of the political map of Europe and a change of attitude towards the Holy Roman Empire. The Empire's territories were divided between 350 principalities, the emperor had lost every shred of his power in Italy and supreme authority in the Christian world had been transferred to the rulers of the various kingdoms or states, each of whom embodied in his person the idea of 'emperor in his realm' (*res publica*). The concept of the state under the rule of a monarch who

imposed law and order on all his subjects forged national or local feeling and thus imbued the citizens of each city with a sense of shared social identity and cultural distinctiveness: language, traditions, literature and the arts. This was the background to the birth of the humanist philosophy, which was based on a revaluation and revival of the rich Graeco-Roman literary and intellectual tradition. In this way a new dimension was given to human values, judged according to the individual's contribution to public affairs. The humanistic idea would strengthen the bonds of national consciousness by focusing attention on each nation's ancient roots and identifying the fathers of the nation with heroes of antiquity: so we find the French inventing a son of Hector called Francion.

The library as the basis for Petrarch's literary studies. More than anyone before him, Petrarch was enchanted by the personalities of the Roman intellectual world, and in his own poetry he set out to emulate or even surpass them. His approach to ancient literature offers an insight into the character and content of humanistic libraries, as opposed to the libraries of the Middle Ages, and it shows clearly how literary scholars worked on restoring the textual integrity of ancient works and writing lengthy commentaries on them.

Francesco Petrarca was born at Arezzo in 1304 and moved with his family to Avignon in 1312, when his father, a Florentine lawyer, was sent into exile.¹ His father intended Francesco to follow in his footsteps, and accordingly in 1319 he entered Montpellier University to study Roman law. In 1326 he moved to Bologna,² and shortly afterwards to Avignon again. Petrarch had little interest in the law: his favourite kind of mental exercise was the study of Roman literature, especially poetry, from manuscripts which he kept in a safe place. When his father discovered the hiding-place, he threw the manuscripts on to the fire: the only ones Francesco managed to save from the flames were one of Virgil and one of a rhetorical work by Cicero, probably *De inventione*.³



16. Petrarch (Francesco Petrarca). Woodcut from N. Reusner, *Icones sive Imagines viuae, literis Cl. Virorum. Italiae, Graeciae...*, Basel, 1599.

Petrarch's period of residence at Avignon, where the Holy See was installed from 1309 to 1377 (the 'Babylonian Captivity', as Petrarch called it), came as a golden opportunity for him, as he found himself in an environment which openly acknowledged its interest in and high regard for the achievements of the ancient world.⁴ Not only laymen but priests, cardinals and sometimes even the Pope himself made no secret of their desire to raise the standard of education. In a typical instance, Vatican dignitaries commissioned Nicholas Trevet, an erudite Oxford professor, to write commentaries on the *Tragedies* of Seneca (ca. 1315 and Livy's *History* (ca. 1318).⁵ Avignon, more or less at the centre of Charlemagne's empire, was at the same time an ideal base for visits to the monastic libraries that

Petrarch
at Avignon

had already built up fine collections: St. Gallen, Murbach, Reichenau and Fulda, for example.⁶

Petrarch now embarked on an unprecedented research programme: if there were manuscripts that he could not buy or borrow, he made do with carefully-written copies. By delving into the manuscript remains of Roman literature, Petrarch managed to collect copies of all the Latin works in his time, his object being to study them and write his own marginal notes. The first book he was able to buy (in Avignon in 1325) was St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*,⁷ and he also owned a tiny copy (*pugilare opusculum*) of Augustine's *Confessions* given to him by a monk named Diogini,⁸ which he kept always with him for good luck. Augustine's influence on Petrarch is apparent from the more than a thousand references to him in Petrarch's works.⁹ Twelve years after buying *De Civitate Dei* he acquired a codex containing part of Augustine's extremely long commentary on the Psalms, a complete copy of which he was given by Boccaccio in about 1355.¹⁰ And it is no coincidence that the most personal of all his works, the *Secretum* (dealing with the seven deadly sins) is written in the form of a dialogue between 'Franciscus' and 'Augustinus'.¹¹ Petrarch never made any distinction between the classics and the Church Fathers: he collected and read their writings with the same eagerness and attempted to establish a connection between the moral teachings of the Academics, Stoics and Epicureans and those of the Christians.¹²

One of the books he obtained at Avignon was a twelfth-century manuscript containing historical works by Pomponius Mela and Julius Paris, copied at Ravenna in the sixth century by Rusticus Helpidius.¹³ But the bulk of his collection consisted of the works of Cicero, whom he regarded as his *alter ego*. He had nearly all Cicero's philosophical treatises, most of his rhetorical exercises, his letters to Atticus and Quintus and a very extensive selection of his speeches including *Pro Archia poeta*, which he found at Liège and copied out by hand, and *Pro Cluentio*, a copy of which had been edited by no less a person than Boccaccio from an eleventh-century codex belonging to Monte Cassino Abbey.¹⁴ Cicero's *Letters to Atticus* made an extraordinary impression on him and inspired him to write his own 'correspondence' with the ancients: a 'Letter to Cicero' and a 'Letter to Homer'. In doing so, he acknowledged that the letters of the great Roman orator had served him as models for his own efforts.¹⁵

By a stroke of good fortune, we do not have to rely solely on surviving items of information that have made it possible to reconstruct the contents of his library: we also have his own testimony as to his literary preferences, which confirms our view of the sort of person he was. On the flyleaf of a codex in the Bibliothèque Na-

tionale he has noted the names of the authors and works that expressed his own opinions, ranking them in what he considers their order of merit.¹⁶ He wrote this note at a fairly early age, and it may well be that some of the authors changed places in his list or that others who are not included aroused his interest later in his life. Cicero is ranked first, with particular reference to what Petrarch calls his 'moral' works. Next comes Seneca, leading off with his *Letters*, followed by his *Tragedies*, though in another list of his particular favourites the *Tragedies* are not mentioned at all. After Seneca come the historians: first Valerius Maximus, followed by Livy and then – in a separate category headed *Exempla* – Macrobius and Gellius. Next are the poetical works of Virgil, Lucan, Statius, Horace, Ovid and Juvenal. Last on the list are a number of books on grammar and writings on dialectics and astrology. His liking for Augustine's works is apparent from the fact that he has them enumerated in a separate list, together with *De consolatione philosophiae* by Boethius. Although he had a copy of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* (in Latin translation, of course) in his library,¹⁷ he does not mention it in the list on the flyleaf of this manuscript.

A typical instance of Petrarch's approach to the scattered and fragmentary wealth of Latin literature is the work he did on Livy and the so-called Harley Codex.¹⁸ This manuscript originally contained Books 1-10 and 21-40 of the *History* and the leaves were sewn together by Petrarch himself when was only twenty. Some passages are actually



17. Petrarch in his studio. Miniature painting by Francesco di Antonio del Chierico, 15th c., Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana (Ms 905, fo. 51v).

written in his own hand. The core of the codex is a manuscript of Books 21-30 which was copied from the Codex Puteanus round about 1200. To this Petrarch added the first decade (Books 1-10) in about 1325 and the fourth decade (Books 31-40) a few years later. Thus by 1329 he was able to boast that he possessed the fullest and most reliable text of Livy's *History* in existence.¹⁹ We now know that in 1328 Landolfo Colonna, Petrarch's patron, who had been a canon of Chartres Cathedral for many years, brought an ancient copy of Livy from his own library to Avignon: this was the so-called Codex vetus Carnotensis, and from it Petrarch copied out the fourth decade of the *History* (Books 31-40), which were derived from a majuscule manuscript of the fifth century which Emperor Otto III had acquired in Piacenza.²⁰

Petrarch was 'Latinocentric' and Greek language and literature were no more than a dream in his mind. In the 'guidebook' he used on his travels, a copy of Suetonius, the scribe had left blanks wherever there was a quotation in Greek, and these Petrarch filled in himself in somewhat ill-formed Greek letters.²¹ Often when he was reading books in Latin he found references to Greek literature: Cicero and Augustine both spoke highly of Plato, while Virgil and Macrobius had words of praise for Homer. He even went so far as to include the 'shadow' of Homer into his epic poem *Africa*, inspired by Ennius's story of his dream in which Homer told him Fate had selected him to be *alter Homerus*.²²

Apparently Petrarch had little respect for the arrogant Averroists and Aristotelians of the Scholastic tradition, whom he berates for knowing nothing of Plato. He prided himself on having 'sixteen or more books by Plato at home' (*Sedecim vel eo amplius Platonis libros domi habeo*)²³ and there survives to this day a manuscript of Plato's *Timaeus* in Latin translation with notes written in Petrarch's hand,²⁴ and he certainly owned a copy of *Phaedo* at some time, in the Latin translation by Henricus Aristippus.²⁵ No doubt he read some of Plato's dialogues in the library of Barlaam of Calabria, who started teaching him Greek and introduced him to Homer.²⁶ Plato made a very deep impression on him, as he tells us in his *Rerum memorandarum*, in which he expresses his profound respect for that 'prince of philosophers'.²⁷ Petrarch's own ignorance of Greek is the subject of a well-known story: when in 1354 Nikolaos Sigeros, an official envoy from the Byzantine Emperor to the papal court at Avignon, gave him a copy of the *Iliad*, Petrarch kissed the manuscript in delight but admitted modestly, 'Homerus tuus apud me mutus ... quam cupide te audirem!'²⁸

Thereafter Petrarch never gave up his attempts to learn enough Greek to be able to follow Homer's epics, though he could of course read Homer in the word-

for-word Latin prose versions by Leonzio Pilato of Calabria, whose mother tongue was Greek. Pilato had started translating the first five books of the *Iliad*, and Petrarch and Boccaccio then persuaded to go on and translate the whole of both epics.²⁹ On a calligraphic copy of Pilato's version Petrarch wrote scholia on the whole of the *Iliad* and part of the *Odyssey* (as far as II.242) in a trembling hand. We know from notes kept by Pier Candido Decembrio that when Petrarch died, on 23rd July 1374, he was at work on his annotations of Homer.³⁰

Petrarch's perseverance in refusing to leave this world without having learnt Greek – even though he had started late and did not have a capable teacher – did not come out of the blue. The works of Cicero that he had by his bedside had shown him that the Romans regarded the Greeks not only as literary models but as the 'most humane race' (*genus humanissimum*), a race that had bequeathed examples of learning that were valid for all peoples and for all time.³¹

When thinking about his precious library – a library unmatched by any other in his time, which he used to refer to as 'my daughter' – he was naturally concerned about what was to become of it. His books were divided between his two homes, one at Arquá, near Padua, and the other in the Vaucluse, near Avignon.³² About twelve years before his death, in 1362, bearing in mind the ancient libraries of Alexandria and the monumental libraries of Rome, he made a decision that was quite extraordinary by the standards of that period: to bequeath his whole collection to the Venetian Republic, to form the nucleus of a public library there.³³ But destiny had already decreed otherwise: in his will of 1370 he made no mention of his gift, and as most of his manuscripts had been moved to Arquá, when he died in 1374 – not having a precise picture of his library in its entirety – his books suffered the fate of any library whose future has not already been secured. Many of the two hundred or so books in his collection were dispersed, but the bulk of it found its way to Paris by way of Pavia. Manuscripts that had belonged to him passed into the hands of various libraries in Europe and have been identified by the detective work of modern textual scholars.³⁴

What became
of Petrarch's
library

Greek teachers and owners of humanistic libraries in Petrarch's circle. Barlaam and Boccaccio, one of them from the south (Calabria) and the other from the north (Paris), showed the approximate direction to be taken by someone with the knowledge, ability and talent to follow the road of humanism, such as Petrarch. Both of those precursors of humanism met Petrarch and saw a lot of him, and each in his own way broadened the great Italian poet's intellectual horizons.

Barlaam was born at Seminara in Calabria in about 1290 and died at Avignon in 1348.³⁵ He was clothed as a monk at an early age and in 1330 moved to Constantinople. There he was elected Abbot of the Akataleptos Monastery, where he stayed until 1341.³⁶ He enjoyed the favour of Emperor Andronikos III and so was chosen to represent the Orthodox in the negotiations over the union of the two churches. However, he was an ill-mannered, intransigent man who bitterly attacked the Hesychast movement and Gregory Palamas in person, with the result that he was condemned by the Council of Constantinople in 1341 and all his anti-Hesychast writings were burnt.³⁷ He then went back to the West and was received into the Catholic Church, and the Pope appointed him Bishop of Gerace in Calabria.³⁸



18. Coloured sketch of Boccaccio at the lectern. Miniature from the codex of Boccaccio's *Egloghe*, Florence, 1379. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (Ms Plut. 34.49).

Petrarch met Barlaam at Avignon, probably in 1342. Not only did he seize the opportunity to peruse manuscripts of Plato and Homer in Barlaam's library, a very fine one for its time, but he had regular lessons with the Basilian monk and learnt the rudiments of Greek.³⁹

Barlaam's literary remains paint a picture of an ever-inquiring mind with a wide range of interests at every level of learning. Besides his theological and doctrinal writings, most of which are lost, he wrote philosophical treatises clearly demonstrating his knowledge of Plato and Plato's world, such as *Ethica secundum Stoicos* and *Λύσεις εἰς τὰς ἐπενεχθείσας αὐτῷ ἀπορίας τοῦ σοφωτάτου Γεωργίου τοῦ Λαπίθου*.⁴⁰ He also wrote treatises on astronomy and mathematics (including one on the second book of Euclid), commentaries on Ptolemy's *Almagest* and books on music (including explanatory notes on the commentary by Nikephoros Gregoras on Ptolemy's

Harmonica.⁴¹ Barlaam possessed a fine library composed entirely of humanistic writings: besides the numerous scholarly books, it also contained works which enabled him to tackle every branch of learning he was interested in. He was a major influence on Paolo da Perugia⁴² as well as Petrarch.

Boccaccio and his library. Giovanni Boccaccio, the fruit of an extramarital liaison bet an Italian merchant and a Frenchwoman, was born in 1313, probably in Florence, and died in 1375.⁴³ He grew up in Naples and studied Canon Law. As a student he was a failure, but he acquired a reputation as a story-teller, his stories being characterized by the light they cast on everyday life and their strongly moralistic character. These tales he later gathered together into a book which he called the *Decameron*.⁴⁴ He was then won over by poetry and, although the ancient spirit of Virgil was reawakened in him (when he visited his tomb in Naples), his realistic nature eventually turned him to the composition of poems on mythological, historical and geographical subjects, based on ancient literature. His *Genealogie deorum* was greeted with universal acclaim and provided an inexhaustible source of inspection to Renaissance poets and artists until the middle of the sixteenth century.⁴⁵

Although Boccaccio was a systematic hunter of manuscripts of ancient Latin literature, he never moved on from there to critical commentaries on the texts he read, even though he was fortunate enough to lay his hands on priceless items of ancient literature and enrich his library with works by such authors as Martial, Ausonius, Ovid (*Ibis*), parts of the *Appendix Virgiliana*, and the *Priapeia*.⁴⁶ An anecdote circulated by his pupil Benvenuto Ramboldi da Imola, to the effect that when Boccaccio visited Monte Cassino he burst into tears when he saw how the library's precious manuscripts had been neglected, is not confirmed by any other reliable source. It appears to stem from a mere conjecture that Boccaccio was hoping to purloin an eleventh-century manuscript and the archetype of Varro's *De lingua latina* from the abbey library.⁴⁷

It is an incontrovertible fact that Boccaccio was entranced by Greek literature and owed his knowledge of it to Leonzio Pilato, whom he invited to Florence in 1360 to teach him Greek.⁴⁸ He had Pilato to stay in his house for three years, during which time the two of them worked together to produce the first Latin translation of Homer, in prose.⁴⁹ Boccaccio's notes on Dante's line 'Omero poeta sovrano' shed valuable light on his passion for gathering information about the Bard's origins and life's work and his own studies on the subject.

Boccaccio at
Monte Cassino

Leonzio Pilato. Another itinerant scholar, from Greek-speaking southern Italy, who played his part on the humanistic scene in Italy and belonged to Petrarch's circle was Leonzio Pilato (Leontius Pilatus).⁵⁰ He was born – it is not known exactly when – at Piana in Calabria (not in Thessaly, as Boccaccio thought) and was drowned while returning from a manuscript-hunting expedition to Constantinople. Pilato met Petrarch in 1358 or 1359, and we know from the latter's correspondence with Boccaccio that they and their fellow-scholars were constantly on the lookout for someone to make an annotated Latin translation of Homer, Euripides and certain of Aristotle's works.⁵¹ Pilato accepted the challenge and began translating the *Iliad* around the middle of 1360. His autograph copy passed into the possession of Petrarch, who then spent his time writing notes on it and editing it.⁵²

It is possible to reconstruct the contents of Pilato's library both from indirect allusions and testimonies and from his own notes on Homer. Among other things, he had the *scholia minora* (or scholia of Didymus) and other manuscripts of similar writings by scholiasts of Homer, the commentary by Tzetzes on Lycophron's tragedy *Alexandra*, a lexicon by Hesychius or Cyril (?), an *Etymologicum Magnum* and a codex containing works of the Epic Cycle, similar to the one attributed to Proclus. He must also have possessed one of manuscripts of the *Life of Homer* by Diodorus Siculus, the Homeric *Allegories* of Tzetzes and a Homeric compilation attributed to pseudo-Eudocia (*Homerocentones*). The Latin section of his library contained: Virgil's *Aeneid*, a lexicographical collection of Virgil's writings attributed to Valerius Probus, Cicero's *De divinatione* and Pliny's *Historia Naturalis*. He may also have made use of Servius's commentary on the *Aeneid* and probably Cicero's *De natura deorum*.⁵³

The circle of early Renaissance humanists, with their libraries and their work on the annotation, translation and recension of great works of Graeco-Roman literature starting with Homer and Virgil, resembles either an echo of the ancient tradition or the prelude to a new era, that of the Renaissance.⁵⁴

The teaching of Greek language and literature is introduced into the West: Manuel Chrysoloras. Greek was virtually unknown in the West until the late fourteenth century,⁵⁵ and it happened only occasionally that a few people learnt to speak and read it: usually they came from Calabria or elsewhere in southern Italy, like Barlaam of Calabria,⁵⁶ or else they were pupils of inspirational, erudite teachers in great universities, like Richard de Bury at Oxford around 1300.⁵⁷ The man who had enough political power and a sufficiently inquiring mind to introduce Greek teaching into Italy and the West generally was Coluccio Salutati

(1331-1411), who was the official secretary of the Cancellaria of Florence.⁵⁸ Salutati, who had been educated at the main humanistic centres in Italy and had studied rhetoric with Pietro da Moglio, made his reputation by his sensitivity of mind and the eloquent style of his letters.

Salutati tells in moving words of his desire to drink from the spring of Greek learning like the intellectual protagonists of Latium: 'O, how happy I feel [...] to see those springs which we believe were the source of all the learning and education of Latium. And perhaps, too, following the example of our compatriot Cato, although I am in the evening of my life, I might manage to learn Greek, adding a Greek education to the lessons I have learnt from our own schooling.'⁵⁹

The person selected to inaugurate the teaching of Greek language and literature in Italy was Manuel Chrysoloras, who received an official letter from the Florentine Republic confirming his appointment to the Studium in Florence⁶⁰ in March 1396. He came to live on the banks of the Arno nearly a year later, in February 1397.⁶¹ Before formally taking up his duties in Florence, Salutati wrote more than once to Jacopo da Scarperia,⁶² who was then in Constantinople and in close

touch with Chrysoloras, asking him to obtain as many Greek manuscripts as he could and bring them back with him so that Chrysoloras could use them in his teaching programme at the Studium. The Florentine authorities were covering the costs of the Chair of Greek, and so his lectures were open to all. The Byzantine scholar spent barely three years teaching there; when he left for good in 1399 his



19. Coluccio Salutati. Miniature in a Florentine codex. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana (Ms Strozzi, 174, fo. 3v).

work was carried on by a pupil of his, Rossi, who founded a school for the promotion of Greek and Latin studies.⁶³

Chrysoloras's educational invitation met with an immediate response from the public and some of the greatest exponents of humanist learning not only formed a circle of followers round him but also became close friends with him. Among them were Jacopo da Scarperia, Roberto Rossi, Pier Paolo Vergerio, Ruberto Rufo, Palla Strozzi, Ambrogio Traversari, Giannozzo Manetti, Carlo Marsuppini, Guarino Veronese and the most famous of all, Leonardo Bruni.⁶⁴

Chrysoloras's role as the first teacher of Greek in an environment which, though cultured and scholarly, knew nothing of Greek language or literature, was unprecedented. He therefore drew up a course of study comprising two main thematic sections. It began with lessons in grammar and vocabulary, and for this purpose he compiled his famous *Erotemata* (*Ερωτήματα*),⁶⁵ a grammar book in question-and-answer form. Nearly all the scholars of Italy and the North used this as their textbook for studying Greek, in combination with other grammars by Greek scholars and often with parallel Latin translations of the Greek books they were reading, until the end of the sixteenth century.⁶⁶ Erasmus and Reuchlin⁶⁷ were among those who relied on the *Erotemata* when teaching Greek to their students.

The second stage of the course dealt with the method and technique of translating Greek works into Latin. Chrysoloras urged his pupils to draw up a list of all the Greek works that had been translated into Latin, so as to obtain a comprehensive knowledge of Greek literature.⁶⁸ The originality of his method lay in his avoidance of a strict word-for-word (*ad verbum*) translation, even though of course that was much easier for a class of beginners. He believed that although a Latin translation should remain faithful to the original Greek, it should also respect the structure of the Latin language absolutely. Translators should respect the writer's thoughts, be faithful to the form and word choices of the original as far as possible, and make only such alterations as were necessitated by the particular characteristics of each language. The translator should make it his aim first of all to ensure that his version is lucid and close to the original, and secondly to choose the right words to open the way into the spirit of the text so as to convey it in all its fullness to the reader, as far as possible. This method he called *ad sententiam transferre* (conveying the meaning and spirit of the original).⁶⁹

The *Erotemata* and Chrysoloras's new translation movement were the main pillars of all the humanist libraries being formed at this time. The new Latin translations superseded the old and his method was a channel giving rise to a wave of further translations. Latin versions were needed for dozens of Greek works hitherto un-

α.β.γ.δ.ε.ζ.η.θ.ι.λ.μ.ν.ξ.ο.π.
 ϖ.ρ.σ.ς.τ.τ.υ.φ.χ.ψ.ω.

Pater noster qui es in
 coelis sanctificetur no-
 men tuum. Adueni-
 at regnum tuum.
 Fiat uoluntas tua.
 Sicut in coelo & in ter-
 ra. Panem nostrū quo-
 tidianū da nobis hodie
 Et dimitte nobis debi-
 ta nostra: sicut et nos di-
 mittimus debitorib⁹ nr̄is
 Et ne nos inducas in
 tēptationem. Sed libe-
 ra nos a malo.
 AMEN.

Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὅ ἐμ τοῖς οὐ-
 ρανοῖς ἁγιάσθητω τὸ ὄνο-
 ματοῦ. ἐλθέτω. ἡ βασιλεία
 τοῦ. γενηθῇ τὸ θέλημα
 τοῦ. ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ
 τῆς γῆς. Ὑὸν ἄρτον ἡ-
 μῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον. δὸς
 ἡμῖν σήμερον. καὶ ἄφεσ ἡ-
 μῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν
 ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς
 ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν. καὶ μὴ
 εἰσεμεύκης ἡμᾶς εἰς πει-
 ρασμόν. ἀλλὰ ῥύσαι ἡμᾶς
 ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.
 Ἀμήν.

Aue Maria gratia ple-
 na dominus tecū bene-
 dicta tu in mulierib⁹ &
 benedictus fructus uē-
 tris tui. qđ saluatorem
 peperisti animorū no-
 strorum Amen.

Χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη μά-
 ρια ὁ κύριος μετὰ σοῦ. εὖ
 λογημένη σὺ ἐμ γυναιξὶ
 καὶ ἐν λογιμῶς ὁ καρπὸς
 ὁς τοῖς κοιλίᾳ σου ὅτισω
 τῆρα ἔτεκες τῶν ψυχῶν
 ἡμῶν.
 Ἀμήν.



known in the West, such as Plato's *Republic* and Ptolemy's *Cosmographia*, which were translated by two of Chrysoloras's pupils, Bruni and da Scarperia,⁷⁰ under his supervision. Chrysoloras's method was still alive and considered authoritative a hundred years later, as evidenced by the *Cosmographia* in da Scarperia's translation, which was published four times in Italy and twice at Ulm between 1475 and 1486,⁷¹ while printed editions of Bruni's translations of Plato included the *Letters* (Paris, at the Sorbonne University Press, circa 1474), the *Apology*, and *Gorgias* (Bologna, circa 1475).⁷²

Chrysoloras's teaching work was carried on at first by his pupils, including Rossi⁷³ in Florence and Guarino Guarini, also in Florence and later at Ferrara.⁷⁴ Thereafter, sometimes at a relatively rapid pace and sometimes with interruptions, nearly all the Italian cities started up Greek language courses. Theodoros Gazis taught at Ferrara, Rome and Naples, Konstantinos Laskaris at Milan and Messina, Ianos Laskaris at Florence and Rome, Demetrios Chalkokondyles at Padua, Florence and Milan (where Andronikos Kallistos also taught); and Emmanuel Adramyttenos's lectures at Florence made an indelible impression on Politian by the purity of his Attic dialect.⁷⁵ Schools and universities put their Greek language and literature courses on an equal footing with Latin. The Studium in Florence, where Chrysoloras started out as a teacher in Italy, developed into the most important and most famous school in Italy with a Chair of Greek from the time of Chalkokondyles until the end of fifteenth century.⁷⁶

The first bilingual (Greek and Latin) library of the Renaissance: Palla Strozzi. The term 'bilingual library' is a reference to the library tradition established in Rome by Asinius Pollio in about 39 B.C. with the opening of the first public library. That tradition was kept up until the period of the Late Roman Empire, in the fourth century A.D., in both the western and eastern provinces.⁷⁷ Palla Strozzi followed the same principles when forming his library at Padua, his sole aim being to support the establishment of Greek teaching in Italy.

Strozzi,⁷⁸ who with Salutati was instrumental in arranging for Chrysoloras⁷⁹ to come to Florence, did not aspire to be acknowledged as an intellectual: he was quite content with the widespread appreciation he enjoyed as a patron of literature and learning. Francesco Filelfo called him *pater patriae*, expressing the general feeling among the people of Florence and Padua, where he lived later in exile.⁸⁰

In 1434, before being exiled to Padua, he took decisive steps to support Chrysoloras's teaching, and according to da Bisticci he sent agents to Greece to buy the books Chrysoloras would need for his work. It is worth mentioning that one of the books they bought was Aristotle's *Politics*, unknown until then in the West.⁸¹



21. Manuel Chrysoloras. Engraving from I. Bullart, Académie des sciences et des arts, Amsterdam, 1682.

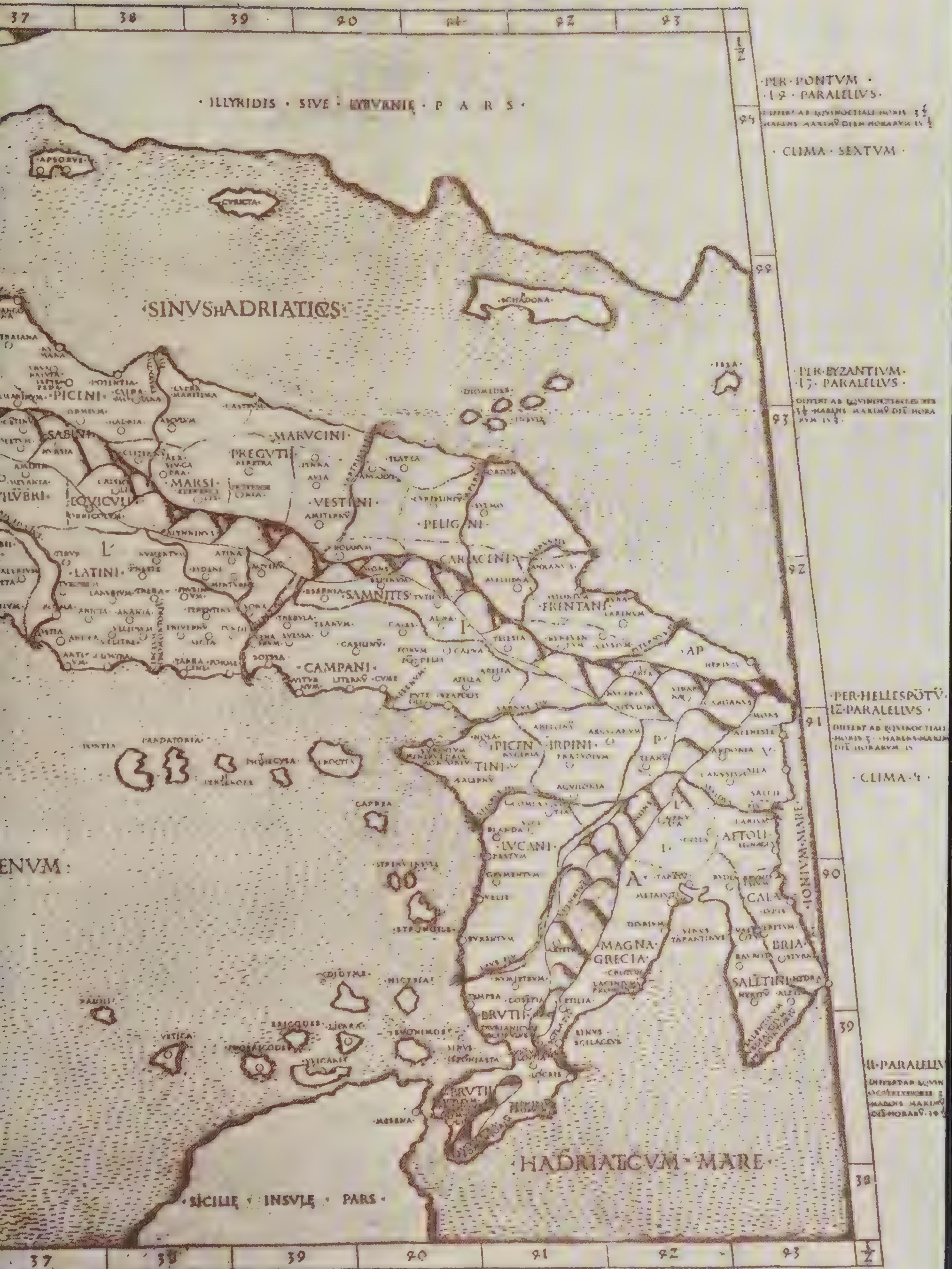
·VNI·GRADVS·LOKOITVTIN·
·VALET·MILIARIA·

MILIARIA · 92 ·

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LA.



After his move to Padua, Strozzi was kept busy with arrangements for the continuation of the Greek teaching instituted there by Pier Paolo Vergerio,⁸² who had studied under Chrysoloras in Florence. Not only did he exert himself on behalf of Vergerio's project, but he converted his own palazzo unofficially into a school of Greek studies, which ran successfully for about twenty years, until 1462.⁸³ The standard of tuition at the school improved very considerably, especially when it had on its staff eminent Greek teachers such as Andronikos Kallistos and Ioannes



23. *Claudius Ptolemaeus*. Woodcut from *N. Reusner, Icones sive Imagines viuae, literis Cl. Virorum, Italiae, Graeciae...*, Basel, 1599.

Argyropoulos.⁸⁴ In fact Strozzi himself learnt Greek from Argyropoulos, reaching a high enough standard to be able to translate some of John Chrysostom's homilies into Latin.⁸⁵

It need hardly be said that Strozzi did not limit himself to the manuscript-collecting mentioned by da Bisticci but continued enlarging the nucleus of his library by the acquisition of representative works of Greek and Latin literature and treatises, essays and other writings by his contemporaries. When he had collected some 400 manuscripts he set his heart on the idea of establishing a public library, which he planned to install in the Abbey of Santa Giustina in Padua.⁸⁶ He saw to the realization of his dream in his will, which gives details of all his bequests – including legacies to his sons and nephews – on

the basis of a catalogue of his library dating from August 1431.⁸⁷

The catalogue lists about 280 volumes, but that was not the number Strozzi had in his library by the time he died in 1462. Not listed, among others, are fifteen valuable Greek and Latin codices that were sent to 'Andrea the cleric'.⁸⁸ Included among the books in Strozzi's library were a number of considerable collections, some of which he had bought himself while others had been deposited with him by members of his circle and had come into his ownership with the passage of time. Among the items in those collections were the historic codex of the *Odyssey* from which Petrarch and Pilato had made their translation in Padua and manuscripts of *Gorgias*, Thucydides and Plutarch which Vergerio had acquired through

22. *Italy as it appears in Ptolemy's Cosmographia*, Rome, Arnold Buckinck, 1478.

the agency of Petro Miani and left with Strozzi for safe keeping when Vergerio decided to move to Buda, where he died.⁸⁹

Strozzi's library also contained the manuscripts of Emmanuel Chrysoloras, who entrusted his collection to his patron when he left Padua to go on various diplomatic missions for the Byzantine emperor. According to one source, Chrysoloras later left one-third of his collection to Cencio de' Rustici in his will.⁹⁰ More books had come into Strozzi's possession from Demetrios Skaranos, a scribe living in the Monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Florence, where Ambrogio Traversari also resided.⁹¹ Other book collections of less value that found their way into Strozzi's library had previously belonged to Francesco di San Biagio da Volterra, the tutor of Strozzi's sons Onofrio and Gian Francesco, and some other books mostly dealing with grammar.⁹²

One of the clauses of Strozzi's will deals specifically with the codex of Ptolemy's *Cosmographia*, with instructions that his sons and nephews were to keep it as a family heirloom, even if they should be compelled to sell all the rest of the collection.⁹³ His heirs kept the bulk of the collection intact, selling off only those books that they considered to be of no particular value in that historic library.⁹⁴

The main body of the collection, of exceptional value and unequalled in its day, consisted of 92 codices covering Latin literature (Cicero, Livy, Seneca, Virgil, Horace and others), translations and annotated editions of works in Greek (mostly Aristotle) and books by Thomas Aquinas, Albertus Magnus, Aegidius of Rome and Metropolitan Eustratius of Nicaea. There were also books by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Plutarch, Xenophon, Libanius, Sophocles, Theocritus, Plotinus, Pindar, Plato (dialogues) and others. A considerable number of the manuscripts contained medieval writings by such as Bede, Vegetius and St. Augustine of Hippo, editions of the Apostolic Epistles and other theological and liturgical books. Four codices contained works by Petrarch and Boccaccio and there were seven with works by Boethius, Dante and Boccaccio translated into the vernacular.

This was the most important humanistic collection of its period, the richest and most comprehensive collection of ancient Greek and Latin literature.



24. Manuel Chrysoloras teaching Greek grammar in Florence, 1406. Collection of the Louvre Museum.

NOTES

I

From the Middle Ages
to the Renaissance

NOTES

1. The most important study of Petrarch is still M.P. de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'Humanisme*, 2 vols., Paris 1907; see also E.H. Wilkins, *Life of Petrarch*, Cambridge Mass., 1961.
2. See G.G. Forni, 'F. Petrarca scolare a Bologna', *Atti e Memoire della Academia Petrarca di Lettere, Arti e Scienze*, n.s., 37, Anni 1958-1964 (1965), 83-96.
3. See de Nolhac, *Pétrarque...*, vol. I, 221.1.
4. On the library of the Holy See at Avignon see Staikos IV, 334-347.
5. On Trevet and his library see Staikos IV, 325. Trevet bequeathed some of his books to John Grandisson, Bishop of Exeter (1327-1369), see Jenny Stratford and Teresa Webber, 'Bishops and Kings: Private book collections in mediæval England', in *LBI* I, 194-195.
6. On these abbeys see Staikos IV, 335 ff.
7. See G. Billanovich, 'Nella biblioteca del Petrarca', *IMU* 3 (1960) 2.
8. See P. Courcelle, *Les Confessions de St. Augustin dans la tradition littéraire*. Antécédents et Postérité (1963), 329-351 ('Un Humaniste épris de confessions: Pétrarque').
9. See P.P. Gerosa, *Umanesimo Cristiano del Petrarca. Influenza Agostiniana*, Torino 1966.
10. *Enarrationes in Psalmos*: see Billanovich, 'Nella biblioteca...', 5 ff.
11. See F. Petrarca, *Prose*, ed. G. Martellotti et al., *La letteratura italiana*, 7 (19-55) 22-215.
12. On the classics see G. Luck, 'Scriptor classicus', *Comparative Literature* 10 (1958) 150 ff. The earliest use of the word *classicus* in the Renaissance occurs in 1512, in the correspondence of Beatus Rhenanus. On Rhenanus and his library see p. 373 ff.
13. See G. Billanovich, 'Dall'antica Ravenna alle biblioteche umanistiche', *Annuario dell'Università Cattolica de S. Cuore - Milano*, 1955-1957, 71-107.
14. See generally W. Rüegg, *Cicero und der Humanismus. Formale Untersuchungen über Petrarca und Erasmus*, Zürich 1946, 8 ff.
15. *Epist. ad fam.*, XXIV, 3. Petrarch often wrote letters addressed to the ancients, the longest of those being his letter to Homer (No. 12); see A. Pertusi, 'L'Epystola ad Homerum', in his *Leonzio Pilato fra Petrarca e Boccaccio*, Venice/Rome 1979, 73-111.
16. Par. lat. 2201. See B.L. Ullman, 'Petrarch's Favorite Books', *TAPA* 54 (1923) 21-38; and on the catalogue of Petrarch's books, see A. Petrucci, *La scrittura di Francesco Petrarca*, Vatican City 1967.
17. On Petrarch's familiarity with the *Ethics* and his explanatory notes on that work see de Nolhac, *Pétrarque...*, vol. II, 149 ff.
18. British Museum (Harley 2493, pl. XV). See G. Billanovich, 'Petrarch and the textual tradition of Livy', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 14 (1951) 137-208.
19. This codex of Livy was subsequently acquired by Lorenzo Valla, who added his own notes to those of Petrarch: see G. Billanovich et al., 'Per la fortuna di Tito Livio nel Rinascimento', *IMU* 1 (1958) 245 ff. and pl. XVI. Valla's critical notes on Petrarch's manuscript of Livy were known before the manuscript was discovered, as they were included in his famous book *Emendationes Livianae*, which was later published in print in more than one edition.
20. Another famous codex of Livy subsequently donated by Henry II to the Bamberg cathedral library had a less fortunate fate: all that now remains of it is a few strips of

- parchment, which had been used to reinforce the binding of another manuscript.
21. See R.W. Hunt, 'A Manuscript from the Library of Petrarch', *Times Literary Supplement*, 23 Sept. 1960, 619; Billanovich, 'Nella biblioteca...', 28-58.
 22. See Aldo S. Bernardo, *Petrarch, Scipio and the "Africa"*, Baltimore, Md. 1962; see also Staikos II, 36, on Ennius's dream. The epic hero of *Africa* is Scipio Africanus, and Petrarch introduces some motifs from Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* into his own dream version of Scipio the Elder.
 23. See 'De ignorantia', ed. Ricci, in *Petrarca, Prose*, 756; de Nolhac, *Pétrarque...*, vol. II, 134 ff.
 24. See R. Ulibansky, *The Continuity of the Platonic Tradition*, 1939, 30.
 25. See L. Minio-Paluello, 'Il Fedone Latino con note autografe del Petrarca', *Atti della Accademia dei Lincei*, 1949, ser. VIII, Rendiconti, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, IV, 107 ff.

Henricus Aristippus or Enrico Aristippo was probably an Italiot (a Greek from southern Italy), born and bred at Santa Severina in Calabria, according to Valentine Rose. He is mentioned by John of Salisbury, who refers to him as *Grecus interpres* (*Metalogicon*, III, 5). He probably studied in Constantinople, where he collected manuscripts for his own library and took them back to Sicily. From these manuscripts he translated Plato's *Phaedo* and *Meno* into Latin, as well as the so-called fourth book of Aristotle's *Meteorologica*. Aristippo himself informs us that he had also started translating other ancient authors as well, including Diogenes Laertius and Ptolemy's *Almagest*, and he supplies information about monastic libraries such as St Sostes Sicily and the library of Scholarius of Calabria: see Staikos III, 293; K.M. Setton, *Tò*

- Βυζαντινὸ Ὑπόβαθρο τῆς Ἰταλικῆς Ἀναγέννησης* (= *The Byzantine Background to the Italian Renaissance*, tr. M. Ikonomidou), Athens, Hecate, 2008, 51-53.
26. On Barlaam's library see p. 38-39.
 27. *Rer. Mem.* I, 25.
 28. See A. Pertusi, *Leonzio Pilato fra Petrarca e Boccaccio*, Venice/Rome 1979, 62 ff.
 29. See Pertusi, *Leonzio Pilato...*, 53 ff.
 30. See de Nolhac, *Pétrarque...*, vol. II, 167.
 31. See F. Klingner, 'Humanität und Humanitas', *Römische Geisteswelt*, 1965⁵, 704 ff., 718, and 741 ff. on Cicero.
 32. On his villas and their architecture see Liebenwein, *Studiolo*, 34-36, 49.
 33. See *Petrarch's Testament*, ed. and tr. Theodor E. Mommsen (1957), 42-50 of Introduction.
 34. See Élisabeth Pellegrin, *La bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza, ducs de Milan, au XV^e siècle*, Paris 1955; *Petrarca, Opere* [Edizione Nazionale, II (1946)], ed. Martellotti, XV (n. 6).
 35. See S. Impellizzeri, 'Barlaam Calabro', *DBI* I (1964), 392-397; Setton, *Tò Βυζαντινὸ Ὑπόβαθρο...*, 99-107.
 36. The Akataleptos Monastery ran a school of higher education from at least 1270, of which George of Cyprus was principal for a time. Maximos Planoudes also taught there for some years, and the school almost certainly had a good library. However, it is uncertain whether the 'imperial library' mentioned by Planoudes in his correspondence with Theodoros Mouzalon is the Akataleptos library or that of the Chora Monastery. See Staikos III, 426.
 37. See J. Meyendorff, 'Les débuts de la controverse hésychaste', *Byzantion* XXIII (1953), 83-120.
 38. See P. Leone, 'Barlaam in Occidente', in *Studi in onore di Maria Marti*, Lecce 1981, 427-446.

39. On two of the codices in Barlaam's library, one containing the *Iliad* and the other the *Tragedies* of Euripides, see R. Hemmerdinger, 'Sur deux manuscrits grecs', *REG* 69 (1956) 434-435.
40. See A. Fyrigos, 'Barlaam Calabro tra l'aristotelismo scolastico e il neoplatonismo bizantino', *Il Veltro* 27 (1983) 185-195.
41. See G. Sarton, *Introduction to the history of science*, vol. III, Baltimore 1947, 583-587.
42. See Setton, *Tò Βυζαντινὸ Ὑπόβαθρο...*, 108; F. Ghisalberti, 'Paolo da Perugia commentatore di Persio', *Rendiconti del R. Istituto Lombardo di scienze e lettere* 62 (1929) 573.
43. See G. Koerting, *Boccaccios Leben und Werke*, Leipzig 1880; E.H. Wilkins, 'An Introductory Boccaccio Bibliography', *Philological Quarterly* 6 (1927) 111-122; V. Branca, 'Profilo biografico', in *Tutte le opere* [Classici Mondatori, vol. I], Milan, 3-203; A.B. Brini and P. Lavagetto Ceschi, 'Boccaccio, Giovanni', *DBI* X (1968), 838-857.
44. *Decameron*, ed. A.F. Massera, 1927; and ed. C.S. Singleton, 1955.
45. *Genealogie deorum gentilium*, ed. V. Romano, Bari 1951, gives the text of Boccaccio's own copy (Cod. Laur. plut., LII 9).
46. See R. Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici latini e greci nei secoli XIV e XV*, new edn. by E. Garin, Florence (Sansoni) 1975, 33.
47. According to Cornelia C. Coulter, 'Boccaccio and the Cassinese Manuscripts of the Laurentian Library', *Classical Philology* 43 (1948) 217 ff., the likeliest scenario is that the person who actually abstracted manuscripts from the library of Monte Cassino Abbey was Niccolò Acciaiuoli.
48. See Pertusi, *Leonzio Pilato...*, 9 ff.
49. *Ibid.*, 16 ff.
50. *Ibid.*, 9 ff.
51. See de Nolhac, *Pétrarque...*, vol. II, 157; E.H. Wilkins, *Petrarch's Later Years*, Cambridge Mass. 1959, 183, 210.
52. See Pertusi, *Leonzio Pilato...*, 18.
53. *Ibid.*, 21, 370.
54. See generally G. Voigt, *Il risorgimento dell' antichità classica ovvero il primo secolo dell'umanesimo*, Italian translation with introduction and notes by D. Valbusa, 2 vols., Florence 1890; Setton, *Tò Βυζαντινὸ Ὑπόβαθρο...*, 99 ff.; A. Pertusi, 'Cultura Bizantina e primo umanesimo italiano', in *Leonzio Pilato...*, 475-520.
55. I do not know of any specialized study chronicling the teaching of Greek language and literature in the West, at first in Italy and then in the North.
56. On the kind of Greek that Barlaam taught, particularly in the lessons he gave Petrarch, see p. 38.
57. On de Bury see Staikos IV, 322.
58. On Salutati see B.L. Ullman, *The Humanism of Coluccio Salutati*, Padua 1963; and on his letters see R.G. Witt, *Coluccio Salutati and his Public Letters*, Geneva, Librairie Droz, 1976.
When not busy on his political duties, Salutati found time for literary activity of his own, translating and annotating works by Seneca and other Latin writers. He built up a fine collection of books by great Roman authors, including a copy of Cicero's *Ad familiares* which Pasquino Capelli, chancellor of Milan, unearthed in the cathedral library at Vercelli, where Salutati had asked him to institute a search. More than a hundred manuscripts from Salutati's collection have been located so far: see Ullman, *The Humanism...*, 146.
59. See *Epistolario di Salutati*, ed. F. Novati, vol. III, 107.
60. An invaluable monograph on Chrysoloras and his work is G. Cammelli, *Μανουὴλ Χρυσολωρᾶς* (= *Manuele Crisolora*, tr. D. Arvanitakis, Athens, Kotinos, 2006 (= Cammelli, *M. Χρυσολωρᾶς*); see also A. Haynes.

- «Μανουήλ Χρυσολωράς. Ένας μεγάλος Βυζαντινός λόγιος, πρωτοπόρος της διάδοσης των ελληνικών Γραμμάτων στη Δύση», *Ιστορία Εικονογραφημένη* 10, 109 (July 1977), 88-93; I. Thomson, 'Manuel Chrysoloras and the Early Italian Renaissance', *GRBS* 7 (1966) 63-82; *Charta* I, 111-130; Chryssa Maltezou, «Ένας Φωτισμένος Βυζαντινός Δάσκαλος στη Φλωρεντία: Μανουήλ Χρυσολωράς», in *Όρθοδοξία και Οίκουμένη. Χαριστήριο Τόμος προς τιμήν του Οίκουμενικού Πατριάρχου Βαρθολομαίου Α΄*, Athens 2000, 531-540.
61. See A. Gherardi, *Statuti della Università e Studio Fiorentino*, Florence 1881, 364; Cammelli, *M. Χρυσολωράς*, 34.
 62. Jacopo da Scarperia was born in about 1360 and died in 1411 in Rome. A pupil of Giovanni Malpaghini da Ravenna and a close friend of Salutati, he studied for a time at the Katholikon Mouseion in Constantinople. When Chrysoloras went to live in Rome, da Scarperia followed him there and was taken on to the staff of the Apostolic Chancellery as a secretary: this was in the time of the Greek Antipope Alexander V. He made a number of Latin translations, mainly of Plutarch (*Lives* of Brutus, Cicero and others): see *VBV* I, 464-465; I. Weiss, 'Jacopo Angeli da Scarperia, c. 1360-1410', *Medioevo e Rinascimento* 2 (1955) 203-807.
 63. Roberto di Francesco de' Rossi was born in Florence ca. 1355. He studied mainly with Chrysoloras and was on friendly terms with such prominent humanists as Francesco Barbaro and Guarino Veronese, the dedicatees of his translation of Plutarch's *Life of Flaminius*. He opened a school in Florence whose pupils included Buoninsegni, Tebaldi and Albizzi, as well as the princes Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici. He built up a fine private library containing a number of rare Greek manuscripts. See Sabbadini, *Le scoperte...*, 51-63; *VBV* II, 141.
 64. See Cammelli, *M. Χρυσολωράς*, 51, 54 ff.; *Charta* I, Table I and 126.
 65. On the *Erotemata*, the first Greek book printed in Italy, see A. Pertusi, 'Ερωτήματα: Per la storia e le fonti delle prime grammatiche greche a stampa', *IMU* 5 (1962) 321-350; Evro Layton, 'The First Printed Greek Book', *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora*, V/4 (1979) 63-79; M. Manoussacas and K. Staikos, *Η έκδοτική δραστηριότητα των Ελλήνων κατά την εποχή της Ιταλικής Αναγέννησης (1469-1523)*, Athens 1986, 5-15; *Charta* I, 116-120.
 66. The only other Greek grammars written and published by Greeks before 1500 were by Theodoros Gazis, Konstantinos Laskaris and Demetrios Chalkokondyles, the last of whom also amended and expanded a grammar textbook by Manuel Moschopoulos: see *Charta* I, 80, 138, 226.
 67. See C.F. Borner, *De doctis hominibus graecis litterarum graecarum in Italia instauratoribus*, Leipzig 1750, 21.
 68. See Cammelli, *M. Χρυσολωράς*, 83 ff.
 69. *Ibid.*, 103.
 70. Bruni's words give us an insight into the translation philosophy implanted in him by Chrysoloras: 'First of all, I preserve the thoughts in such a way as not to deviate from them in the slightest. Then, if I can translate the text word for word without being stilted or making any blunders, I do so with the greatest pleasure; but if that is not possible, I do not panic to the extent of thinking I am making a dreadful mistake if, while conveying the meaning, I alter the original wording to some extent in order to avoid blunders. For that is necessary in the case of Plato himself, who is present here: since Plato is most eloquent to Greeks,

- he certainly should not be unintelligible to Latins.' See *Bruni Aretini Epistolarum*, ed. L. Mehus, Bk. I, no. 8, p. 17. On Bruni's translations of Plato see B. Kieszkowski, *Studi sul Platonismo del Rinascimento in Italia*, Florence 1936.
71. See *Charta* I, 120, 122 (*Census* P 1081-1086).
72. See *Census* P 773; *Census* P 775.
73. See Cammelli, M. *Χρυσολωρᾶς*, 65.
74. See VBV I, 587; R. Sabbadini, *La Scuola e gli studi di Guarino Veronese*, Catania 1896.
75. See *Charta* I, 359-361.
76. See A.F. Verde, *Lo studio fiorentino 1473-1503. Ricerche e documenti*, 4 vols., Florence 1973/Pistoia 1977.
77. See Staikos II, 131 ff.
78. See VBV II, 139-165; A. Fabroni, *Vita Palantis Stroctii*, Florence 1802.
79. See p. 42.
80. See Fabroni, *Vita...*, 41-50; and esp. *Francisci Philelphi Epistolarum familiarum libri XXXVII*, Venice 1502, Bk. XVIII, fo. 126.
81. See VBV II, 140; Cammelli, M. *Χρυσολωρᾶς*, 61.
82. See *Epistolario di Pier Paolo Vergerio*, ed. L. Smith, epist. 96, 243; Cammelli, M. *Χρυσολωρᾶς*, 60.
83. See Cammelli, M. *Χρυσολωρᾶς*, 62 ff.
84. See VBV II, 159-160.
85. *Ibid.*, which is the codex numbered 250 in the catalogue compiled by Fanelli.
86. See VBV II, 146-147. On Strozzi's library see L.A. Ferrai, 'La biblioteca di S. Giustina di Padova', in G. Mazzatinti (ed.), *Inventario dei manoscritti d'Italia nelle biblioteche di Francia*, vol. II, Rome 1887, 569-573; V. Fanelli, 'I libri di messer Palla Strozzi (1372-1462)', *Convivium* 1 (1949) 57-70; G. Fiocco, 'La casa di Palla Strozzi', *Memorie dei Lincei, Classe scienze morali*, ser. VIII, 5.7 (1954) 361-382; P. Sambin, 'Libri in volgare posseduti da Bardo de' Bardi e custoditi da Palla Strozzi', *IMU* 1 (1958) 371-373; C. Astruc, 'B. Bacchini et les manuscrits de sainte Justine', *IMU* III (1960), 343; A. Diller, 'Greek codices of Palla Strozzi and Guarino Veronese', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXIV (1961) 312-321; G. Fiocco, 'La biblioteca di Palla Strozzi', *Studi di Bibliografia e di Storia in onore di Tammaro de Marinis*, vol. II, Verona 1964, 289-310.
87. See Fiocco, 'La biblioteca...', 289.
88. *Ibid.*, 289.
89. See *Epistolario di Pier Paolo...*, no. 95, 241-242; Cammelli, M. *Χρυσολωρᾶς*, 217.
90. It is not absolutely certain what became of Chrysoloras's library as a whole. According to Cardinal Mercati, Chrysoloras almost certainly bequeathed a number of codices to Strozzi in his will, while according to Traversari some of the books in his collection were bought by Strozzi in 1424. It is also known that Leonardo Giustinian informed Traversari early in 1424 that some codices belonging to Chrysoloras and Skaranos had come on to the market and that he himself would arrange for them to be bought by Strozzi, which he did: see G. Fischer, *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographiae codex Urbinus graecus* 82, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1932, I, 542-543.
- Filelfo, on the other hand, states that Chrysoloras entrusted his books to Cosimo de' Medici before leaving Florence to attend the Council of Constance, and that Cosimo passed them on to Niccolò Niccoli. It may be that some of Chrysoloras's manuscripts eventually came into Niccoli's possession in one way or another; but what is beyond doubt is that Chrysoloras did not regard his library as a collection of museum pieces, for he was in the habit of lending educational books to anyone who showed an interest, or perhaps even making outright gifts of them. Pier Candido

CHAPTER I

From the Middle Ages to the Renaissance

Decembrio gave Traversari some manuscripts from Chrysoloras's collection which he had inherited from his father, Uberto, who had studied under Chrysoloras: see M. Borsa, *Pier Candido Decembrio e l'Umanesimo in Lombardia*, Milan 1893, 47.

91. See L. Mehus, *Vita Ambrosii Traversarii* (with his letters), Florence 1759, vol. VIII, 3 January 1434; Fiocco, 'La biblioteca...', 291.

92. See Fiocco, 'La biblioteca...', 301-302.

93. *Ibid.*, 305.

This codex is historic in every respect and brought great fame to da Scarperia as

its translator. However, it appears that Chrysoloras had started translating the *Cosmographia* himself, according to the testimony of Leonardo Bruni in a letter to Niccoli: see H. Baron, *Leonardo Bruni Aretino Humanistische-Philosophische Schriften*, Leipzig 1828, 104-105. Da Scarperia then took over and carried on with the work, and in 1410 he finished the translation and donated it to the Antipope Alexander V. The original title of the work was *Geographia*: it was da Scarperia who altered it to *Cosmographia*.

94. See Fiocco, 'La biblioteca...', 306-310.

II

FROM THE EAST TO THE WEST



FROM THE EAST TO THE WEST

*Libraries of Byzantine scholars in the West
and of Italian humanists.*

Academies and the first great libraries of the Renaissance

Libraries of Byzantine scholars in the West: From Manuel Chrysoloras to Ianos Laskaris. The private libraries of mainly Byzantine scholars that were formed during the Italian Renaissance, that is from the late fourteenth to about the middle of the sixteenth century, were not simply collections of books serving as aids to teaching and scholarly study: to a large extent, they were the medium through which Greek literature was channelled to the West. Princes and humanists, at first only in Italy, started enriching their libraries with Greek manuscripts, either by buying and copying precious codices from the East or by purchasing whole book collections belonging to Byzantine scholars who were working there.

From the first years of the fifteenth century the exponents of Byzantine humanism started looking westwards. Many of them went to the West on scholarly or diplomatic missions and so, whether they liked it or not, they cut themselves off from their natural environment, Constantinople in most cases. And although their new audience did not stimulate their Byzantine temperament, they did make close friends of many Italian princes, as well as their own pupils, and won devoted followers. Casting aside their personal preoccupations and cherished dreams and often even neglecting their own ideology in the struggle to make ends meet, they had no option but to assist in laying the foundations of Italian humanism, working in a climate altogether in favour of union between the churches. The most prominent Greek scholars who taught at Italian centres of learning were Manuel Chrysoloras, George of Trebizond, Theodoros Gazis, Cardinal Bessarion, Athanasios Chalkiopoulos, Ioannes Argyropoulos, Michael Apostoles, Andronikos Kallistos, Demetrios Chalkokondyles, Emmanuel Adramyttenos, Konstantinos and Ianos Laskaris and Georgios Hermonymos Spartiates; and many others born and bred

*Byzantine
scholars look
to the West*

1. Ioannes Argyropoulos teaching at the Katholikon Mouseion of the Xenon in Constantinople, 15th c. (Ms Barocci 87, fo. 33v).

in Crete, like Markos Mousouros and Demetrios Doukas, came to Venice towards the end of the fifteenth century.¹ Of crucial importance in their teaching work were their private libraries and the grammar textbooks they wrote for the teaching of Greek as a foreign language.²

The flow of Byzantines to the West was matched by a reverse flow of Italians travelling to the East to enrol at the Katholikon Mouseion of the Xenon in Constantinople in order to learn Greek. They included Jacopo da Scarperia, Niccolò Niccoli, Ermolao Barbaro, Giovanni Tortelli, Bernardo Michelozzi, Francesco Filelfo, Antonio Massa and Guarino Veronese, among others.³ Many of them put together private libraries of a sort by taking notes at their lectures or buying manuscripts or even whole libraries, as in the case of Niccoli⁴ and Guarino. The latter stayed on in Constantinople for a long time, as we are informed by Pontico Virunio, and on his way back to Italy he lost a chest full of codices with the result, as he put it, that 'my hair turned white overnight from grief.'⁵ Besides those who went to study at the Katholikon Mouseion, others went to Constantinople for the sole purpose of looking for manuscripts to buy: one such was Giovanni Aurispa, who came back to Italy with 238 codices.⁶

We have no complete picture of the number, age or quality of the manuscripts that found their way to Greece in one way or another, but a reasonable estimate is that more than a thousand – some of them contemporary copies, others much older – were exported from Constantinople alone. One thing all these codices had in common was that they were written in the East: either they were copied at one of the monasteries in Constantinople or else they had been included in collections that were brought to the imperial capital (mostly from Nicaea) when the city was recaptured from the Latins in 1261. Many of them were unique copies, like the Hesychius *Lexicon*,⁷ while others were remarkable for their age, like the tenth-century Homer – the famous Codex Venetus A – owned by Cardinal Bessarion.⁸ Some were used as the originals from which Latin translations were made and then, from 1470 on, published in printed book form to enrich numerous private and public libraries in Italy.

The greatest of the libraries brought to Italy by Byzantine scholars were, in chronological order, those of Manuel Chrysoloras, Cardinal Bessarion, Theodoros Gazis, Ioannes Argyropoulos, Demetrios Chalkokondyles, Andronikos Kallistos, Konstantinos and Ianos Laskaris and Markos Mousouros. What eventually became of many of these collections can only be inferred from indirect evidence, as they were bequeathed and incorporated in bigger libraries, and the catalogues of manuscripts in various libraries do not fully identify them.

Manuel Chrysoloras. Manuel Chrysoloras, scholar and diplomat, went to live in Florence in 1396 at the invitation of Coluccio Salutati, the official secretary of the Florentine republic, to teach Greek at the Studium.⁹ It became clear from his first lectures that any serious attempt to establish Greek studies would founder on the lack of teaching aids, as no library in Italy had any relevant material, least of all any Greek manuscripts. So, on the initiative of Palla Strozzi, a mission was arranged in 1397 to buy Greek manuscripts from the East. The codices that were obtained, many of which belonged to Chrysoloras himself, included Ptolemy's *Cosmographia*, Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*, Plato's *Republic* and Aristotle's *Politics*.¹⁰

It is not possible to reconstruct the contents of Chrysoloras's library, but we do know that it came into Strozzi's possession, and catalogue of 1431 informs us that it then contained about four hundred codices.¹¹

Cardinal Bessarion. The finest Byzantine library in the Renaissance was the great collection belonging to Cardinal Bessarion, who donated it before his death (1468) to the Venetian Senate to be a beacon of the Greek cultural heritage. This library, comprising 746 manuscripts and incunabula (482 in Greek and 264 in Latin), was not just one of the most important of its time: it was outstanding even in comparison with the princely and monastic libraries of Italy. Bessarion's collection formed the nucleus of what is now the Biblioteca Marciana.¹²



2. Theodoros Gazis. Woodcut from Paulus Giovio, *Elogia Virorum literis illustrium*, Basel, 1577.

Theodoros Gazis. Gazis came to Italy from Thessalonika and won great renown for his mastery of Latin and his ability as a teacher. He taught Greek language and literature to prominent humanists at Pavia, Ferrara, Rome and Naples and, as a member of the Curia under Pope Nicholas V, played a leading part in the translation into Latin of major works of Greek literature as well as many works by the Church Fathers.¹³ He was heavily involved in the preparation of texts edited by his pupil Giovanni Andrea de Bussi for the Rome printing house of Conrad Sweynheim and Arnold

Pannartz.¹⁴ He was also much in demand as a calligrapher, and one of his codices, the *Batrachomyomachia*, was specially illuminated for Francesco Filelfo.¹⁵ It was most probably in the course of all this work that he built up a fine library, about which nothing is known except that he bequeathed it to Demetrios Chalkokondyles, his favourite pupil, and Andronikos Kallistos (to whom he left only two books). After his death, as we shall see,¹⁶ his collection, or part of it, passed into Italian hands.



3. *Ioannes Argyropoulos*. Woodcut from Paulus Giovio, *Elogia Virorum literis illustrium*, Basel, 1577.

Ioannes Argyropoulos. Argyropoulos, the last great teacher at the Katholikon Mouseion in Constantinople, was described by his contemporaries as 'the prince of encyclopaedic learning'.¹⁷ He was a great success as a teacher of Plato and Aristotle at the Florence Studium and elsewhere, and his lectures on Aristotle ushered in a new era, as they were based on authentic Greek manuscripts and the Byzantine tradition rather than medieval Latin translations. He worked as a scribe until 1471, when he left Florence for Rome. By the time of his departure from Florence he had not managed to col-

lect all the fees due to him and was therefore unable to pay off his creditors, so he left some of his books as security for his debts. In Rome he continued teaching, but through living beyond his means he was forced to sell his books to make ends meet, according to a letter from Konstantinos Laskaris to Giovanni Pardo.¹⁸

Demetrios Chalkokondyles. After studying probably under Plethon at Mystras, Chalkokondyles settled permanently in Rome in 1449. With Cardinal Bessarion's backing, he was appointed to the Chair of Greek at Padua University and remained there for nine years, until 1472.¹⁹ His teaching of Aristotle was largely responsible for the publication by Lorenzo Canozi of a series of editions of nearly all the Stagirite's works. He established a close working relationship with publishers, editors, writers and printers and strongly maintained that the Greek books coming from the presses were capable of filling the gap left by the shortage of good teachers.

Accordingly, he prepared and published a monumental two-volume edition of Homer (1488/89) in collaboration with Demetrios Damilas, an achievement hailed by all the humanist world.²⁰

In 1491 he moved to Milan, where he continued teaching and at the same time published a Greek grammar,²¹ the *Orations* of Isocrates²² and one of the greatest of all books produced in the Byzantine period, the dictionary called *Souda* (sometimes known as Suidas), which was printed in 1499 in an edition of 1,000 copies partly funded by himself.²³ Nothing is known about the size or quality of his library, but he must have possessed a considerable number of printed books, as it was standard practice for scholars, proof-readers, editors and publishers to exchange copies of their books with their fellows. We know that he inherited most of the books from Gazis's library, and on his death in 1511 part of his collection went to his favourite pupil in Padua, Gianno Parrasio, and part to Cardinal Seripandi.²⁴ What became of Parrasio's library is not known, but it is recorded that Seripandi's subsequently came into the possession of the Monastery of San Giovanni Carbonara in Naples.²⁵



4. Demetrios Chalkokondyles. Woodcut from Paulus Giovio, *Elogia Virorum literis illustrium*, Basel, 1577.

Andronikos Kallistos. Kallistos, born in Constantinople, had a solid educational background and did excellent work as a teacher in Italy. His reason for first going to that country was probably to attend the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1437-1439).²⁶ He taught philosophy at Bologna and Padua and then went to Rome, where he moved in Cardinal Bessarion's circle, before going to Florence to teach at the Studium. His lectures created a sensation and attracted some of the some of the most brilliant men of the day. Piqued at the way he was treated by the Medici, he departed for Milan and joined Buono Accorsi's team of scholars preparing Greek/Latin editions for publication (1476 – ca. 1481). Eventually he found the working conditions there unsatisfactory, however, and he was reduced to selling his books to Accorsi and Giacomo della Torre to raise enough money to take him to Paris and finally to London.²⁷

Konstantinos Laskaris. Laskaris was born in Constantinople, where he studied under Argyropoulos. After the fall of the city to the Ottomans (1453) he made his way to Milan and taught there for six years. In 1465 he started teaching in Naples, but he stayed there for only a year before settling permanently in Messina through the good offices of Cardinal Bessarion.²⁸ His name is associated not so much with his work as a teacher as with his *Grammar*, which many humanists used as their textbook for teaching Greek.²⁹ He went to see the remnants of monastic libraries that had been famous in their day, including that of San Salvatore at Bordonaro with the renowned book collection that had belonged to Scolario-Saba.³⁰ In 1501, shortly before he died, he donated his extensive library to the town of Messina: it remained there until 1679, when it was taken by the Count of Santo Stefano to Palermo, and from there eventually to Spain.³¹



5. Ianos Laskaris. Woodcut from Paulus Giovio, *Elogia Virorum literis illustrium*, Basel, 1577.

Ianos Laskaris. Laskaris was the most versatile Greek scholar of the diaspora: besides teaching Greek in Italy and Northern Europe, he advised the Medici on the organization of the Greek section of their extensive library and was extremely active in the editing of Greek books for publication in Florence. He scoured Italy and the East for Greek manuscripts to buy on behalf of the Medici (1491-1492) and consequently obtained a comprehensive picture of the works of Greek literature extant in private and monastic libraries in both the West and the East.³² His wealth and position sug-

gest that he probably had the best library of all the Byzantines after Bessarion.

A catalogue written in the hand of Matthaios Devaris, a pupil of his who collaborated with Nikolaos Sophianos in arranging Cardinal Niccolò Ridolfi's library in Rome, lists one hundred and twenty-eight books in Laskaris's possession under the title *Lista de' libri che furon del Sr. Lascheri*, while Devaris also compiled another list of eleven books in the Laskaris collection with the title *Libri d'osservationi e annotationi che faceva fare il Sor Lascheri per uso suo proprio*.³³ We know,

too, that he was not one of those selfish collectors who keep their books for their own eyes only: he used to lend them or even give them away to his friends, so that his collection was scattered here and there. He also lost a number of books when he was robbed on his way from Paris to Rome.

One way or another, it is quite possible that some books from his collection found their way into other humanistic libraries; and part of Ridolfi's collection ended up in the royal library in Paris in 1599 through the agency of Pietro Strozzi and Catharine de' Medici.

Markos Mousouros. The owner of the most important Greek library as far as literary scholarship and textual recension are concerned was Markos Mousouros, a Cretan scholar born at Candia *circa* 1470, who went to Florence in about 1486 and completed his studies under Ianos Laskaris.³⁴ He worked first as a professional scribe and in 1493 moved to Venice, where he joined the team of scholars preparing recensions of classical texts for Aldus Manutius's publishing business. He developed into the most accomplished editor of Greek texts and gained a reputation as the most accomplished literary scholar of his time. His knowledge of Latin was excellent, so much so that Erasmus described him as *linguae latinae usque ad miraculum doctus*.³⁵

His library was a repository of material essential for his work. Some of the manuscripts had been copied by himself, some were copied for him by Kaisar Strategos and some he had acquired from various sources, and he also had printed books containing annotations, scholia, corrections and other marginal notes. The codices in Mousouros's library included works by Alexander of Aphrodisias, Sextus Empiricus, Stobaeus, Galen, Diodorus Siculus, Arrian, Aelius Aristides, the Attic orators, Pindar and Euripides, among many others.³⁶

These manuscripts, together with others bearing dedicatory inscriptions – thir-



6. Markos Mousouros. Woodcut from Paulus Giovio, *Elogia Virorum literis illustrium*, Basel, 1577.

ty of them in all, of which twenty are now in the Biblioteca Marciana – came into the possession of the Dominican monastery of SS Giovanni e Paolo; and to these we should add other codices listed in the catalogues of various libraries elsewhere in Italy and in Northern Europe, including one with scholia on Sophocles and Herodian in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and another of the *History* of Thucydides in the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna. Many of them, such as the unique copy of Hesychius which actually belonged to Giangiacomo Bardellone, were used as the originals for the Aldine editions edited by Markos Mousouros.

These codices belonging to Byzantine scholars, as well as others that found their way into humanistic libraries in Italy along diverse paths, were of incalculable



7. Poggio. Woodcut from N. Reusner, *Icones sive Imagines viuae, literis Cl. Virorum, Italiae, Graeciae...*, Basel, 1599.

importance, not least because it was on them that the first printed editions of the Greek classics were based, and so the classical tradition underwent a thorough re-evaluation along lines very different from the way that had become standardized for medieval translations and interpretations.

Itinerant suppliers of manuscripts to libraries: Poggio. In the enrichment of libraries formed in the fifteenth century, an important part was played by manuscript-hunters. The first half of that century could fairly be described as the period of the rediscovery of ancient Greek and Roman literature by Western Europeans: Greek works hitherto unknown in the West, contained in codices brought from the

East, and works of Latin literature dug out from monastic and cathedral libraries. Without a doubt, the champion manuscript-hunter was Poggio.

Poggio,³⁷ the son of Guccio Bracciolini, was born at Terranuova in 1380 and educated in Florence with the intention of becoming a notary. But he joined the circle of Coluccio Salutati, who first communicated to him his own passion for Latin literature and then persuaded him to attend Chrysoloras's lectures and learn Greek.³⁸ He then accompanied Leonardo Bruni to Rome, entered the service of the Curia and was soon entrusted with the duties of an Apostolic secretary. In Rome he perfected his Greek by taking lessons with George of Trebizond, who helped him to translate Diodorus Siculus into Latin.³⁹ He stayed there for the next fifteen

years apart from a five-year spell (1418-1423) in England, where he went with Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, after the Council of Konstanz.⁴⁰

Poggio's travels in search of manuscripts come to life in his voluminous correspondence with various close friends, especially Niccolò Niccoli, the addressee of ninety-two of the 558 letters attributed to him.⁴¹ Poggio first embarked on his manuscript-hunting exploits during his time as an Apostolic secretary, when he was attending the Council of Konstanz. From there he made four well-planned excursions, first to St. Gallen Abbey and then to many other historic monasteries and cathedrals. In the course of his researches at Cluny Abbey he discovered a manuscript containing five speeches by Cicero including *Pro Milone* and *Pro Cluentio*: this was the first book he sent to Niccoli.⁴² Besides those, he found a number of other previously unknown speeches by the great Roman orator: *Pro Caecina* he discovered at Langres, and some others in the small cathedral library in Köln.⁴³ In one of his letters he rails against the Romans' 'barbarism' in simply abandoning to their fate so many libraries full of Latin and other books written on papyrus, with the result that they were lost forever, either through ignorance or neglect or, in one case, so that their pages could be used for paintings of the divine features of 'Veronica'.⁴⁴

Poggio's travels
in search
of manuscripts

When he found a manuscript which he could not buy or get hold of in any other way, he would copy it out himself in that distinctive, elegant handwriting of his, an exemplar of the humanist script known as *littera antiqua*.⁴⁵ His two trips to St. Gallen in 1416 brought him some precious finds: Asconius's commentary on Cicero, the first complete manuscript of Quintilian's works and part of the *Argonautica* by Valerius Flaccus;⁴⁶ and on his fourth manuscript-hunting expedition to libraries in France and Germany, in 1417, he obtained manuscripts of works by Lucretius, Silius Italicus, Manilius, Statius (*Silvae*) and other writers.⁴⁷ Poggio's example of going to look for manuscripts was followed a few years later by Gerardus Landriani, Bishop of Lodi, who in 1421 retrieved from oblivion three major speeches by Cicero: *De oratore*, *Orator* and *Brutus*.⁴⁸ A document of paramount importance to the literary tradition is his list of the books he found and recorded.⁴⁹

At the end of his five years in England Poggio returned to the Curia, having extended the range of his knowledge by reading the writings of the Church Fathers in English libraries, so broadening his intellectual horizons in matters of morals and philosophy.⁵⁰ However, his pugnacious temper involved him a number of literary quarrels and the furious broadsheets he wrote often led to violence. One of his disputes with eminent members of the Curia, his long-running war of words

with Lorenzo Valla, reached such a pitch that Poggio seriously thought of murdering him.⁵¹

In 1453, following the fall of Constantinople, he moved back to Florence, entered public service as Chief Secretary of the Commune and spent his free time researching and writing a *Historia Florentina* covering the last hundred years (1350-1450).⁵² Poggio's Latin prose writings were generally held in high regard and his *Liber facetiarum* was widely acclaimed.⁵³ His skilful handling of Latin is also apparent in many of his letters dealing with everyday affairs or describing happenings that stirred a profound emotional response in him, such as the trial and execution of Hieronymus of Prague.

Academies in Italy and their role in the diffusion of ancient literature.

The humanist messages of Petrarch and Boccaccio and their devotion to literature as the only branch of learning capable of restoring and interpreting what was left of the classical tradition found no following in the universities founded in Italy in the Middle Ages such as Bologna, Salerno and Padua,⁵⁴ and so that void had to be filled by new institutions and academies run mostly on the lines of Plato's Academy, or else of Aristotle's Lyceum. One of the oldest establishments of this kind was the Studium in Florence, founded in 1321. Two of the landmarks in its history were the year 1397, when the systematic teaching of Greek was inaugurated by Chrysoloras, and the 'reformation' of 1420.⁵⁵

Academies and literary coteries were all the rage in Italy, but most of them were short-lived, because they owed their existence to eminent and influential scholars and lacked the support of their rulers and public officials, without which they would not stand the test of time. The academic circle formed at Bessarion's villa in Rome broke up after his death in 1471,⁵⁶ and the so-called *Chorus Achademiae Florentinae*, formed by Argyropoulos's pupils in Florence (Donato Acciaiuoli, Alamanno Rinuccini, Marco Parenti) and others who attended his lectures, was disbanded in 1465 when their teacher was appointed to a more official post at the Florence Studium.⁵⁷ The dominant figure in Rome was Pomponio Leto, the antiquarian whose ambition it was to revive the Roman world and reintroduce ancient customs into everyday life.⁵⁸ Pomponio was not interested in the Greek tradition but only in Latin literature, and he gathered round him a devoted audience. But in 1467 the Academy ceased to exist on the orders of Pope Paul II; Pomponio himself was arrested and tortured, because the secret gatherings and rites of its members in the catacombs had aroused the suspicions of the Curia. Further south, at the court of King Alfonso of Aragon in Naples, a scholarly coterie fostered the

study of literature with eminent poets such as Antonio Beccadelli, the author of *Hermaphroditus*, and Giovanni Pontano. Naples was also the city where Valla, Gazis, Aurispa and others made their names.⁵⁹

A decisive factor behind this trend of establishing a 'common life' for an academy's members was the founding by Marsilio Ficino of the Platonic Academy in Florence, which, as another 'Athenian academy', attracted the most brilliant minds in Italy and Northern Europe and served as a model for other groups of the same kind.⁶⁰ Study and literary research carried out under the Academy's auspices led to the formation of fine collections of books with a Platonic or Neoplatonic slant, and its publications spread the philosophy of the 'godlike' Plato throughout Europe.

The cachet attached to those circles which systematically fostered literary studies continued to stimulate humanists in Italy for many decades after the foundation of Ficino's Academy.

Aldus Manutius went one step further and drew up a Constitution for his 'New Academy', composed of the scholars engaged on editorial work for the Aldine printing and publishing house, especially after the publication of the *editio princeps* of Sophocles's *Tragedies* in 1502. The members were referred to by titles indicating their specialization: Aldus, for example, was 'Leader' and Scipio Fortiguerra was listed as 'of the tribe of Readers'.⁶¹

The Platonic Academy of Florence. The origins of the Platonic Academy can be traced back to the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1437-1439), convened to negotiate the reunion of the Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches. In his speeches at this gathering Georgios Gemistos, known as Plethon, imprinted the tenets of Neoplatonic philosophy lastingly on the minds of his hearers, while the deep impression he made on Cosimo de' Medici opened the way for Neoplatonism to establish its place as a subject of study.

Marsilio Ficino as a Platonist was, to all intents and purposes, a continuator of the Byzantine Platonic tradition: he admired Plethon, corresponded regularly with



8. Marsilio Ficino. Engraving from Plotinus, Opera, Basel, 1580.

The part played
by Marsilio
Ficino

Bessarion and almost certainly attended lectures on Plato's philosophy while Argyropoulos was teaching at the Studium (from 1456). He also maintained contact with Demetrios Chalkokondyles. He started learning Greek at the age of twenty-three, though the name of his teacher is unknown; he studied Latin with Cristoforo Landino; and he was initiated into philosophy and rhetoric by Francesco da Castiglione and Niccolò Tignosi respectively.⁶²

Since della Torre's voluminous history of the Platonic Academy was published in 1902, almost everything has been written about the Academy itself, Ficino's work and his scholarly circle. Ficino's determination to revive the cult of Plato is apparent in every one of his projects: he even organized a symposium to celebrate the Athenian philosopher's birthday. Here I shall not be giving an account of everything the Academy did: what I wish to emphasize is the fact of the propagation of Platonic philosophy through the printed word and the impact of its publishing activities on the formation of libraries containing the writings of Plato and the Neoplatonic school. The Medici family's support of the Platonic Academy can be judged from the large number of elaborately illuminated manuscripts of all Ficino's translations of Plato and the Neoplatonists, most notably Plotinus.⁶³

Ficino completed his Latin translation of Plato's complete works (*Opera*) in 1477 and it was printed in Florence in 1484-1485.⁶⁴ Although it was printed in an edition of 1,500 copies, it was reissued in Venice only about five years later, in 1491. Ficino's project was an enormous undertaking at that time, as until the end of the fifteenth century the only works of Plato's that had been translated were the *Letters*, *Gorgias* and the *Apology*, as well as some pseudo-Platonic works such as *Axiochus*.⁶⁵ Ficino was also responsible for editions – all with his own annotations – of the works of Plotinus,⁶⁶ *De potestate et sapientia dei* by Hermes Trismegistus (seven editions in Italy and one in Paris) and *De mysteriis* by Iamblichus, which was published in a composite edition with other philosophical works by writers such as Pythagoras (*Golden Verses*), Proclus, Porphyry, Speusippus and Alcinous.

An indication of the popularity of Ficino's edition is given by the fact that, although the *editio princeps* of Plato edited by Mousouros was published by the Aldine press in 1513, Ficino's translation reappeared eighteen more times. This compares with just four editions of the Greek text, of which the most reliable was that of Henri Estienne.⁶⁷ It is also remarkable that no one (apart from Grynaeus) ventured to compare Ficino's translation with the Greek editions and bring out a complete new version. On the contrary, after 1600 his version enjoyed a fresh surge of new editions. It is true that some attempts were made to revise Ficino's translation in whole or in part, for instance by Simon Grynaeus, who taught Greek at Basel, and by Antoine

Vincente in 1557;⁶⁸ but it remained basically unchanged because it was acknowledged to conform to the principles of translation laid down by Chrysoloras,⁶⁹ that is to convey the meaning of the original. That this was so is confirmed by the fact that copies of it were owned through the ages by such eminent thinkers as Torquato Tasso, Milton, Spinoza, Racine, Rousseau, Kant and Leibniz, to name only a few.

Pico della Mirandola and his library.

The most brilliant intellect in the circle of the Platonic Academy in Ficino's time was Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494), the author of the philosophical treatise *Oratio de hominis dignitate*, which asserts the freedom of every individual to claim and choose his own destiny for himself through his work and was adopted as a humanistic credo.⁷⁰

Pico, born at Mirandola, started reading law at Bologna but then moved to Ferrara, where he followed a course in philosophy from 1479. From 1480 to 1482 he was at Padua, studying under the Averroist Elia del Medigo. In 1484 he visited the Platonic Academy in Florence and set to work to learn Greek, studying with Chalkokondyles. He went to Paris in 1485 but returned to Florence the next year and studied the mystical writings of the Cabbala, finding the propositions of Flavius Mithridates more interesting than those he had been taught by Elia.⁷¹

Immersed in this atmosphere, Pico conceived the idea of writing a 'manifesto' of nine hundred theses, the *Conclusiones*, which he was quite prepared to defend publicly in Rome. The *Oratio* was written as an introduction to this 'manifesto', and the issues it deals with are taken from various theological writings and their interpretations with respect to matters of doctrine and ritual. The theologians of the Curia refused to enter into the debate with Pico; most of them, in fact, considered thirteen of the theses heretical. He responded with his *Apologia* and in 1487 Pope Innocent VIII then interdicted all nine hundred of them. Pico was arrested and compelled to live under supervision in Florence, where he continued his researches on the Cabbala and astrology.



9. Pico della Mirandola. Woodcut from N. Reusner, *Icones sive Imagines viuae, literis Cl. Virorum. Italiae, Graeciae...* Basel, 1599.

Pico's
manifesto

Pico's library. In March 1498, when Venice was in dispute with Florence, an envoy sent by Cardinal Grimani went to Florence and bought Pico della Mirandola's entire library at auction, and so his 1,190 books were added to the storehouse of books in the Most Serene Republic. A collection of a thousand volumes or thereabouts was an extremely substantial library in those days, and not only by the standards of private libraries.⁷²

Most of the contents of Pico's library consisted of classical and humanist writings, but the section containing Greek books was disproportionately small. He was familiar with the histories of Thucydides, Polybius and Herodotus, and with Homer too, but only in Latin translation. The plays of the three great tragedians were absent from his collection, and only a few works by the Attic orators stood on the shelves. A substantial part of his collection was accounted for by philosophical treatises, mainly commentaries on Aristotle (in Latin, of course) and a considerable number of works of Jewish literature are listed in the inventory.⁷³

Novello Malatesta's library at Cesena. The library that Novello Malatesta built, organized and equipped at Cesena in the middle of the fifteenth century was fully in keeping with the Graeco-Roman tradition: it was the first library since the fourth century A.D. to be designed and built according to the principle of having two separate sections, one Greek and one Latin, housed together.

The library's founder belonged to a family that had been ruling the area round Rimini for about 250 years.⁷⁴ On the death of his father, Pandolfo Malatesta, in 1429, the realm was divided between two brothers: Sigismondo, the elder of the two, inherited Rimini, while Novello ruled at Cesena.

Novello Malatesta. A cultured and sensitive person with a particular penchant for literature, while still a young man Malatesta gave his backing to the construction of a model library, and this at a time when even the great centres of humanism like Venice, Padua, Rome and Florence had nothing comparable. The nucleus of the Cesena library had been formed in the thirteenth century by Franciscans who settled there after St. Francis's death in 1226.⁷⁵ They built a church and a friary and started a school, which by the last decades of the thirteenth century had developed into a small university. As time went by the school acquired a stock of books, nothing with any pretensions to being a library as such but simply a collection to be used for teaching.

10. *A view of the library, showing the wooden reading-desks and the painted coats of arms of prominent Cesena families.*



Then, in 1429, a teacher of law named Fredolo Fantini, considering that the collection offered a good image of the cultural level of the people of Cesena, bequeathed all his own books to it.⁷⁶ Thereafter the friars' library would appear to have grown, and so in 1440 they began thinking seriously about constructing a special building to house it. On 12th May 1445 Pope Eugenius IV issued a bull granting them permission to construct a building specially for this purpose and to raise funds for it by public appeals and good works. Malatesta, who had been actively involved in the project, in 1447 commissioned the architect Matteo Nuti, a friend



11. Francesco Filelfo. Woodcut from N. Reusner, *Icones sive Imagines viuae, literis Cl. Viro- rum, Italiae, Graeciae...*, Basel, 1599.

of the noble Malatesta family, to draw up plans and start work on the new library.⁷⁷ The building was completed in 1452, but it took two more years for it to be furnished and fitted out, as we shall see.⁷⁸

Novello's decision to back the plan of building a local library was not made solely as a matter of government policy, nor out of a desire to impress, but also because he was swept off his feet by his love of books and his personal interest in the issues dear to humanists. In 1450, when the library was still under construction and he had already amassed a fine collection of manuscripts valued at five hundred florins, he bequeathed them all to the new library and had his gift ratified by a bull issued by Pope Nicholas V.⁷⁹

In building up his collection, Novello did not limit himself to the manuscripts he could find on the Italian market and those already available to humanists: he also sought help from persons specializing in looking for rare books in the East. In particular, Francesco Filelfo and Giovanni Aurispa, who travelled to the Levant for that purpose, enriched his library with rare and priceless material. Meanwhile Novello had opened a scriptorium of his own at Cesena, headed by Jacopo da Pergola. At least fifteen codices were written in his graceful italic script: most of them are dated and signed, including Pliny's *Natural History* and Plutarch's *Lives* in two volumes. Among the copyists who worked at the scriptorium were Jacopo Macario of Venice, Andrea Catrinello of Genoa and Matteo de'Contugi di Volterra.⁸⁰ Before long Novello's humanistic en-

terprise had made such a name for itself that Flavio Biondo, in his book *Italia illustrata*, described the library as 'on a par with the best in Italy' (*melioribus Italiae aequiparanda*).

Between 1446 and 1465 at least twenty different copyists worked at Malatesta's scriptorium and many manuscripts were copied by other scribes. Three of the copyists have been identified as coming from Northern Europe (France, the Netherlands and Germany). Jean d'Épinal, the most prolific of the three, came to live at Cesena in 1451, Latinized his name to Johannes de Spinalo and won Novello's favour by the quality of his work. One of his manuscripts, a copy of St. Augustine's *Commentary on the Gospel of St. John*, was sent to Ferrara to be illuminated by the great miniaturist Taddeo Crivelli.⁸¹ Tomaso da Utrecht (Thomas Blawart) is recognizable by his Gothic script, while Matthias Kuler signed a codex of Aristotle as follows: 'Written with the hand, not with the foot.... All the profits have been spent on good wine in the tavern in the company of women. *Venite exaltemus*.'⁸²

The editorial process prescribed for the copying of manuscripts involved three stages. First, one of the court secretaries checked the copy against the original, any mistakes or omissions being marked with the words *Hic deficit*. He then sent it either to Crivelli's famous studio in Ferrara or to a local artist to be ornamented and illuminated. In most cases the only ornamentation was on the front page: it usually consisted of the Malatesta coat of arms as the central motif of a composition enclosed by a decorative border, which occupied the margins.⁸³

As already mentioned, Novello did not rely solely on the products of his own scriptorium to enlarge his collection: he also placed orders with members of the scholarly community who went manuscript-hunting, mainly in the East, and set themselves up as itinerant booksellers. Evidence of such commissions is provided by the fourteen Greek codices he acquired, including copies of the *Odyssey* and Plato's *Republic* and *Dialogues*, which he probably bought through the agency of Aurispa, Filelfo or Vespasiano da Bisticci. Malatesta's future Chancellor, Niccolò



12. Flavio Biondo. Woodcut from N. Reusner, *Icones sive Imagines viuae, literis Cl. Virorum, Italiae, Graeciae...*, Basel, 1599.

Martinozzi, bought a copy of a speech by Demosthenes from a Genoese merchant in Constantinople in 1431. Malatesta also received frequent gifts of books from Cardinal Bessarion, including a Latin translation of Aristotle's *Metaphysica* given to him circa 1455, and, of course, from Filelfo, who always took an active part in any enterprise aimed at promoting the humanist movement.⁸⁴

Malatesta collected in accordance with the thinking of Tommaso Parentucelli, as expressed in the 'ideal library catalogue' he compiled. He corresponded with



13. Portrait of Novello Malatesta from the so-called Giovio series, painted by Cristofano dell'Altissimo.

the Medici and Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, and borrowed manuscripts for the sole purpose of having them copied for himself. The contents of his library consisted mainly of theological works, represented by the writings of the Church Fathers: Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Gregory the Great and others. At the same time he did not neglect the writings of great Western thinkers such as Thomas Aquinas, Albertus Magnus and William of Ockham, to name only a few. He was a keen reader of history, as evidenced by the set of twenty-six manuscripts containing the works of Polybius in Nic-

colò Perotti's Latin translation. Of the writings of Dante and Petrarch he had none, early humanism was represented only by a Latin translation of some of Boccaccio's works.⁸⁵

The 'donation' of Cardinal Bessarion. One of the Cesena library's proudest possessions is its collection of Cardinal Bessarion's choral manuscripts (*corali*). It is not known how these came to be acquired by the Malatesta family. Bessarion had commissioned three large-format graduals and four antiphonaries from a Bologna scriptorium in 1451-1452, when he was the papal legate to that city, for the Franciscan friary of St. Antony of Padua in Constantinople. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453 he changed his plans, though he continued with the work of having the *corali* illuminated until 1455, when he went back to Rome. In 1458 a move was

14. A historiated initial in a manuscript of St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* (no. 1, fo. 15r).

BEATISSIMI AVRELII AVGV
DE CIVITATE DEI LIB: PRIMVS



ex fide uiuens: siue in illa stabilitate sedis
nunc expectat per patientiam quoad usq; iustit
tur in iudicium deinceps adeptura per excellen
a ultima & pace perfecta: hoc opere ad te misit

ad a
LO
M
TA
SIN
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GR

afoot to found an Observancy (a community of the Observant Order, a branch of the Franciscans) in Cesena, similar to St. Antony's Friary in Constantinople, and in the same year Bessarion was made Patron of the Franciscans. The next year (1459) the choral manuscripts were sent to the famous studios at Ferrara to have their illumination completed. In 1460 or 1461 Novello founded the Observancy at Cesena, and in about 1462 Cardinal Bessarion decided to give the choral manuscripts to Novello or to his wife Violante, who was the daughter of Guido Antonio da Montefeltro and Caterina Colonna and was related by marriage to the great book-collector Federico da Montefeltro. Possibly Bessarion, who was on friendly terms with the court of Urbino, gave the manuscripts to Violante and they subsequently came into the possession of the Cesena library, probably after her death.⁸⁶

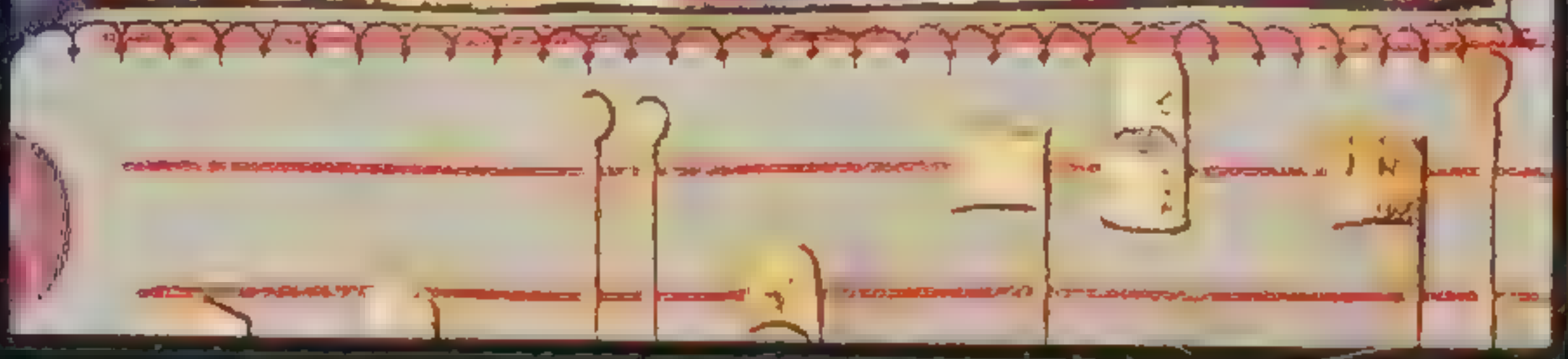
The sudden death of Novello Malatesta in November 1465, at the age of only forty-seven, put an end to the systematic enlargement of the library, which by that time contained more than two hundred manuscripts. However, he had made provision for the future of the *libraria domini*, as he called it, by leaving to the Franciscans an annuity of a hundred ducats guaranteed by the Venetian Republic. The money was intended to cover the running costs of the library as well as the purchase of new books.⁸⁷

The flow of gifts to the library did not dry up after Novello died: in fact the biggest donation ever made, a bequest from Giovanni di Marco, came about ten years after his death. Di Marco, who came from Rimini, was Novello's doctor and a personal friend of his, and it was Novello who introduced him to the delights of owning and reading books. In his will, opened in 1474, he bequeathed to the Cesena library 119 manuscripts on a variety of subjects: mainly medicine, but with some literary and philosophical works as well. Fewer than seventy of these are now in existence.⁸⁸

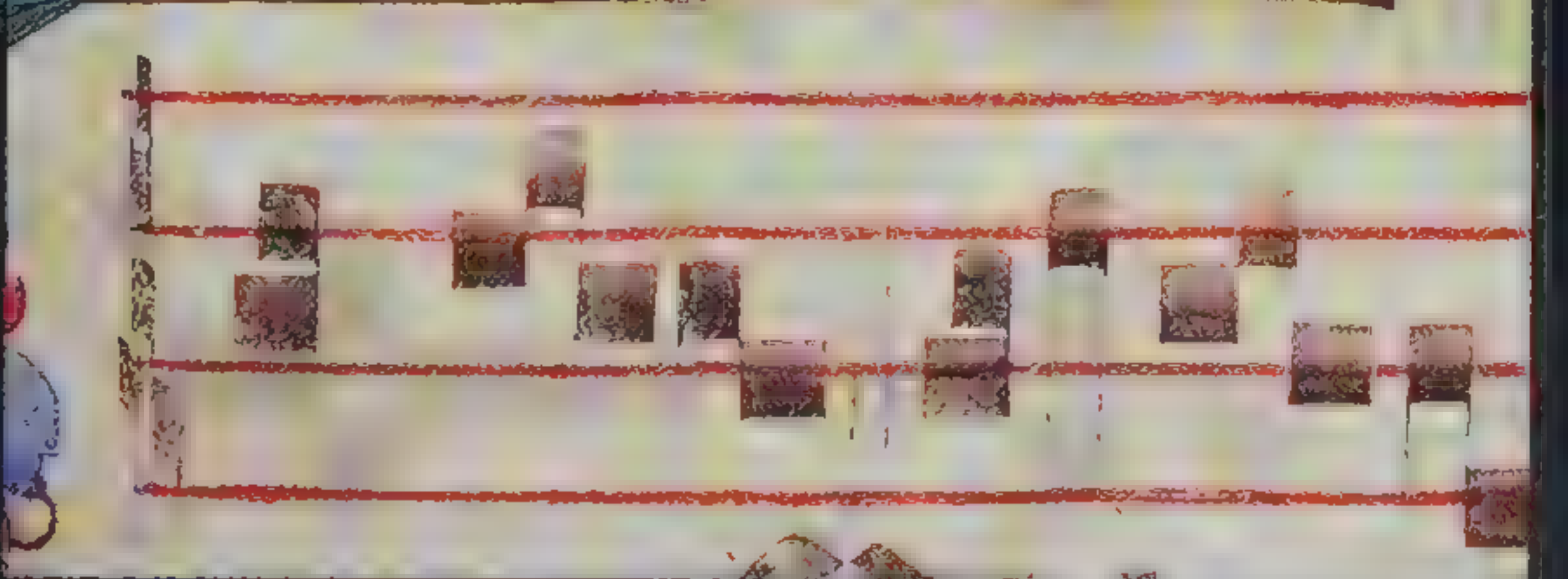
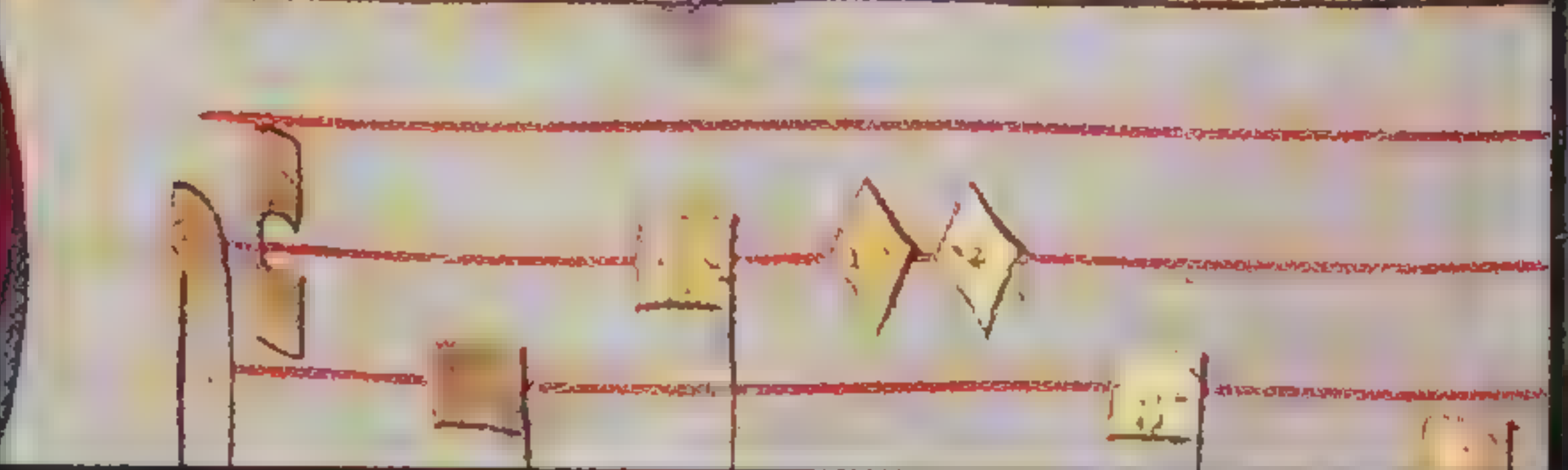
The Cesena library has not escaped the ravages of time, nor has Novello's original collection survived intact. Many of the manuscripts have disappeared in one way or another over the centuries, usually through inefficiency in the running of the library and inadequate security arrangements. Malatesta himself was aware of the danger, for as early as 1461 he instructed the Franciscans to engage a library supervisor who was to be under the control of the Cesena City Council. And so, with the consent of Antonio Zanolini, the Council started carrying out regular inspections and set to work on the compilation of a catalogue.⁸⁹

15. *Historiated initials from the Corali Bessarione* (Pentecost, 12v; Holy Communion, 41r; Eternal Father, 35v; The Resurrected Christ, 1r).

va. ftes.



in am. To n



ILLVSTRISSIMO: ATQVE INVIC
TISSIMO PRINCIPI DNO CHRI
STOPHORO MAVRO DVCI: ET
INCLVTO VENETORVM SENA
TV BESSARIO CARDINALIS &
PATRIARCHA COSTANTINOPO
LITANVS. SAL.

EQVIDEM SEMPER
a tenera fere pueriliq;
aetate omnem meum
laborem: omne opera
curam: studiumque
adhibui: ut quocunq;
possem libros in omni disciplinarum
genere compararem. propter quod no
modo plerosq; et puer et adolescens
manu mea conscripsi: sed quicquid
pecuniola seponere interim parca fru
galitas potuit in his coemendis ab
sumpsi. Nullam enim magis digna
atq; preclaram supellectilem nullum



Cardinal Bessarion's library. The most richly-endowed of all the libraries formed during the Renaissance, both in Italy and in Northern Europe, and the one that played the most important part in spreading the knowledge of Graeco-Roman literature thanks to the rarity of its contents, was that of Cardinal Bessarion. What makes it all the more remarkable is that fact that it was built up by a philosopher and lover of the good use of language, whose approach to books was by no means that of a bibliophile.

Bessarion,⁹⁰ whose baptismal name was Basil, was born at Trebizond in 1403. His first teacher was Ignatios Chortasmenos, Metropolitan of Selymbria. He then went to study rhetoric with Georgios Chrysokokkes in Constantinople, where his fellow-students included numerous Westerners who later came to prominence as leading humanists: among them were Francesco Filelfo, Giovanni Aurispa and other Italians who were there to study Greek literature and took the opportunity to look for Greek manuscripts to broaden the range of their reading.⁹¹ Entering the monastic life, he was clothed as a monk following the Rule of St. Basil in 1423 and took the monastic name Bessarion. At Mystras he was introduced to philosophy, and Platonism in particular, by no less a teacher than Plethon and became a champion of Plethon's belief that if the Christian faith was to retain its influence over humanistic philosophy it should scour Plato's works for arguments to support a system of apologetics capable of overcoming the pragmatism of the Averroists and Epicureans.⁹²

In 1437 Bessarion returned to Constantinople, where he was consecrated Metropolitan of Nicaea, and a year later he was a member of Patriarch Matthaios's delegation to the Council of Ferrara-Florence. After the Council he went back to Constantinople, but there, as the leader of the faction favouring the reunion of the two churches, he felt hampered by the prevailing climate of opinion. In 1440 he went back to Florence and in the autumn of 1443 he settled permanently in Rome.

16. *Cardinal Bessarion's letter to Doge Cristoforo Moro and the Venetian Senate, informing them of the gift of his books (Cod. lat. 14, May 1468).*



17. *Cardinal Bessarion. Woodcut from Paulus Giovio, Elogia Virorum literis illustrium, Basel, 1577.*

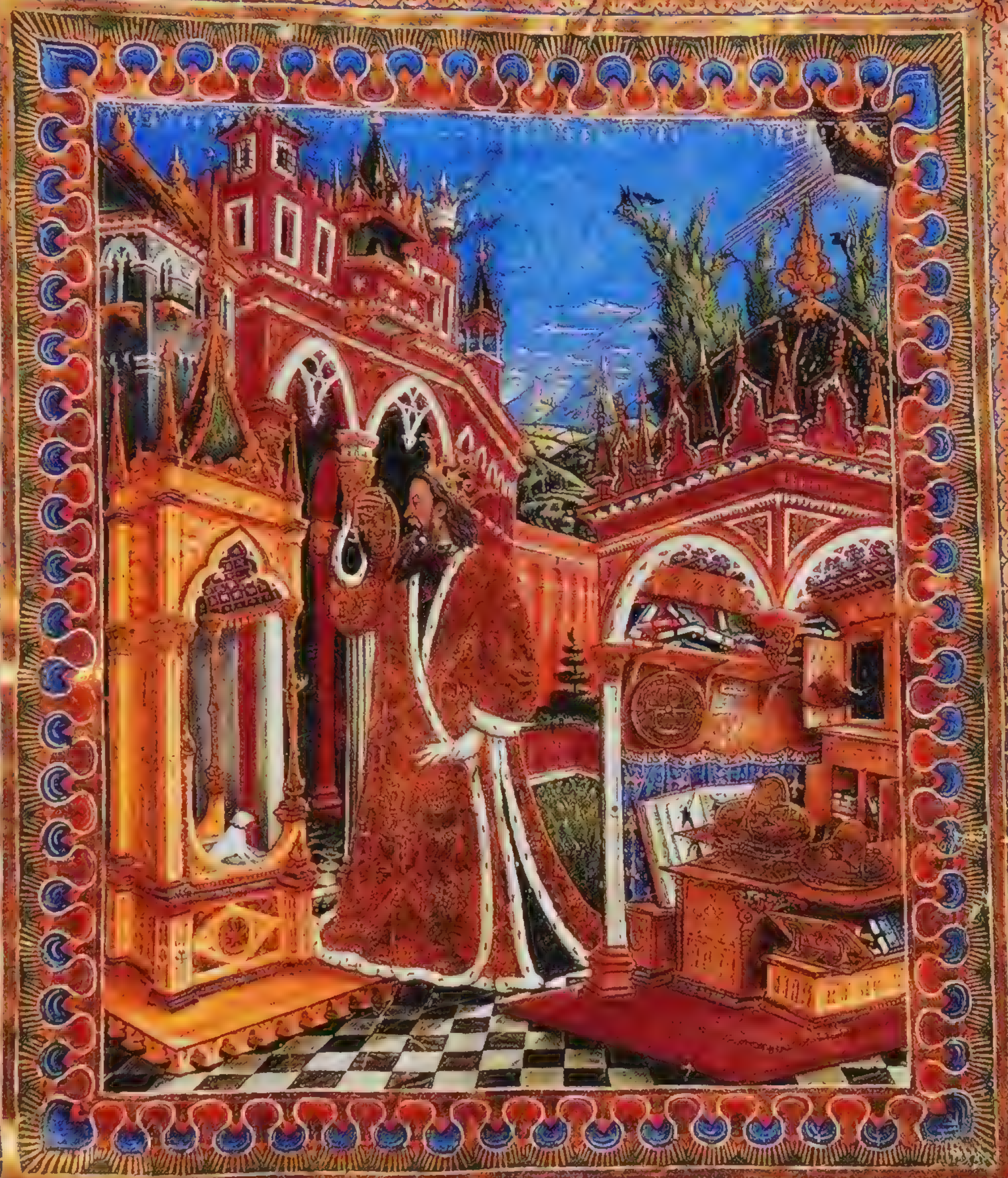
On the enthronement of Pope Nicholas V, a fervent admirer of Greek literature, Bessarion moved rapidly up the hierarchy: Bishop of Sabina, Cardinal Bishop of Tuscolo and papal nuncio to various cities in Italy. In his capacity as a member of the Curia, he supported the Pope's plans for a systematic drive to translate the writings of the Eastern Church Fathers.

Bessarion's Academy. To judge by the words and actions recorded in the minutes of the Academy, it would not be far from the truth to describe it as the workshop of Greek textual scholarship in the West.⁹³ Bartolomeo Platina called it the meeting-place of the cream of Roman intellectual life, while according to Filelfo, Scipione Bargagli and others its influence extended to all the centres of learning in Italy.⁹⁴ In addition, the Academy ran a scriptorium of its own which supplied manuscripts for the Cardinal's private collection and also for the libraries of scholars and men of letters who were involved in its affairs in one way or another.⁹⁵

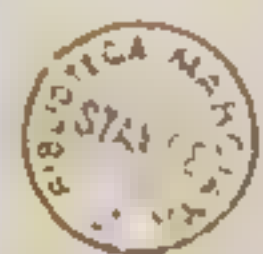
This Academy, which came into being at Bessarion's villa near the Baths of Caracalla in about 1445 was visited by persons who later became its members, in a manner of speaking: Francesco Filelfo, Poggio, Lorenzo Valla, Guarino Veronese, Flavio Biondo and the great George of Trebizond, for example.⁹⁶ In the 1460s they were joined by a new wave of scholars including Domizio Calderini, Gian Antonio Campano, Giovanni Gatti and a number of Greeks: Demetrios Kasarianos, Michael Apostoles, Theodoros Gazis, Bartholomaios Argyropoulos, Ioannes Rossos and many others. Gazis played an important part in the Academy's affairs, as he was the author of a Greek grammar and the translator of some of Aristotle's works into Latin. He was very close to the Cardinal and served as his personal adviser and private secretary. In addition, he was involved in the editing and publishing programme of another circle of scholars in Rome who had gathered round the Bishop of Aleria, Giovanni Andrea di Bussi, for the publication of mainly Latin literary works by the pioneering printers Sweynheim and Pannartz.⁹⁷

An indication of the Academy's high standing was the visit of the astronomer, mathematician and manuscript-collector Johann Müller (better known as Regiomontanus), who stayed there for a time. Regiomontanus had met Bessarion on his travels to Nürnberg and Vienna and they remained friends thereafter. In fact Regiomontanus had discovered a copy of an unknown work (the *Arithmetica*) by Diophantus in the course of his earlier researches.⁹⁸

18. Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Geographia*. Parchment codex, 15th c. (Gr. Z. 388, fo. 6v). A manuscript with illuminations of exceptional beauty and originality. Commissioned by Cardinal Bessarion from the calligrapher Ioannes Rossos.



Ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλεὶ ὅπως ἔπεισε πολέμῳ εἰς ἑαυτὸν
 ΔΙΑΔΤΙ ΘΗΗΤΟΣ ΕΦΥΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΦΗΜΕΡΟΣ ΑΛΛΟΤΑΝ ΑΣΤΡΩΝ
 ΜΑΣΤΕΝΩ ΠΥΚΝΑΣ ΑΜΦΙΡΟΜΟΝΣ ΕΛΙΚΑΣ
 ΟΥΚ ΕΤΕΠΙΧΛΩ ΓΑΙΗΣ ΠΟΣΙΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΠΑΡΑΝΤΩ
 ΗΝΙ ΘΕΟΤΡΟΦΕΟΣ ΠΙΝΗΛΑΙ ΑΜΒΡΟΣΙΗΣ 500



ΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΕΙ
 Μ VITAM PERITVRA Q MEME DURE
 I. & SVMVV PRESTITVERE DI
 VESCOR TERRAM Q RELINQVO
 ΟΤΟ SYDEREOS...

The scriptorium. It is an established fact that numerous manuscripts were edited and copied at the Academy's scriptorium: most of them ended in Bessarion's own collection.⁹⁹ Examination of his Greek codices, some of them signed by their copyists and others not, has given us the names of Demetrios Sgouropoulos, Georgios Trivizias, Athanasios Chalkiopoulos, Andronikos Kallistos, Georgios Hermonymos, Michael Apostoles and, on many manuscripts, the highly accomplished calligrapher Ioannes Rossos.¹⁰⁰ A fair number of the Latin manuscripts also bear the names of their copyists, attesting to Bessarion's dealings with other centres of learning in Italy: for example, the codices containing Cicero's speeches (*Orationes*), signed by Pietro Strozzi (Florence, 1445);¹⁰¹ *Praedicamenta e Analitica posteriora*, written by Giovanni d'Alemagna in Siena;¹⁰² the *Commentary on Aristotle's Physica* by Paolo da Venezia; Aristotle's *Physica* (Venice, 1445);¹⁰³ *Rei rusticae scriptores*, copied by Jacopo Macario Veneto (who also worked in Malatesta's library);¹⁰⁴ a manuscript of Livy exemplifying the elegant script of Gioacchino de Gigantibus;¹⁰⁵ and *Pandectae medicinae* by Matthaeus Sylvaticus, copied for the Cardinal by Johannes Gherich de Diest.¹⁰⁶

A journey to the north in 1450, when he visited Nürnberg and Vienna as a papal legate, presented Bessarion with an opportunity to meet a number of academics and other scholars including Nicolaus Cusanus¹⁰⁷ and the astronomer Georg Peurbach,¹⁰⁸ who was preparing an edition of Ptolemy and introduced Bessarion to his beloved pupil and colleague Regiomontanus.¹⁰⁹ Bessarion returned to Rome in 1461 and was appointed Latin Patriarch of Constantinople on the death of Isidore of Kiev. In 1472 he was nominated for the pontificate for the second time, but once again the cardinals in conclave elected a candidate who was a Catholic born and bred, Francesco della Rovere.

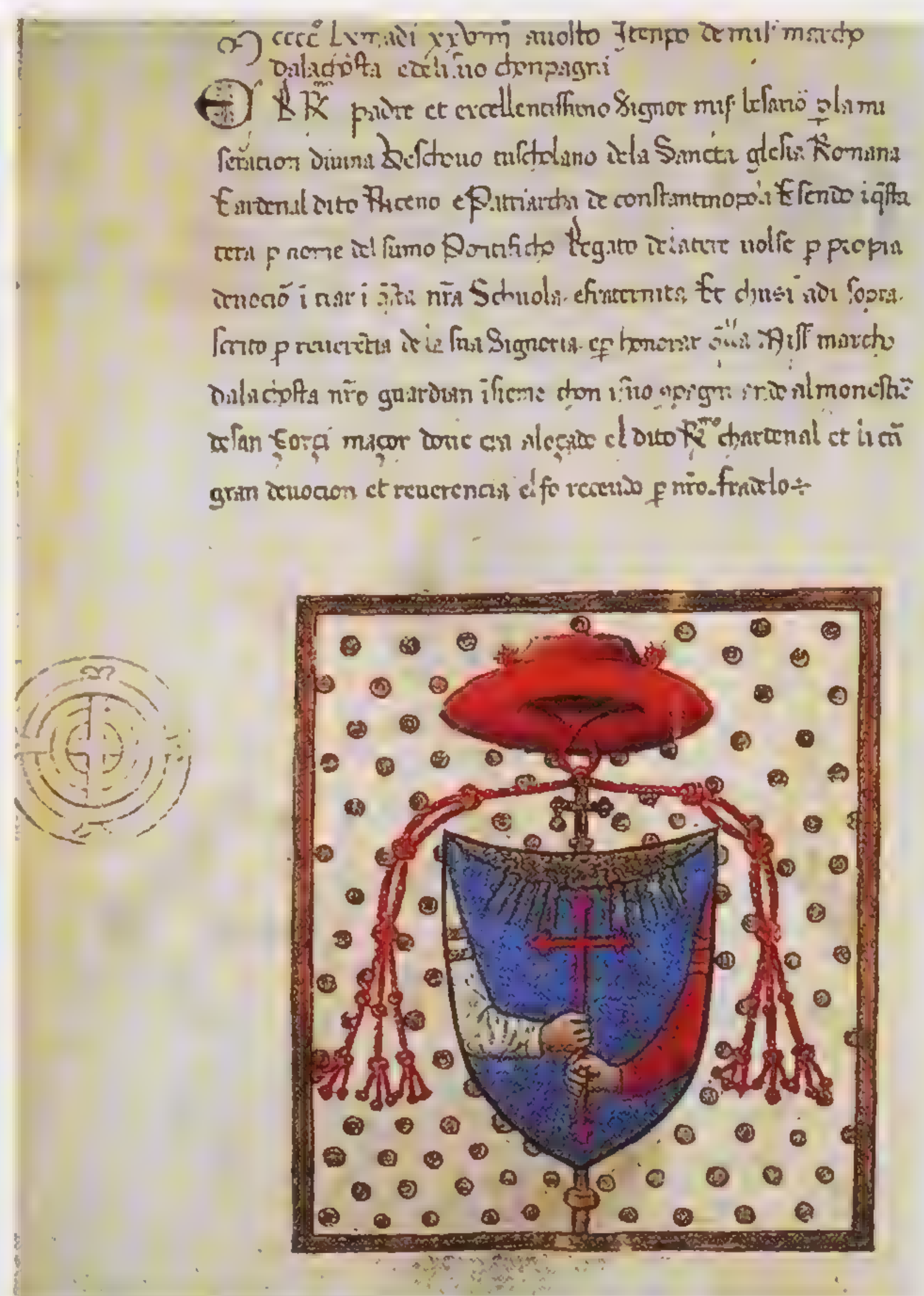
The new Pope, who took the name of Sixtus IV, continued to show absolute confidence in Bessarion and sent him on a delicate diplomatic mission to try to negotiate a reconciliation between the King of France and the Duke of Burgundy. On his return to Italy Bessarion went to live in Ravenna, where he died in November 1472.

The motivation for Bessarion's donation. Being well aware of the importance and rarity value of his collection, Bessarion took steps to ensure that it would remain intact in the future. At the same time he set out to make the collection a beacon of Greek learning in the West. His choice of the Venetian Republic as the recipient of this gift was determined by cultural as well as political considerations, given the large Greek community in Venice and the cultural relations that the city of the Doges had been cultivating with Constantinople for centuries. As Bessarion himself said, Venice was 'like another Byzantium' (*quasi alterum Byzantium*).

Negotiations over the transfer started in 1468, with the Republic represented by Ambassador Pietro Morosini, and on 14th May of that year the deed of gift was signed:¹¹⁰ it was a minute written on parchment in an elegant italic script, with miniatures of Bessarion's coat of arms and the crest of Venice on the first page. The final text, headed *Index librorum utriusque linguae*, was drafted by Bessarion in collaboration with his secretary, Niccolò Perotti, in the period when the Cardinal was living at Viterbo.¹¹¹

Thus was the Library of St. Mark born, with an endowment of 746 codices and incunabula (482 in Greek and 264 in Latin). The books were delivered over a period of time: the first 469 volumes were handed over in 1469 and the rest after Bessarion's death in 1474. When they were finally counted, it was found that there were 1,024 volumes in fifty-seven boxes.¹¹²

The contents of the library. What Bessarion had chiefly in mind when building up his library was to create a representative collection of works by ancient Greek and Byzantine writers in all fields of learning, both secular and theological.¹¹³ He also included major works of Latin literature, especially those which most clearly demonstrate the affinity between the Greek and Roman civilizations. Many of the manuscripts were notable for their great age, one such being the famous Codex Venetus A of Homer's *Iliad*, which was copied in the 10th century for the private library of Arethas of Caesarea in Constantinople.¹¹⁴ Then there was a parchment codex, also written in the 10th century, containing works by Hippocrates, and one with the commentary by Gregory (George) of Cyprus on Aristotle's *Physica*, dating from the 13th century.¹¹⁵ Other manuscripts were prized for their rarity: for example, the *Ἀνάπτυξις τῆς Θεολογικῆς στοιχειώσεως Πρόκλου*, (*Confutazione degli Elementi di teologia di Proclo*) by Nicola di Metone, written in the 14th century,¹¹⁶ *Plutus* by Aristophanes in a codex of the 11th/12th century from the library of the Monastery of San Nicola



19. Cardinal Bessarion's coat of arms (Cod. it. VII 2700, fo. 2v).

Constantinople.¹¹⁴ Then there was a parchment codex, also written in the 10th century, containing works by Hippocrates, and one with the commentary by Gregory (George) of Cyprus on Aristotle's *Physica*, dating from the 13th century.¹¹⁵ Other manuscripts were prized for their rarity: for example, the *Ἀνάπτυξις τῆς Θεολογικῆς στοιχειώσεως Πρόκλου*, (*Confutazione degli Elementi di teologia di Proclo*) by Nicola di Metone, written in the 14th century,¹¹⁶ *Plutus* by Aristophanes in a codex of the 11th/12th century from the library of the Monastery of San Nicola

di Casole,¹¹⁷ and a 9th-century copy of the commentary on Aristotle's *Physica* by Simplicius.¹¹⁸ Also from the 9th century is a codex containing the commentaries by Olympiodorus on Plato's *Gorgias* and other dialogues.¹¹⁹

An important section of Bessarion's library consisted of writings by Neoplatonists such as Ammonius, Proclus and Hierocles, as well as polemics written in the course of the dispute between Platonists and Aristotelians over the question of primacy in the field of philosophy. The dispute was sparked off by a short essay by Plethon entitled *On the Differences between Aristotle and Plato*, an autograph copy of which Bessarion had in his library.¹²⁰ The principal parties to this dispute were Michael Apostoles, Theodoros Gazis and George of Trebizond, all of whom wrote treatises in support of the approach and writings of one or other of the great philosophers: George of Trebizond, for example, wrote *A Comparison of the Philosophies of Aristotle and Plato*, which so enraged Bessarion that he wrote what was probably his most important work, *In calumniatorem Platonis*.¹²¹

Ancient Greek poetry was represented by Homer and Aristophanes, and also by some codices of plays by the three great tragedians and works by Pindar and Lycophron. The *History* of Thucydides was there in a manuscript copied by Bessarion himself, with his own annotations,¹²² and Xenophon's *Memorabilia* in an early Latin translation by Bessarion dating from 1430 (*De factis et dictis Socratis*).¹²³

Among the manuscripts indicating how wide Bessarion cast his net in searching for material are the *Sphaera* by Proclus, Oppian's *Cynegetica*¹²⁴ in an illuminated eleventh-century manuscript and the *Histories* of Herodotus and Polybius. Outstanding among the religious works are the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius, the *Homilies* of John Chrysostom and the *Ecclesiastical History* of Socrates Scholasticus.¹²⁵

As already mentioned, there were no less than 264 codices and printed books in Latin, of which some were works of ancient Roman literature, others were translations from the Greek and others were written during this period by Bessarion's contemporaries. They included Cicero, *De natura deorum*,¹²⁶ the *editio princeps* of Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* (Sweynheim and Pannartz, Rome, 1469),¹²⁷ Cato, *De re rustica*,¹²⁸ Rufinus, *Prefatio*, Origen, *Periarchon*,¹²⁹ and Leonardo Bruni, *Argumentum in apologiam Socratis*, with an autograph note by Nicolaus Cusanus.¹³⁰

The library's fortunes after the donation. Contrary to Bessarion's wishes that his collection would immediately be installed in a place accessible to humanist scholars, the library was kept almost inaccessible for decades, with the result that reliable and often unique manuscripts of Greek literature were virtually out of reach to literary scholars engaged on the drive to prepare *editiones principes* for the

Italian printing houses.¹³¹ The Venetian authorities treated those priceless treasure outrageously. The terms of the deed of gift stipulated that no obstacle should be put in the way of anyone who wished to consult the manuscripts, or even borrow them on payment of a returnable deposit equal to twice their value.

In 1473, a year after Bessarion's death and five years after he had given the first batch of books to the authorities, the entire collection was still packed away in boxes in the Sala di Scrutinio of the Doge's Palace, and ten years after that they were still in the same place. In 1485, because they were taking up precious space, the boxes were stacked on top of one another and boarded up behind a flimsy wooden partition at one end of the room. In these conditions no one could seriously claim that they constituted a library in even the most rudimentary sense of the word. Politian wrote what he thought of this state of affairs, and for this he was barred from entering the *Libreria Nicena*.

The librarians. In 1488 the first librarian was at long last appointed to take charge of Bessarion's collection: he was Marco Antonio Coccio, known in humanist circles as Sabellico,¹³² who had met Bessarion when he was a student in Rome and involved in the work of Pomponio Leto's Academy. He knew Greek well and had taught in Venice for a time before leaving for Verona to escape a cholera epidemic. In Verona he wrote a historical work of great importance, *Rerum Venetarum decades*, which brought him into favour with the Venetians.

At the stocktaking carried out after Sabellico's death in 1506 evidence was found of serious irregularities: some of the manuscripts had been stolen. This so alarmed the Venetian authorities that access to the library, which had always been difficult, now became virtually impossible. Borrowing from the library was now prohibited and special permission was needed to consult the manuscripts. The official records show that the books were no longer even kept in Venice, as the terms of Bessarion's gift expressly stipulated they should be. The post of librarian remained vacant for nearly ten years, a period of scandalous neglect leaving the library in a shocking state, before Sabellico was eventually replaced by Andrea Navagero in 1515.¹³³ Markos Mousouros, who was then living in Rome, found out that some of Bessarion's manuscripts were being offered for sale there: he himself was offered two of them which had been stolen by a young Venetian, a relative of Grand Chancellor Francesco Fasiol, and he wrote to Navagero to tell him what was happening.¹³⁴

Navagero's death in 1529 raised a problem of succession. Although the post of librarian should rightly have gone to Marino Sanudo, the author of the Sanudo Diaries, the Venetian authorities chose instead to give it to Pietro Bembo, who was

better known in the rest of Italy.¹³⁵ Bembo's first concern was to find suitable premises for the library, organize it efficiently and provide it with proper facilities, so that scholars would not be obliged to take books out when they only wanted to check a passage in the text. In 1531 he secured the use of an upper room in the Basilica of St. Mark as a temporary library and the books were transferred there from the Doge's Palace.¹³⁶ But this could not be considered a satisfactory solution: the time had come for the authorities to give serious attention to the construction of a library building worthy of Bessarion's benefaction.

In the early decades of the sixteenth century Venice was at this time going through a period of prosperity, and after the sack of Rome in 1527 it became once again the foremost centre of learning in Italy. The person who took the lead in organizing the construction of a home for Bessarion's library was Vettor Grimani,



20. *Andrea Navagero and Sabellico. Woodcut from N. Reusner, Icones sive Imagines viuae, literis Cl. Virorum, Italiae, Graeciae..., Basel, 1599.*

son of the Doge Antonio Grimani and a relative of Cardinal Domenico Grimani.¹³⁷ Domenico, who possessed a very extensive and historic collection including all Pico della Mirandola's books,¹³⁸ championed the idea of treating the Greek cardinal's benefaction with the respect it deserved, and so Jacopo Sansovino was commissioned to design the new library. Construction work finally started in 1537.¹³⁹

21. *Ψαλμοὶ μετὰ Σχόλια* (Psalms with Commentary). *Parchment codex, 10th-11th c. (Gr. Z. 17, fo. IIIr-v).* A manuscript from Bessarion's collection that originally came from the Peribleptos Monastery, Constantinople.

ΕΝ ΤΑΧΡΗΤΑΙΣ ΑΛΛ' ΕΝ ΒΕΒΗΛΑΝΤΕΣ
 Ο ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΦΥΛΕΤΑΙ

ΕΝ ΤΑΧΡΗΤΑΙΣ ΑΛΛ' ΕΝ ΒΕΒΗΛΑΝΤΕΣ
 Ο ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΦΥΛΕΤΑΙ



ΕΝ ΤΑΧΡΗΤΑΙΣ ΑΛΛ' ΕΝ ΒΕΒΗΛΑΝΤΕΣ
 Ο ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΦΥΛΕΤΑΙ

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 Ο ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΦΥΛΕΤΑΙ



The Vatican Library. The history of the Vatican Library can be divided into three periods: from its founding to its 'exile' in Avignon, the Avignon period and from the Renaissance onwards.¹⁴⁰

The new Pope, enthroned on 19th March 1447 as Nicholas V, was none other than Tommaso Parentucelli, a passionate admirer of ancient Greek learning. He was a former pupil of Chrysoloras and had spent some time as librarian at the Monastery of San Marco in Florence, which had been rebuilt with a grant from Cosimo de' Medici.¹⁴¹ It was he who had compiled the list of books that should be present in an ideal library.¹⁴² One of his first concerns was to reorganize and improve the papal library, and to do so in such a way as to promote the image of Rome as the intellectual centre of Italy. He therefore turned the Curia into a sort of open academy, and invited the leading Italian humanists and the most eminent representatives of Byzantine scholarship to help him make his dream come true.¹⁴³ He gave them money and accommodation and urged them to marry the Greek and Roman literary traditions by systematically translating Greek books (both classical and Christian) into Latin. This project would have the twofold effect of giving humanists access to works that had previously been inaccessible, partly because they could not read Greek, while at the same time enriching the Vatican Library with manuscripts of incalculable value.¹⁴⁴

The leading members of the team included Poggio¹⁴⁵ and Giovanni Aurispa,¹⁴⁶ who had travelled together to monastery and cathedral libraries in search of manuscripts,¹⁴⁷ Giannozzo Manetti, Uberto Decembrio, Lorenzo Valla, Giovanni Tortelli and Niccolò Perotti. Foremost among the Byzantine scholars involved were Athanasios Chalkiopoulos, Theodoros Gazis, Andronikos Kallistos, Cardinal Bessarion and George of Trebizond, the last of whom shouldered the heaviest burden of the translation work. Pope Nicholas, adopting his usual methodological ap-



23. Pope Nicholas V. An engraving of the founder of the Vatican Library.

22. Fresco by Melozzo da Forlì of the ceremonial opening of the library by Pope Sixtus IV. Vatican Pinacoteca.

*The Vatican's
'apostles
of the book'*

proach and drawing on his profound knowledge of the Graeco-Roman intellectual tradition, commissioned Lorenzo Valla to translate Thucydides and Herodotus, as he had the necessary qualifications and had demonstrated his ability as a translator by making a prose rendering of the *Iliad* in 1428;¹⁴⁸ while the translation of Xenophon's *Anabasis* and the *Bibliotheca* of Diodorus Siculus was entrusted to



24. N. Perotti, *Regulae*, Florence, Bartolomeo di Libri, ca. 1490.

Poggio, who was helped by George of Trebizond.¹⁴⁹ Perotti,¹⁵⁰ a familiar face in Bessarion's circle, undertook to translate the *History* of Polybius; and Manetti was asked to translate the work of Philo Judaeus, until then unknown in the West.¹⁵¹ Theodoros Gazis, the pre-eminent Aristotelian, was commissioned to translate Aristotle's *Problemata* and *De Animalibus*;¹⁵² and Ambrogio Traversari, who was well versed in religious matters, set to work on a translation of the *Works* of Dionysius the Areopagite.¹⁵³ George of Trebizond, with his multiple talents, took on an extraordinarily heavy work load, for he translated Plato's *Laws* and *Republic*, several works by Aristotle, including the *Magna Moralia* and *Rhetorica*, as well as numerous patristic writings such as *De evangelica praeparatione*

by Eusebius of Caesarea, the *Homilies* of John Chrysostom and works by Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzos.¹⁵⁴

Quite apart from their value as historic documents and monuments of textual scholarship – since they were the work of leading humanists – these translations often served as the basis for first editions from the printing houses of Italy and Northern Europe and were transformed into works of art: they were illuminated or copied by renowned calligraphers and kept in the Vatican Library. These new

25. Federico da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino, the great bibliophile. From Cristoforo Landino, *Disputationes Camaldulenses*, Books I-IV, 1475 (Urb. lat. 508, foglio di guardia).



accessions, added to the existing stock of manuscripts, called for a fresh approach to library management. To put that into practice Pope Nicholas appointed Giovanni Tortelli as Keeper (*Custode*) of the Library, and he classified and catalogued the precious books in an exemplary manner.¹⁵⁵ Tortelli had studied in Constantinople and mixed with leading exponents of the humanist movement, Filelfo among them, and his profound knowledge of grammar is apparent in his book *Orthographia*, a major work of etymological lexicography giving a list of Latin words derived from Greek., which he dedicated to Pope Nicholas.

In enlarging the library's stock of books the Pope did not rely solely on the output of the team working for the Curia, for he sent Alberto Enoch to Germany,



26. Pope Sixtus IV visits the library. Fresco in the Ospedale di Santo Spirito.

Denmark and Greece to buy as many manuscripts as he could find.¹⁵⁶ Enoch came back with a good many manuscripts, including two of works then unknown in Italy: the cookery book attributed to Apicius, *De re culinaria*, and the *Commentary on Horace* by Porphyrio. Before long the library contained 1,200 volumes, and although a third of them bore Greek titles the Pope still went on looking for new Greek manuscripts with undiminished zeal.¹⁵⁷ To enrich the papal collection with a translation of Homer, he appealed to all the humanists in Italy to set their

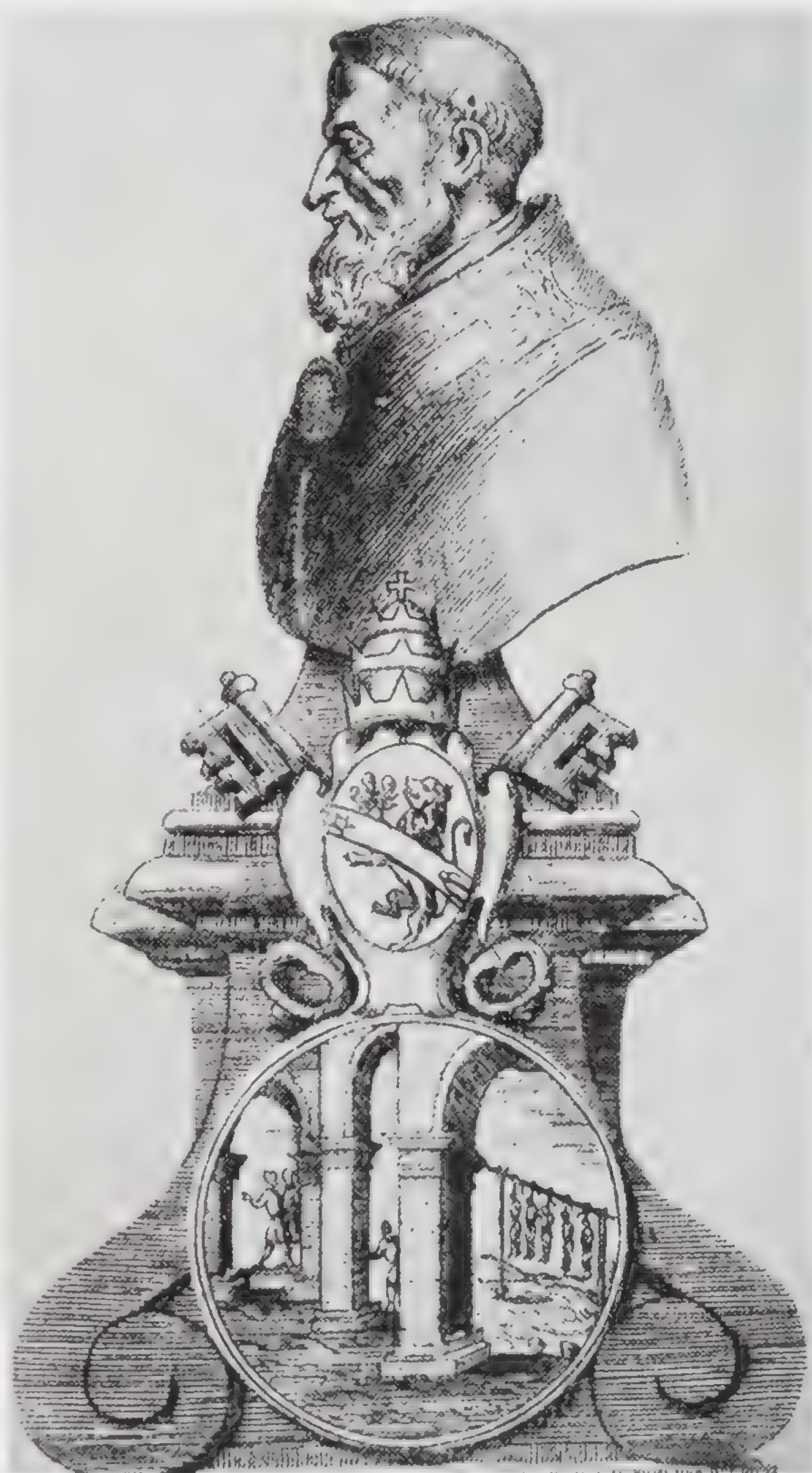
hands to it and promised Filelfo a fabulous fortune if he managed to complete the task.¹⁵⁸

The untimely death of Pope Nicholas V in 1455 did not disrupt the life of the library. Although his immediate successor, Calixtus III, was not noted for his humanistic interests, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, who succeeded Calixtus in 1458 as Pius II, was a great book-lover, scholar and calligrapher and had a fine library of his own.¹⁵⁹ The Vatican Library continued to grow, acquiring more books from one source or another, even under Paul II (Pietro Barbo, 1464-1471), who succeeded Pius II. Paul was not particularly interested in literature, but he kept Tortelli on as Keeper of the Library until his death in 1466.

The idea of the Vatican Library as being open to the public (*per comune uso*), as envisaged by Pope Nicholas V, remained only an idea on paper. It was not until the pontificate of Sixtus IV (1471-1484) that the plan was put into practice *in toto*, that is with regard both to the library's architecture and to the way it was run.¹⁶⁰ A mere four months after his accession to the papal throne, Sixtus instructed his Camerlengo to commission five architects to draw up plans for a building 'to be used as a library'. The project did not go ahead immediately, but the original plan was spurred on by the appointment of Platina as librarian.

When Platina took over,¹⁶¹ the library had an air of dereliction: many of the volumes were missing from the 'shelves' and those manuscripts that were still there were in bad condition. Instructions were immediately given for the bindings to be restored and a bull was issued ordering all who had borrowed books – laymen as well as clerics – to return them forthwith. Extremely harsh penalties were laid down for those who failed to comply: they were to be stripped of their office and in some cases even excommunicated.

Platina, who firmly believed that a personal library was an important foundation for humanist pursuits, engaged three copyists (*librarii*) named Demetrius,



27. Pope Sixtus V. Engraving from W.D. Orcutt, *The Magic of the Book*, Boston 1930.

*The part played
by Platina*

Salviatus and Johannes, and with their help he managed in the space of six years (by 1481) to make the Vatican the most important library in the West. The 2,527 manuscripts (770 Greek and 1,757 Latin) which he had inherited had increased to a total of about 3,500 volumes.¹⁶²

Thanks to its excellent stock of books, the library became a magnet attracting every man of letters. Politian himself, who was known to every library in Italy, was keen to become the Vatican Librarian; but his untimely death brought his plans



28. Bartolomeo Platina. Woodcut from N. Reusner, *Icones sive Imagines viuae, literis Cl. Virorum, Italiae, Graeciae...*, Basel, 1599.

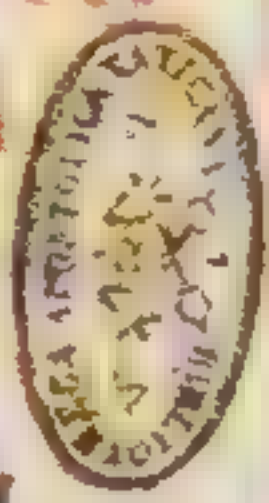
to nothing.¹⁶³ One of the team helping to upgrade the library was Demetrios Damilas, who from 1490 was copying manuscripts for the Vatican and prominent Romans.¹⁶⁴ Damilas quickly won a high reputation, and Pope Pius III (Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini) appointed him official copyist of Greek manuscripts to the Apostolic Library. He was succeeded in 1515 by Giovanni Onorio de Maglie, an excellent artist who designed the first fount of Greek characters used at the papal printing press opened by Cardinal Ridolfi.¹⁶⁵

The library entered a new phase with the accession of Leo X (Giovanni de' Medici, 1513-1521), a former pupil of Ianos Laskaris and an ardent admirer of Greek learning and the humanist ideology, who aspired to make Rome

once again the intellectual centre of Italy.¹⁶⁶ Feeling that Rome was lagging behind other Italian cities in the field of Greek literature, he arranged for a Greek printing press to be set up in Rome and also took the initiative in the founding of a Greek school on the Quirinal Hill, with Laskaris as its principal, where a Greek press went into operation in 1517.¹⁶⁷ By then the first Greek press in Rome had already gone into business, in 1515 (Pindar, *Odes*): it was funded by persons of ample means who

29. Theophylact, *Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul*, Latin translation by Cristoforo Persona, 1478 (Vat. lat. 263, fo. 1r). A codex illuminated by an anonymous miniaturist known as the Master of Theophylact.

FRATRIS CHRISTOPHORI DE PERSONA ROMANI PRIORIS ECCLESIAE SANCTE BALBINE DE VRBE IN ATHANASII SVPER EPISTOLAS PAVLI INTERPRETATIONEM AD PAPAM SIXTVM QVARTVM PREFATIO INCIPIT
TOLLICITER



VM MECVM
animo uolutarem B. P
cui potissimum id opus in
scriberem: quod superiorib
lucubratiunculis e graeco
latinum feci. Occurrit mox
Alexandri responsum: qui
ferme moriens cum quere
retur: cui nam tantum re
linqueret principatum: ei

respondit qui optimus esset. Ipse uero neminem habeo
quem tibi preponam. Quippe qui ut dignitate ceteros su
peras: ita moribus et doctrina excellis. Nam et si uiri
doctissimi Sacrarum re litterarum et diuine scientie pe
ritissimum iudicant: non tamen negant probatiores qui
q: et sapientes. ea etiam esse mansuetudine et in omnes cie
mentia: actanta indeum pietate: ut non minorem ex his
q: ex summa doctrina laudem assequaris. Nec dubitant
plane id affirmare: iure te optimo ad id fastigii: tuis uir
tutibus: et deo bene uiuante fuisse euectum: non ambitio
ne ulla uel arte: quippe qui et oblatos sepe honores nil ma
gnificeris: et ita semper ab incunte etate te gesseris: ut quo
uis amplitudinis gradu dignus sis habitus: non ut faciunt
multi: ut de se male: ita et de deo pessime meriti: qui ambi
endo et pollicitando: per dolos ac fraudes: et cupidius lo
ge q: consideratiue ad dignitates nituntur: existimantes so
tasse nihil deo esse nos cure: et ideo prauis cupiditatib
ut faciant satis: omni nixu contendunt: nec sentiunt hi
capta haud dubie incredibili cecitate: et presentium bono
rum auditate precipites acti: nil quippiam fieri sine deo



were receptive to the idea of promoting the study of the classics.¹⁶⁸ Foremost among them was Agostino Chigi, whose adviser on cultural matters was Cornelio Benigni; Chigi was a patron of the arts whose circle of protégés included Raphael, Ottavio Petrucci, Paolo Giovio and Pietro Aretino, known as 'divinus Aretinus'.¹⁶⁹

In 1527 the papal library suffered a mortal blow when Rome was sacked by the army of the Holy Roman Empire,¹⁷⁰ as the invaders' destructive rampaging



30. Pope Leo X. Oil painting by Raphael. Uffizi Gallery, Florence.

did not spare its contents. The result was that many of the books collected by Nicholas V and Sixtus IV were lost, but those acquired by Leo X escaped almost unscathed. The library was moved into new premises in 1590 during the pontificate of Sixtus V (1585-1590) and has grown steadily since then. It now possesses over 2,000,000 printed books (including about 8,000 incunabula) and nearly

75,000 manuscripts (in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, Persian, Ethiopian, Slavonic and other languages), as well as archival material relating to the history of the Holy See.¹⁷¹

The treasures of the Vatican Library are not only of incalculable value but also 'emblematic' of the antiquity of works of the Graeco-Roman intellectual tradition and Christian literature. One example is the codex of Cicero's *De re publica* dating from the fourth or fifth century, written in a majuscule script at the Abbey of San Colombano at Bobbio;¹⁷² another is the so-called Codex B, one of the earliest Greek Bibles, dated to the middle of the fourth century, which was probably copied in Egypt in 'Biblical minuscule' and was acquired by the Vatican Library perhaps before the time of Nicholas V.¹⁷³ The popularity of Roman comedy in the Middle Ages is indicated by an illuminated codex of Terence written in Carolingian minuscule in the ninth century: it comes from the Corvey Abbey scriptorium and was illuminated by Adelricus, a Corvey monk. Another of the library's prized possessions is a copy of the Book of Job with explanatory notes, written in majuscule and embellished with 75 illuminations, which is a splendid specimen of the manuscript copying tradition of Constantinopolitan scriptoria.¹⁷⁴

One of the library's finest Renaissance treasures is a codex containing examples of Petrarch's poetry, including the 'Bucolicum carmen' (1357-1362): it belonged to Bernardo and Pietro Bembo and later came into the possession of Fulvio Orsini before ending up in the Vatican.¹⁷⁵ In amongst the books is the *Planisfero Borgia*, which immortalizes the richly imaginative mythological tradition of medieval cartography: it was drawn by Andrea Walsperger at Konstanz in 1448.¹⁷⁶ The year 1469 is given as the date of an exceptionally fine codex of Ptolemy's *Cosmographia* in the Latin translation by Jacopo da Scarperia, adorned with maps and street plans of Florence, Rome and other cities: it is a typical example of the work of Vespasiano da Bisticci's Florentine workshop.¹⁷⁷ Another work in the Vatican collection was *Disputationes Camaldulenses* by Cristoforo Landino, dedicated to Federico da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino, which is dated 1475 and comes from the atelier of Francesco d'Antonio del Cherico.¹⁷⁸ A manuscript of rare beauty, with exquisite illuminations, is Theophylact's *Commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul* in the Latin translation by Cristoforo Persona, dedicated to Pope Sixtus IV.¹⁷⁹

Lastly, the Vatican Library has in its possession the most fully illuminated and ornamented manuscript of Dante's *Divine Comedy*, dating from ca. 1480-1482, which was copied at Urbino by Matteo de'Contugi di Volterra and illuminated by members of the famous Ferrara school of Alessandro Giraldi, Franco de' Russi and their pupils.¹⁸⁰

The first
Western edition
of Ptolemy's
Cosmographia

A literary scholar on a par with Petrarch: Politian and his library. Of Angelo Poliziano, generally known as Politian, a distinguished Italian Renaissance poet and critic, Rudolf Pfeiffer wrote: 'As a poet as well as a critical scholar, Politian was nearer to Philotas than anyone else at any time'.¹⁸¹

He was born at Montepulciano in 1454¹⁸² and moved to Florence at an early age. There he entered the milieu of the Studium, studying under Argyropoulos, as Politian himself mentions in the first chapter of his *Miscellanea* (1489) when discussing the controversial issue of *entelecheia*.¹⁸³ Politian owed a great deal to Argyropoulos, the 'hallowed leader of the Muses',¹⁸⁴ as the Florentines called him, as well as to Andronikos Kallistos,¹⁸⁵ who taught at the Studio from 1471. He also acknowledges his debt to Cristoforo Landino¹⁸⁶ as his teacher in grammar and rhetoric and the person who initiated him into the study of stylistic elements in poetry by his comments on Petrarch, Dante, Virgil and Horace.

Politian was a perfectionist and, leaving aside the poems he composed in the Tuscan dialect, like 'Orfeo' and 'Giostra', he was constantly on the lookout for well-documented information to help him understand and interpret ancient poetry. He was described as 'a lover of learning' (*ardor eruditionis*), being thoroughly versed in the whole of Greek and Latin literature.¹⁸⁷ Greek and Latin literature. His favourite occupation, however, was studying the poetry of the Silver Age (Statius, Ausonius and others) in depth.¹⁸⁸ By the age of eighteen he was able to translate whole books of the *Iliad* into consummate Latin hexameters, surpassing similar attempts by Bruni and Valla. He delivered public lectures on Homer, Theocritus and Hesiod in a novel manner, for he addressed his audience in Latin hexameters, which he called *Silvae* in honour of the Roman poet Statius.¹⁸⁹

Politian's library. Politian was fortunate enough to be living and working in Florence (the treasury of ancient Greek and Roman literature since Petrarch's time), and particularly lucky to be there in the time of Vespasiano da Bisticci (1421-1498), whose bookshop was then the leading centre of manuscript copying and the book trade.¹⁹⁰ Politian, a frequent visitor to his shop, praised the 'king of the world's booksellers' in an epigram, as he was able to meet all the Florentine intellectuals there and study a great number of invaluable manuscripts.¹⁹¹

The core of his library comprised his own transcripts and the notes he kept on anything that engaged his attention, as he wished to be able to consult these at any time. Thus, as Politian himself tells us, in the summer of 1472, while staying at Lorenzo de' Medici's villa at Fiesole, he copied or paraphrased excerpts from *Souda* concerning the ancient commentators on Hesiod, especially the *Theogony*.

He also copied passages from the *Grammatical Commentary on Hesiod's 'Shield of Heracles'* (Τεχνολογία εἰς τὴν τοῦ Ἡσιόδου Ἀσπίδα) by Ioannes Pediasimos.¹⁹² Other notes of his, all from his summer stays in Fiesole, inform us that he edited and annotated Apollodorus's *Bibliotheca*,¹⁹³ Eustathius's commentary on the *Odyssey* and one of the ancient commentators on Aristophanes.¹⁹⁴ Ever since his school days Politian had kept notes at lectures, which he copied (calling them his *excerpta*) into notebooks and kept as his constant companions. In fact he had already chosen his bookplate: Ἀγγελου πωλιτιανοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων and A. & G. *Politiani et amicorum*.¹⁹⁵

From the summer of 1473 he was a frequent visitor to the library of his patron, Lorenzo, and in 1480 Politian wrote to thank him for his generosity in giving him access to every text he wanted.¹⁹⁶ We are unclear on the precise contents of Lorenzo's library in 1480, but clearly it would have been much bigger and better than the library Lorenzo inherited from his father, Cosimo, for on the latter's death it consisted of only seventy codices. Between the date that it passed to Lorenzo and 1495, when the Medici were ousted from Florence, the library had grown to contain 1,017 codices and incunabula, most of them collected with the aid of Ianos Laskaris.



31. Politian (Angelo Poliziano). Woodcut from N. Reusner, *Icones sive Imagines viuae, literis Cl. Virorum, Italiae, Graeciae...*, Basel, 1599.

There are no extant records listing the books Politian possessed by the time of his death (28th September 1499). All the indications are that his collection, so valuable in every respect, shared the fate of many other humanists' libraries, for apparently its owner made absolutely no arrangements for its future. Undoubtedly, the fact that Politian was widely accepted in Florence's intellectual milieu afforded him unlimited access to local libraries, including those of the Medici family, the Monastery of San Marco and Bisticci's bookshop, and to the libraries of his humanist friends. To the rare and sometimes unique codices in the libraries belonging to local rulers and other humanists we should also add the printed editions now being published regularly by Florence's printing houses.¹⁹⁷

*What became
 of Politian's
 library*

A document relating to the catalogue of the Medici family books, compiled on 28th October 1495, lists the books that were seized from Politian's house after his death by the trustees of the Medici family in exchange for all the books Politian had borrowed and not returned.¹⁹⁸ There are thirty-five codices listed, mostly in Greek, including works by Aristotle, various treatises by Galen, Pindar's *Odes*, Aratus's *Phaenomena*, John Chrysostom's *Homilies* and an anthology of maxims.

καλλιμαχου εις λουτρα της παλλαδος.
 ο ωαι λωτροχοοι τας παλλαδος εξιτε πασαι
 εξιτε. ταν ιωπων αρτι φρυαωμεναν
 ταν ιεραν εσακουσα. και α θεος ευτυκος ερωει.
 ξουσθε νυν ω ξανθαι ξουσθε πελασγιαδες
 ουποκαθαναια μεγαλωσ απενιψατο παχεισ
 πριν κονιν ιωπειαν εξελασαι λαγονων
 ουδοκαδη λυθρωι πεπαλαγμενα παντα φερουσα
 τευχea των αδικων ηνη απο γηιγενεων
 αλλα πολυ πρατιστον υφαρματος αυχενας ιωπων
 λυσαμενα παγαισ εκλυσεν ωκεανω
 ιδρω και ραθαμιγγας. εφοιβασεν δε παγεντα
 παντα χαλινωφαγων αφρον απο στοματων
 ω ιταχαπιαδες και ην μυρα μηδαλαβαστρως.
 συριγγων αιω φθογγον υπαξονιον
 μη μυρα λωτροχοοι ται παλλαδι μηδαλαστρως.
 ουγαρ αθαναια χριματα μικτα φιλει.
 εισετε μηδε κατωπτρον. αι καλον ουμα το τήνδασ.

32. Callimachus, «Εἰς λουτρὰ τῆς Παλλάδος», one of the poems included in Politianus, A., *Miscellaneorum centuria prima*, Florence, Antonio di Bartolomeo Miscomini, 1489.

Three of the volumes taken by the trustees are now in the Laurentian Library: Lucretius's *De Rerum Natura*, the *Etymologicum Magnum* and G. Lekapenos's *De Arte grammatica et aliorum alia*.¹⁹⁹

The most likely scenario for the fate of Politian's library is that the collection was dispersed on his death (*in morte angeli politiani*); this is also supported by the testimony of Piero Vettori, who vainly attempted to locate books that had belonged to him.²⁰⁰ In any case, the Medici trustees did not compile their list until thirteen

months after Politian's death, a period in which anyone with access to his residence – among them his fellow-scholars, printer/publishers and former pupils – would have had little trouble in acquiring mementoes of their master and one of Italy's great poets. Guarino da Camerino confirms this hypothesis in a handwritten note preserved in a codex still in the San Marco library, which records that he himself delivered the codex to the library in 1497 and that it had belonged to Politian.²⁰¹ Furthermore, the fact that nothing of Politian's library remained in Florence is attested by a statement made four years later by Pietro Riccio, better known as Crinito, one of Politian's favourite students. When Aldus asked Crinito to send him any of the master's writings he could lay his hands on, in order to complete the second 'century' of Politian's *Miscellanea*, Crinito replied that the task would be extremely difficult.²⁰²

The two-volume collection of essays entitled *Miscellanea*, each volume consisting of a 'century' of chapters varying enormously in length, is an inexhaustible source of material for hypotheses concerning the books Politian had in his library.²⁰³ These are notes and scholia on literary matters which reveal his wide-ranging erudition, for they deal with grammatical, archaeological and all sorts of other matters. Politian reconstructs lost Greek originals, relying on quoted passages and Latin paraphrases, and translates Greek works into Latin with parallel textual criticism. He was the first to assemble the fragments of Callimachus's *Hecale*, which he included in the 1481 edition of his *Miscellanea*; and in another chapter he sets out to resolve the issue of the proper spelling of Virgil's name in Latin by adducing the testimony of ancient inscriptions.

Politian was especially interested in medical science, as one can infer not only from the presence of seven treatises by Galen in his library at the time the trustees of the Medici will compiled their list, but also from a copy of Celsus transcribed in his own hand and the sole surviving codex of Pelagonius's *Ars veterinaria*, which he had had copied by another scribe.²⁰⁴

NOTES

II

From the East
to the West

NOTES

1. This section of the first chapter is a revised version of an article that appeared in the *Festschrift* in honour of Marino Zorzi: K. Sp. Staikos, «Βιβλιοθήκη τῶν Βυζαντινῶν στὴ Δύση ἀπὸ τὸν Μανουὴλ Χρυσολωρᾶ στὸν Ἰανὸ Λάσκαρη», in *ΦΙΛΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΤΗΣ. Studi in Onore di Marino Zorzi*, Venice, Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini di Venezia, Biblioteca No 27, 2008, 427-437.
2. See *Charta* I, 112 on the *Erotemata* of Chrysoloras.
3. See F. Fuchs, *Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter*, Leipzig/Berlin 1926, 68-69; *Charta* I, 178-180.
4. On Niccoli's library see p. 146.
5. Guarino Veronese, Chrysoloras's favourite pupil, had an entrée into Constantinopolitan intellectual circles because, besides being Chrysoloras's pupil, he was also in some sense a disciple of his. See Pontico Virunio's introduction to the 1501 edition of the *Erotemata*; see also R. Sabbadini, *La scuola e gli studi di Guarino Veronese*, Catania 1896, 12-13.
6. On Aurispa see p. 93; also E. Bigi, 'Aurispa, Giovanni', in *DBI* IV (1962), 593-595.
7. On the manuscript of Hesychius belonging to Giangiacomo Bardellone of Mantua, which was edited by Mousouros and printed and published by Aldus in 1514, see Renouard, 67.
8. See p. 87.
9. See p. 41 ff.
10. See p. 44.
11. See p. 48.
12. See p. 83-90.
13. See *Charta* I, 67-89.
14. *Ibid.*, 71-80.
15. See *The Great Libraries*, 348-349.
16. See L. Dorez, 'Un document sur la bibliothèque de Théodore Gaza', *Revue de Bibliothèques* 3 (1893) 385-390.
17. On Argyropoulos see G. Cammelli, *Ἰωάννης Ἀργυρόπουλος* (= *I dotti bizantini e le origini dell' Umanesimo II: Giovanni Argyropulo*, tr. D. Arvanitakis), Athens, Kotinos, 2006; *Charta* I, 173-196.
18. This information comes from a letter from Konstantinos Laskaris to Giovanni Pardo: see *BH* I/1, LXXX-LXXXI.
19. On Chalkokondyles see G. Cammelli, *Δημήτριος Χαλκοκονδύλης* (= *I dotti bizantini e le origini dell' Umanesimo III: Demetrio Calcondila*, tr. D. Arvanitakis), Athens 2004.
20. *BMC* VI, 678-679 (IB. 26567a); *Charta* I, 150.
21. *BMC* VI, 767-768 (IB. 26861d).
22. *BMC* VI, 767 (IB. 26857); *Charta* I, 234.
23. *BMC* VI, 792 (IC. 26913); *Charta* I, 236-238.
24. See Cammelli, *Δημήτριος Χαλκοκονδύλης*, 108.
25. *Ibid.*, 131.
26. On Kallistos see G. Cammelli, 'Andronico Callisto', *La Rinascita* V (1942) 104-121, 174-214.
27. See the letter from della Torre to Lorenzo de' Medici in A. Fabroni, *Laurentii Medicis Vita*, vol. II, Pisa 1784, 286-287; also *BH* I/1, LIV.
28. On Konstantinos Laskaris see A. de Rosa-lia, 'La vita di Constantino Lascaris', *Archivio Storico Siciliano*, 3rd ser., XL (1957-1958) 20-70.
29. See *BMC* VI, 731 (IB. 26274); *Charta* I, 139-140.
30. See F. Lo Parco, 'Scolario-Saba, bibliofilo

- italiota, vissuto tra l'XI e il XII secolo e la Biblioteca del Monastero basiliano del S.S. Salvatore di Bordonaro, presso Massima', *Atti della Reale Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti*, n.s., 1 (1910) 209-286.
31. See *BH* I/1, LXXXIII.
32. See p. 152.
33. See N. Papatriandafyllou-Theodoridi, «Ὁ Ἰανὸς Λάσκαρης καὶ οἱ τύχες τῆς βιβλιοθήκης του», in *Μνήμη Λίνου Πολίτη*, Thessaloniki 1988, 117-131.
34. See K.I. Yannakopoulos, «Ἕλληνες Λόγιοι εἰς τὴν Βενετίαν: Μελέται ἐπὶ τῆς διαδόσεως τῶν ἑλληνικῶν γραμμάτων ἀπὸ τοῦ Βυζαντίου εἰς τὴν δυτικὴν Εὐρώπην», tr. Ch.G. Patrinelis, Athens 1965, 103-149; *Charta* I, 311-356 (with full bibliography).
35. See *Opus epistolarum Desiderii Erasmi Rotterodami*, ed. P.S. Allen, vol. V, Oxford, 1924, ep. 1347, 244.
36. See E. Mioni, 'La biblioteca greca di Marco Musuro', *AV*, 5th ser., 93 (1971) 5-28.
37. See E. Walser, *Poggius Florentinus. Leben und Werke*, Leipzig/Berlin 1914.
38. See the letter written to him by Guarino Veronese in 1416 mourning the loss of their former teacher: *Epistolario di Guarino*, ed. R. Sabbadini, vol. I, ep. 47, 102; G. Cammelli, *Μανουὴλ Χρυσολωρᾶς (= I dotti bizantini e le origini dell' Umanesimo I: Manuele Crisolora*, tr. D. Arvanitakis), Athens, Kotinos, 2006, 161.
39. See p. 94.
40. The Curia arrived at Konstanz from Rome in 1413 and its work was completed in May 1418.
41. See *Poggii Epistolae*, ed. Th. de Tonellis, 3 vols, 1832-1861; *Poggii Opera Omnia*, ed. R. Fubini, 4 vols, Torino 1964-1969; also Helene Harth, 'Niccolò Niccoli als literarischer Zensor. Untersuchungen zur Textgeschichte von Poggios "De avaritia"', *Rinascimento* XVIII (1967) 29-53; and more recently Phyllis W. Goodhart Gordan, *Two Renaissance Book Hunters: The Letters of Poggio Bracciolini to Nicolaus de Niccolis*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1991.
42. *Pog. Ep.* XXXIV: see Goodhart Gordan, *op. cit.*, 92.
43. See A.C. Clark, 'The Vetus Cluniacensis of Poggio', *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Classical Series, vol. XI, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1909, vols. I-III.
44. Appendix: *Ep.* I, Goodhart Gordan, *op. cit.*, 189.
45. See B.L. Ullman, 'The Origin and Development of Humanistic Script', *Storia e Letteratura* 79 (1960) 21 ff.
46. See Goodhart Gordan, *op. cit.*, 188.
47. *Pog. Ep.* LXXXI, Goodhart Gordan, *op. cit.*, 160. On the Lucretius manuscript see K. Müller, 'De codicum Lucretii Italicorum origine', *Museum Helveticum* 30 (1973) 166-178.
48. See J. Stroux, *Handschriftliche Studien zu Cicero. De Oratore*, Basel 1921.
49. See A.C. Clark, 'The Reappearance of the Texts of the Classics', *The Library*, 4th ser., 2 (1921) 36; B.L. Ullman, *Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, Rome, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1955, 315 ff.
50. See Walser, *Poggius Florentinus...*, 79 ff.
51. *Ibid.*, 273 ff.
52. See N. Rubinstein, 'Poggio Bracciolini, cancelliere e storico di Firenze', *Atti e Memorie della Accademia Petrarca*, n.s., 37 (1985) 215 ff.
53. Poggio Bracciolini, Giovanni Francesco, *The Facetiae or Jocose Tales of Poggio, now first translated into English with the Latin text*, 2 vols., Paris, Isidore Liseux, 1879.
54. On medieval universities and the *pecia* system see Staikos IV, 286-289.
55. See G. Prezziner, *Storia del pubblico Studio e delle Società Scientifiche e Letterarie di Firenze*, Florence 1810; A. Gherardi, *Statuti della Università e Studio Fiorentino*, Florence 1881.

56. On Bessarion's circle and the form taken by his academy see p. 84.
57. On the foundation and objectives of the New Academy see A. della Torre, *Storia dell'Accademia Platonica di Firenze*, Florence 1902, 353-367.
58. See V. Zabughin, *Giulio Pomponio Leto*, Saggio critico, 2 vols., Grottaferrata/Rome, 1909-1912; J. Wardrop, *The Script of Humanism: Some Aspects of Humanistic Script 1460-1560*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1963, 20-23.
59. After the death of Nicholas V (1455) and the accession of Alfonso de Borja to the papal throne as Calixtus III, many of the humanists left the Curia and went to Naples to join Panormita's scholarly circle.
60. On the Platonic Academy see esp. della Torre, *Storia...*; A.M. Field, *The Beginning of the Philosophical Renaissance in Florence, 1454-1469*, University of Michigan 1980; P.O. Kristeller, 'Florentine Platonism and its Relations with Humanism and Scholasticism', *Church History* VIII (1939) 201-211; Id., 'The Philosophy of Man in the Italian Renaissance', *Italica* XXIV (1947) 93-112; and relevant bibliography in *Marsilio Ficino e il ritorno di Platone. Studi e Documenti*, ed. G.C. Garfagnini, 2 vols., Florence, L.S. Olschki, 1986, vol. I, 50-80.
61. See esp. M.J.C. Lowry, 'The "New Academy" of Aldus Manutius: A Renaissance Dream', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 58,2 (1976) 378-420; and see p. 59 herein.
62. See E. Garin, 'La vita di Marsilio Ficino', *Rinascimento* II (1951) 95-96; P.O. Kristeller, 'Marsilio Ficino as a Beginning Student of Plato', *Scriptorium* XX (1966) 41-54.
63. For examples of miniature art in Ficino's manuscripts and printed books, see *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana: Firenze*, Florence, Nardini Editore, 1986, 248, 249, 258.
64. See P.O. Kristeller, 'The First Printed Edition of Plato's Works and the Date of its Publication (1484)', in *Science and History: Studies in Honor of Edward Rosen*, Wroclaw 1978, 25-35.
65. The first printed edition of any of Plato's writings is dated *circa* 1474: it is his *Letters* in Leonardo Bruni's translation, edited by Guillaume Fichet and printed in Paris. See p. 182.
66. The edition of Plotinus, printed by Antonio di Bartolomeo Miscomini in Florence in 1492 (*Census* P 810), caused a great sensation in humanist circles.
67. On the *editio princeps* see Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce*, 342-355; and on the Estienne edition see F. Schreiber, *The Estiennes*, New York 1982, 167-170 (201); J. Hankins, «Some remarks on the History and Character of Ficino's translation of Plato», *Marsilio Ficino e il Ritorno di Platone. Studi e Documenti*, vol. I, G.C. Garfagnini, Firenze, L.S. Olschki, 1986, 287-297.
68. See p. 270.
69. On Chrysoloras's method of translating see p. 44.
70. See esp. P.O. Kristeller, *Renaissance Concepts of Man*, New York 1972; E. Garin, 'Le interpretazioni del pensiero di Giovanni Pico', repr. *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, Bari 1961², 99-100; Id., 'La dignitas hominis e la letteratura patristica', *La Rinascita* 4 (1938) 102-146.
71. See E. Garin, *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola*, Parma 1963; W.G. Craven, *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Symbol of his Age: Modern Interpretations of a Renaissance Philosopher*, Geneva, Librairie Droz, 1981.
72. See P. Kibre, *The Library of Pico della Mirandola*, New York 1936. On other great libraries of this period see pp. 146 ff and 83 ff herein (the libraries of Niccolò Niccoli and Cardinal Bessarion respectively).
73. Kibre's catalogue (pp. 115-297) lists 1,697

- titles of manuscripts and printed books. The catalogue is based on a sixteenth-century manuscript (Vat. lat. 364) which contains the *Inventarius librorum Io. Pici Mirandulae*; it may be a copy of an inventory of Pico's library compiled before his death.
74. On the Malatesta family see G. Franceschini's monograph *I Malatesta*, Varese 1973; and on Novello's character and personality *ibid.*, 389-414. See also N. Masini, *Vita di Domenico Malatesta signore di Cesena*, BCM, Ms. 45188 (16th c.), published by G.M. Muccioli in his *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum ... Malatestianae Caesenatis Bibliothecae*, Cesena 1780-1784, vol. II, 273.
 75. Legend has it that St. Francis, after his meeting in 1226 with the saintly hermit Giovanni Bono in a cave in the plain of Cesuola, decided to go and live at Cesena: see G. Conti, 'L'edificio: Architettura e decorazione', in *La Biblioteca Malatestiana di Cesena*, ed. L. Baldacchini, Rome 1992, 57-118.
 76. See A. Domeniconi, *La Biblioteca Malatestiana*, Cesena 1982 (= Domeniconi, *La Biblioteca*), 2.
 77. On the formation of the library see A. Campana, 'Le biblioteche della provincia di Forlì. I: Cesena', in *Tesori delle biblioteche d'Italia: Emilia-Romagna*, ed. D. Fava, Milan 1931 (= Campana, 'Le biblioteche'), 3-43; P.G. Fabbri, 'Il signore, la libreria, la città' in *La Biblioteca Malatestiana di Cesena* (= Fabbri, 'Il signore'), 15-54.
 78. On the architecture of the library and Nuti's design see p. 447 ff.
 79. See Campana, 'Le biblioteche', 8; Domeniconi, *La Biblioteca*, 9.
 80. See Campana, 'Le biblioteche', 9; Domeniconi, *La Biblioteca*, 14-15; Fabbri, 'Il signore', 50. Macario was in Cesena on a brief visit: the Bible he copied for Novello is an outstanding example of the contemporary humanistic script. Catrinello's last work for the lord of Cesena was a copy of Cicero's *Rhetorica ad Herennium* which he completed and delivered in 1465, the year of Novello's death.
 81. See Campana, 'Le biblioteche', 10; Domeniconi, *La Biblioteca*, 15-16; Fabbri, 'Il signore', 39, 42, 50. On Jean d'Épinal see A. Domeniconi, 'Ser Giovanni da Epinal, copista di Malatesta Novello', *Studi Romagnoli* 10 (1959) 261-282. Crivelli, who was probably a native of Lombardy, is regarded as the originator of the style of Renaissance illumination characteristic of the Ferrara school during the Renaissance: see L. Eleen, 'Crivelli, Tadeo' in *DBI* 36 (1988) 151-160.
 82. See Campana, 'Le biblioteche', 13; Domeniconi, *La Biblioteca*, 16; Fabbri, 'Il signore', 50.
 83. Novello Malatesta's armorial bearings consisted of a linear composition surrounded by a laurel wreath. In the manuscript tradition this was embellished with various decorative motifs in the style of the artist concerned: see Fabbri, 'Il signore', 30, 31, 40, 41, 45.
 84. See Campana, 'Le biblioteche', 17-18; Domeniconi, *La Biblioteca*, 37-40; Fabbri, 'Il signore', 54.
 85. See Muccioli, *Catalogus Codicum...*; R. Zazzeri, *Sui codici e libri a stampa della Biblioteca Malatestiana di Cesena*, Cesena 1887.
 86. On the history of the choral manuscripts see L. Baldacchini, 'Dalla "libreria domini" alla biblioteca pubblica' in *La Biblioteca Malatestiana di Cesena*, 133-167; and esp. F. Lollini, 'Bologna, Ferrara, Cesena: I corali del Bessarione tra circuiti umanistici e percorsi di artisti' in *Corali Miniati del Quattrocento nella Biblioteca Malatestiana*, ed. P. Lucchi, Milan 1989, 19-36.
 87. See Campana, 'Le biblioteche', 15; Domeniconi, *La Biblioteca*, 17-19; and esp. G.

- Bonfiglio-Dosio, 'Il testamento di Novello Malatesta (9 aprile 1464)', *Romagna arte e storia* 8, 22 (1988) 11-18.
88. See Campana, 'Le biblioteche', 15-17; Domeniconi, *La Biblioteca*, 17-18; Fabbri, 'Il signore', 34-36.
89. In 1469, three years after Novello's death, the Cesena Council of Ninety-Six decided to institute a system of regular checks on the library and assumed the responsibility for its organization and administration, at the urging of Antonio Zanolini: see Fabbri, 'Il signore', 34. The fact is that ever since 1451 Novello had expressed the wish that it should be run as a public library under the Council's control: see A. Domeniconi, 'I custodi della Biblioteca Malatestiana di Cesena dalle origini alla seconda metà del Seicento', *Studi romagnoli* 14 (1963) 385-396.
90. The bibliography on Bessarion is very extensive and the most recent aid to the study of his life and work is Lotte Labowsky's article, 'Bessarione', in *DBI* 9 (1967), 686-696. The most useful earlier works, in chronological order, are: H. Vast, *Le cardinal Bessarion (1403-1472). Etude sur la chrétienté et la Renaissance vers le milieu du XVe siècle*, Paris, Hachette, 1878 (= Vast, *Le cardinal*); L. Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsmann: Funde und Forschungen*, 3 vols., Paderborn 1923-1942 (= Mohler, *Kardinal*); A. Kyrou, *Βησσαρίων ὁ Ἑλληγν*, 2 vols., Athens 1947 (= Kyrou, *Βησσαρίων*).
91. On students from Western Europe in Constantinople in the fifteenth century see Fuchs, *Die höheren Schulen...*, esp. 70; *Charta* I, 178-180.
92. On Bessarion's studies with Plethon see F. Masai, *Pléthon et le platonisme de Mistra*, Paris 1956, 306-312.
93. On Bessarion's Academy, as it was called, see Vast, *Le cardinal*, 306-311, 314, 320-321; Mohler, *Kardinal*, vol. I, 330-335; Kyrou, *Βησσαρίων*, 135-161; *Charta* I, 92 and Concetta Bianca, 'Roma e l'accademia bessarionea', *Bessarione e l'Umanesimo. Catalogo della mostra*, ed. Gianfranco Fiaccadori with introduction by M. Zorzi, Naples, Vivarium, 1994, 118-127 (= *Bessarione e l'Umanesimo*).
94. See Kyrou, *Βησσαρίων*, 149-150.
95. On the copyists working for Bessarion see A. Diller, 'Three Greek Scribes Working for Bessarion: Trivizias, Callistus, Hermonymus', *IMU* 10 (1967) 404-410; E. Mioni, 'Bessarione scriba e alcuni suoi collaboratori' in *Miscellanea Marciana di Studi Bessarionei*, Padua 1976, 263-318; Id., 'Bessarione bibliofilo e filologo', *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, n.s., 15 (1986) 61-83.
96. See Vast, *Le cardinal*; Mohler, *Kardinal*, vol. I, 330-335; Kyrou, *Βησσαρίων*, 147-151.
97. On Giovanni Andrea de Bussi and his editorial work for the Sweynheim and Pannartz printing house, and on Gazis's involvement in that work and his relations with the Bishop of Aleria, see *Charta* I, 71-73.
98. Johann Müller of Königsberg was born in 1436 and took lessons with Georg Peurbach from an early age. He worked closely with his teacher and carried on his work of emending the corrupt passages that had crept into writings on astronomy and mathematics in the Middle Ages, starting, naturally enough, with Pythagoras, Ptolemy and Euclid. On Peurbach's death in 1461 he followed Cardinal Bessarion to Rome, where he completed the work of editing Ptolemy's *Almagest*. He then applied himself avidly to the study of the books in Bessarion's collection and started buying manuscripts for himself, or copying any that he found on his travels to various Italian cities but was unable to buy. See E. von Zinner, 'Die wissenschaftlichen Bestrebun-

- gen Regiomontans' in *Beiträge für Inkunabelkunde*, n.s., 2 (1938) 89-103. Regiomontanus was also the publisher of the *Ephemerides*: see von Zinner, *op. cit.*, 91-97 and innumerable plates.
99. Reproductions and lengthy, detailed descriptions of manuscripts copied at the Academy are to be found in *Bessarione e l'Umanesimo*, 381-513.
100. Ioannes Rossos is considered one of the greatest Greek scribes; in fact he and Angelos Vergikios were probably the best during the Renaissance. He copied manuscripts for many scholars and noblemen, including the Medici. The ornamented initials and headpieces in his manuscripts served as models for the design of the plates used in the *Etymologicum Magnum* (Venice, 1499). For Cardinal Bessarion he copied numerous manuscripts, all notable for the elegance of the script and ornamentation.
101. *Bessarione e l'Umanesimo*, 173, Lat. 430 (= 1833).
102. *Ibid.*, 177, Lat. 241 (= 1837).
103. *Ibid.*, 177, Lat. 254 (= 1726).
104. *Ibid.*, 191, Lat. 462 (= 1763).
105. *Ibid.*, 191, Lat. 362 (= 1832).
106. *Ibid.*, 188, Lat. 313 (= 1488).
107. Nicolaus Cusanus (Nicolaus Chryffs), the German scholar and textual critic who read mathematics and literary studies at Padua, entered the Church, was made a cardinal and then consecrated bishop soon after. He amassed a fine collection of manuscripts and incunabula, which he acquired while he was living in Rome. See Concetta Bianca, 'Niccolò Cusano e la sua Biblioteca: Note, "Notabilia", Glosse', in *Bibliothecae Selectae: Da Cusano a Leopardi*, ed. Eugenio Canone, Florence, Leo S. Olschki, 1993, 1-11.
108. See Labowsky, 'Bessarione', 691. The astronomer Georg Peurbach took his surname from the village where he was born in 1423; his family name is not known. He died in Vienna in 1461. After studying philosophy and mathematics in Vienna he went to Italy, where he met Nicolaus Cusanus and Giovanni Blancini, who initiated him to lecture at Ferrara University. On his return to Vienna he was appointed to the Chair of Mathematics; and at the same time he immersed himself in the study of astronomy and took a special interest in the work of Ptolemy (Claudius Ptolemaeus). He invented a large number of instruments for use in astronomical observations and Bessarion encouraged him to learn Greek, so that he would be able to read the sources in the original rather than in often unreliable translations see *NBU* 39 (1862), 772-773.
109. See A. Rigo, 'Bessarione, Giovanni Regiomontano e i loro studi su Tolomeo', *Studi veneziani*, n.s., 21 (1991), 49-110.
110. See esp. M. Zorzi, *La Libreria di San Marco. Libri, lettori, società nella Venezia dei Dogi*, Milan, Arnoldo Mondadori Editore, 1987, 23 ff.
111. See *Bessarione e l'Umanesimo*, 381-382; Zorzi, *La Libreria...*, 77-79.
112. See Zorzi, *La Libreria...*, 83-85.
113. See esp. M.J.C. Lowry, 'Two Great Venetian Libraries in the Age of Aldus Manutius', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 1 (57), 1974, 130-131; and on the wealth of manuscripts of the Aristotelian corpus and commentators see P. Kibre, 'The Intellectual Interests Reflected in Libraries of the XIVth and XVth Centuries', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, III, 1946, 281-283.
114. See *Bessarione e l'Umanesimo*, 484, Gr. 454 (= 822); and on Arethas's library see Staikos III, 230-233.

115. *Bessarione e l'Umanesimo*, 449, Gr. 229 (= 616) on Aristotle.
116. *Ibid.*, 420-421 (Ambrosiana, R 125 sup.).
117. *Ibid.*, 416, Gr. 747 (Coll. 842).
118. *Ibid.*, 449, Gr. 229 (= 616).
119. *Ibid.*, 410, Gr. 196 (= 743).
120. *Ibid.*, 408-409, Gr. 517 (= 886); and on the dispute see Anna Pontani, 'Note sulla controversia platonico-aristotelica del Quattrocento', in *Contributi di filologia greca medievale e moderna*, Catania 1989, 107 ff.; J. Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, vol. I, Leiden 1990, 217 ff.
121. See *Bessarione e l'Umanesimo*, 460, Gr. 199 (= 604), and 462, Gr. 198 (= 744).
122. *Ibid.*, 383, Gr. 365 (= 739).
123. *Ibid.*, 393 (Biblioteca Apostolica, Lat. 1806).
124. *Ibid.*, 487, Gr. 479 (= 881).
125. *Ibid.*, 490, Gr. 339 (= 816).
126. *Ibid.*, Lat. 414 (= 1882).
127. *Ibid.*, 495 (membr. 15 bis).
128. *Ibid.*, 490, Gr. 339 (= 816).
129. See *Bessarione e l'Umanesimo*, 510, Lat. 38 (= 1978).
130. *Ibid.*, 476-477 (Cus. 177).
131. A history of the Biblioteca Marciana from the time of Bessarion's benefaction until it was installed in the building designed by Sansovino was written by one of the library's Curators: J. Valentinelli, *Bibliotheca Manuscripta ad S. Marci Venetiarum*, vol. I, Venice 1868; see also Lotte Labowsky, 'Manuscripts from Bessarion's Library Found in Milan', *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 5 (1961) 108-132; Ead., 'Il Cardinale Bessarione e gli inizi della Bibliotheca Marciana', in *Venezia e l'Oriente fra tardo Medioevo e Rinascimento*, ed. A. Pertusi, Florence 1965, 159-182; Lowry, 'Two Great Venetian Libraries...', 133-139.
132. Marco Antonio Coccio was renamed Sabellico by his teacher, Pomponio Leto, when he was studying at Leto's Academy

- in Rome. He studied rhetoric, philosophy, mathematics and Greek literature; see G. Fabris, 'Gli scolari illustri della Università di Padova', *Atti e Memorie della Reale Accademia di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti in Padova* LVI (1939-1940) 315; Id., 'Professori e scolari greci all'Università di Padova', *AV* XXX (1942) 128; and more generally see A. Pertusi (ed.), 'Gli inizi della storiografia umanistica nel Quattrocento', *La storiografia veneziana fino al secolo XVI. Aspetti e problemi*, Florence 1970, 269-332; F. Gilbert, 'Biondo, Sabellico and the Beginnings of the Venetian Official Historiography', in *Florilegium Historiale* (Essays presented to Wallace K. Ferguson), Toronto 1971, 276-293. On Sabellico's appointment as librarian, see M. Sanudo, *Diarii*, ed. R. Fulin et al., XXXIV, Venice 1892³, 90-91.
133. See Gilbert, 'Biondo, Sabellico...', 285; and on Sabellico's appointment see P. Papinio 'Nuove notizie intorno ad Andrea Navagero e Daniele Barbaro', *AV* III (1872) 256-257. Andrea Navagero was Aldus Manutius's principal adviser on the preparation of Latin editions; in other words, he was the counterpart of Mousouros, who advised Aldus and edited the texts of his Greek editions. He was born in Venice in 1483 and died at Blois on 8th May 1529. After studying under Sabellico in Venice he went on to Padua University, where his mentors were Mousouros and Pomponazzi. In about 1508-1509 he became friendly with Bartolomeo of Pordenone. See A. Navagerii *Opera Omnia*, Venice 1754; Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce*, 465-466; E. Cigogna, *Delle iscrizioni veneziane*, vol. VI, Venice 1853, 173 ff.; M. Carmenati, 'Un diplomato naturalista del Rinascimento: Andrea Navagero', *NAV* 24 (1912) 164-205; Yannakopoulos, *Ἑλληνες Λόγιοι...*, 119,

- 124; *OAME* II, 363. Ianos Laskaris wrote an epigram lamenting his death: see Anna Meschini, *Giano Lascaris, Epigrammi Greci*, Studi Bizantini e Neogreci, Padua 1976, 82-83 (69).
134. Mousouros's letter to Navagero is published in C. Castellani, 'Il prestito dei codici manoscritti della Biblioteca di San Marco a Venezia nei suoi primi tempi e le conseguenti perdite dei codici stessi', *Atti del Imp. Reg. Istituto Veneto*, 7th s., 8 (1896-1897) 311-377. Mousouros was offered two manuscripts stolen by a young Venetian who was related to the Grand Chancellor. He bought one of them, a codex of *De medicina equorum* by Apsyrus, from a Rome bookseller, Francesco Pozzi. The other, a Greek copy of Bessarion's *In calumniatorem Platonis*, was brought to him by a Roman barber whose son, a student of Greek, had bought it from Pozzi; see Labowsky, 'Bessarione...', 177.
135. See C. Castellani, 'Pietro Bembo, bibliotecario della libreria di S. Marco in Venezia', *Atti dell'istituto di scienze, lettere e arti*, s. 7, 7 (1895-96) 862-898. Pietro Bembo (1470-1547) went on a tour to various cities in Italy at an early age and met a number of eminent humanists, through whom he was introduced to contemporary intellectual trends. On his return to Venice he was befriended by Poliziano (1491) and went to Messina with Angelo Gabrielli for the sole purpose of taking lessons from K. Laskaris. He read philosophy at Padua, decided to go into the Church, moved to Rome and was taken on as private secretary to Pope Leo X. In 1521 he retired to Padua to concentrate on the pursuit of his intellectual interests; and in 1539 he went back to Rome, where he was awarded his cardinal's hat. He spent the last years of his life first at Urbino and then at Bergamo. His fine collection of manuscripts, including codices copied in his own hand, notable for their elegance, later passed into the possession of the Vatican Library; see C. Dionisotti, 'Bembo, Pietro', in *DBI* 8 (1966), 133-151.
136. See Castellani, 'Pietro Bembo...', 896.
137. See Lowry, 'Two Great Venetian Libraries...', 128 ff. Cardinal Domenico Grimani's collection played an important part in Venetian intellectual life and especially in the Aldine publishing programme, for Aldus and his associates were always on the lookout for authoritative texts. Grimani's library, enlarged in 1498 by the acquisition of Pico della Mirandola's 1,190 codices (including quite a number in Greek, many of them commentaries and scholia on Aristotle). When Grimani died in 1523 his library contained no fewer than fifteen thousand volumes, making it the largest in Western Europe: see Sanudo, *Diarii*, 407-408.
138. On Pico della Mirandola's library see p. 74.
139. See p. 488-491 in the chapter on library architecture.
140. On the first two phases in the history of the Vatican Library see Staikos IV, 335-348.
141. See *VBV* I, 35-81; B. Platina, *De vitis Pontificum Romanorum*, Köln 1573, 281-289. Cosimo de' Medici had commissioned Parentucelli to compile a list of the books to be included in the 'ideal library', which, according to Bisticci, should contain all the *opere necessarie ad una libreria*. See *VBV* I, 46-47; E. Piccolomini, 'Notizie intorno al canone bibliografico di Niccolò V', *ASI*, s. III, XXI (1876) 207-217; R. Frattarolo, *Biblioteche d'Italia dall'antico al nuovo*, Roma 1957, 22-23.
142. On the 'ideal library catalogue' see p. 148.
143. On the projects undertaken by the Curia,

- centred on the translations done by George of Trebizond, see J. Monfasani, *George of Trebizond: A biography and a study of his rhetoric and logic*, Leiden 1976, 69-136; and, more generally, VBV I, 65-69.
144. On the Vatican Library see Paolo de Niccolò, 'Profilo storico della biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana', *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Florence, Nardini Editore, 1985, 19-36; J. Ruysschaert, 'La fondation de la Bibliothèque Vaticane en 1475 et les témoignages contemporaines', *Studi offerti a Roberto Ridolfi*, ed. B. Maracchi Bigiarelli and D.E. Rhodes [Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana, 71], Florence 1973, 413-420; Eugène Müntz and Paule Fabre, *La Bibliothèque du Vatican au XV^e siècle*, Paris 1887, 35-114; L.E. Boyle, 'The Future of Old Libraries: The Vatican Library', *Liber* 8 (1986) 42-45; Id., 'The Vatican Library', in *Rome Reborn: The Vatican Library & Renaissance Culture*, Library of Congress, Washington/Yale University Press, New Haven & London, in association with the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, 1993, XIV; J.W. Clark, *The Care of Books: An essay on the development of libraries and their fittings from the earliest times to the end of the eighteenth century*, Cambridge 1901, 208-211, 220-224.
145. On Poggio as a manuscript-hunter see p. 68.
146. Aurispa was one of the first Italians to go to Constantinople for the purpose of buying manuscripts, which they then sold on to local rulers, noblemen and other bibliophiles: see p. 62.
147. Tommaso Parentucelli was an avid collector of ancient writings of any kind that might broaden his intellectual horizons. His first exploratory expeditions took him to Lombardy and Emilia, and later he went to Germany and France, often in company with Aurispa. In the course of his travels, which took him to numerous cathedral and monastery libraries, he discovered the *Psalms* of Leo the Great and several other manuscripts including Thomas Aquinas's *Commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew*, all unknown until then in Italy; see VBV I, 46.
148. See VBV I, 66; G.B. Alberti, 'Erodoto nella traduzione latina di Lorenzo Valla', *B.P.E.C.*, n.s., VII (1959) 65-84; Id., 'Autografi greci di Lorenzo Valla nel Codice Vaticano greco 122', *IMU* III (1960) 287-290.
149. The library has a copy of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* in Poggio's translation (Vat. lat. 3422, inscribed with a dedication to Alfonso of Aragon): see VBV I, 552; Monfasani, *George of Trebizond...*, 70. All five incunabular editions of the *Bibliotheca* are likewise in Poggio's translation: GW 8374-8377 and IGI 5841.
150. See VBV I, 67 and 302-303. Perotti was born at Sassoferrato in 1429 and spent a good many years at Cardinal Bessarion's villa in Rome: he was a pupil of Bessarion's and searched for manuscripts on his behalf. He translated Polybius and Hippocrates and, making good use of his solid grounding in Latin, wrote an up-to-date Latin grammar, *Rudimenta grammaticae*: see G. Mercati, *Per la cronologia della vita e degli scritti di Niccolò Perotti, arcivescovo di Siponto*, Roma 1925; VBV I, 301-305.
151. See VBV I, 67; VBV I, 485-538.
152. See VBV I, 68. On Gazis and his life and work see *Charta* I, 67-89.
153. See VBV I, 68. Ambrogio Traversari (1386-1439) was an unusual figure among early Italian humanists: a churchman who rose to be general of the Camaldolese Order, he studied Latin from an early age and Greek later, under Chrysoloras. He translated the works of pseudo-Dionysius the

- Areopagite, almost certainly before 1439, though Bisticci mistakenly states that he was commissioned to do so by Pope Nicholas V (1447-1455); see C. Somigli, *Un amico dei Greci: Ambrogio Traversari*, Arezzo 1964; VBV I, 449-461.
154. See VBV I, 68, 556-558; Monfasani, *George of Trebizond...*, 69 ff.; *Charta* I, 56-59.
155. See VBV II, 61-64, 556-558; G. Mancini, *Giovanni Tortelli cooperatore di Niccolò V nel fondare la Biblioteca Vaticana*, with appendix by G. Mercati, Florence 1921. Tortelli (ca. 1400-1466) studied under Gaspare Sighicelli at Siena before moving to Florence in 1434. He subsequently spent three years studying Greek in Constantinople: see *Charta* I, 194-195.
156. See VBV II, 51-52. Alberto Enoch was born at Ascoli and died there in 1475. He studied Latin under Filelfo and was the tutor of Giovanni and Piero de' Medici. See A. Reumont, 'Enoche d'Ascoli', *ASI* 20 (1874) 188-190; R. Sabbadini, 'Le scoperte di Enoche da Ascoli', *Studi italiani di filologia classica* 8 (1899) 119-131; C. Carboni, *Biografia di Enoche d'Ascoli*, n.p., 1918.
157. See de Niccolò, 'Profilo storico...', 21.
158. The story of the Pope's appeal is told in G. Voigt, *Il risorgimento dell' antichità classica ovvero il primo secolo dell' umanesimo* (Italian translation with introduction and notes by D. Valbusa) II, Florence (Sansoni) 1890, 187.
159. Piccolomini came from Siena. While busy travelling on diplomatic missions and attending to his apostolic duties, he made friends with some of the leading figures on the humanist scene, such as Poggio, Capranica, Aurispa and Bruni, with whom he had a shared interest in literature. Part of his private library was immortalized by his nephew, Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini, Archbishop of Siena, in the Piccolomini Library, an architectural gem in Siena Cathedral.
160. See J. Ruyschaert, 'Sixte IV, fondateur de la Bibliothèque Vaticane', *Archivum Historiae Pontificae* 7 (1969) 513-524.
161. See Clark, *The Care of Books...*, 208, 231. Platina (1421-1481) was born in 1421 at Piadena, a small town near Cremona. After studying first with Ognibene Leonico, he learnt Greek with Argyropoulos. See J. Ruyschaert, 'Platina et les deux étapes de l'aménagement des locaux sous Sixte IV, 1471-1481', in *Bartolomeo Sacchi il Platina* [Medioevo e Umanesimo, 62], Padua 1986, 145-151; Id., 'La Bibliothèque Vaticane dans les dix premières années du pontificat de Sixte IV', *Archivum Historiae Pontificae* 24 (1986) 71-90.
162. See Clark, *The Care of Books...*, 231-232; and, on the size of the collection, Müntz and Fabre, *La Bibliothèque...*, 148-150; Clark, *The Care of Books...*, 209.
163. See de Niccolò, 'Profilo storico...', 24.
164. See P. Canart, 'Démétrius Damilas, alias le "Librarius Florentinus"', *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, n.s., 14-16 (1977-1979) 281-347; and, on his overall contribution to the successful introduction of Greek typography, see *Charta* I, 137-176.
165. On the improvements made to the library before the sack of Rome in 1527 see J. Heers, *La vita quotidiana nella Roma pontificia ai tempi dei Borgia e dei Medici*, Milan, Rizzoli, 1988; D. Coffin, *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome*, Princeton N.J., Princeton University Press, 1991; J. D'Amico, *Renaissance Humanism in Papal Rome*, Baltimore/London, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983.
166. See E. Rodocanachi, *Histoire de Rome. Le Pontificat de Jules II (1503-1513)*, Paris, Hachette, [1928].

167. See *Charta* I, 412-413.
168. See *BH* 1/I, 129-131 (147).
169. See A. Chastel, *The Sack of Rome, 1527*, Princeton N.J., Princeton University Press, 1983.
170. See Boyle, 'The Vatican Library', XIV.
171. Vat. lat. 5757.
172. Vat. gr. 1209.
173. Vat. lat. 3868.
174. Vat. gr. 749.
175. Vat. lat. 3358.
176. Borg. lat. XVI.
177. Vat. lat. 5699.
178. Vat. lat. 508.
179. Vat. lat. 263.
180. Vat. lat. 365.
181. See R. Pfeiffer, *Ἱστορία τῆς Κλασσικῆς Φιλολογίας. Ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχῶν μέχρι τοῦ τέλους τῶν ἐλληνιστικῶν χρόνων* (= *History of Classical Scholarship*, tr. P. Xenos with preface by Ch. S. Floratos, Athens 1980, 50.
182. See Isidoro del Lungo, *Florentia, Uomini e cose del Quattrocento*, Florence 1897, which represents the first attempt to gather together the main facts of Politian's life; see also Ida Maier, *Ange Politien. La formation d'un poète humaniste (1469-1480)*, Geneva, Librairie Droz, 1966.
183. See A. Politiani, Lyon, ap. Seb. Gryphium, 1536-1539, 3 vols., *Miscellanea* I, 1, 505.
184. *Ibid.*, 696-697.
185. See Cammelli, 'Andronico Callisto', 104-121, 174-214.
186. See *Miscellanea*, I, 77, 647.
187. See Pfeiffer, *Ἱστορία*..., 50.
188. *Ibid.*
189. See 'Sylva in Scabie', published by A. Perosa in *Note e discussioni erudite*, Rome, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1954.
190. See p. 131.
191. See V. Rossi, *Il Quattrocento*, Milan, Vallardi, 1949⁴, 37, 68-69.
192. See A. Perosa, *Mostra del Poliziano nella Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Manoscritti, Libri rari Autografi e Documenti, Catalogo*, Florence, Sansoni, 1955, no. 79, 79-80; Ida Maier, *Les manuscrits d'Ange Politien* (Catalogue descriptif), Geneva, Librairie Droz, 1965, 201-203.
193. See Maier, *Ange Politien*..., 63.
194. *Ibid.*, 63.
195. The bookplate alludes to epigrams by Ausonius, Fabius Maximus, Cicero, Ovid and other poets, quotations from whose works he had found in Aulus Gellius.
196. See G.B. Picotti, 'Tra il poeta e il lauro, (Pagina della vita d'Agnolo Poliziano)', *GSLI*, LXV (1915) 263-303, LXVI (1915) 52-104.
197. See p. 153.
198. See p. 149, 152.
199. See E. Piccolomini, *Intorno alle condizioni e alle vicende della Libreria Medicea privata*, Florence 1875, 106-108.
200. See L. Mehus, *Vita Ambrosii Traversarii*, Florence 1759, LXXI; Maier, *Les manuscrits*..., 7.
201. See P. Victorii, *Explicationes suarum in Catonem, Varronem, Columellam castigationum*, Lyon, apud S. Gryphium, 1542, 143.
202. See Mehus, *Vita*..., LXX-LXXI.
203. See A. Politiani, *Opera Omnia*, Lyon, apud Seb. Gryphium, 1539, I, 401-412.
204. In his dedicatory preface to Lorenzo de' Medici, Politian alludes to his initiative in using the word *Miscellanea* as the title of a literary work dealing with a variety of subjects.

III

THE INVENTION OF PRINTING



HERODOTI HISTORICI INCIPIT.
Laurentii Vallen. conuersio de Græco in Latinum.

HERODOTI Halicarnasei historiz explicatio hæc est: ut neq; ea quæ gesta sunt: ex rebus humanis obliterentur ex æuo: neq; ingentia & admiranda opera: uel a Græcis edita: uel a Barbaris gloria fraudetur: cum alia: tum uero: quæ de re isti inter se belligerauerūt. Persarū eximii memorāt dissensionū auctores extitisse Phœnices qui a mari quod Rubrum uocatur: in hoc nostrum proficiscentes: & hanc incolentes regionem: quam nunc quoq; incolunt: longinquis continuo nauigationibus incubuerunt: faciendisq; Aegyptiarum & Assyriarum mercium uesturis in alias plagas: percipueq; Argos traiecerunt: Argos & enim ea tempestate omni-



THE INVENTION OF PRINTING

*The role of printing in the dissemination of knowledge
and the contribution of Aldus Manutius
to the advancement of Greek and Roman literature.
Libraries of the literati and monumental libraries*

The role of typography in the dissemination of knowledge. At the very time when Pope Nicholas V was reaching out to the Greek world by his systematic programme of commissioning eminent members of the Curia to make translations into Latin, Gutenberg and his associates were concluding their experiments to devise an efficient way of printing with movable metal types: typography. Emblematic of this invention was the 'Forty-two-line Bible', printed at Mainz in 1453-1455. From Mainz and then from Strasbourg, the new art spread rapidly through Europe, mainly in Italy and France. Its products – incunabular books, pamphlets and leaflets – drastically altered the publishing scene and made it possible for anyone to share in political, intellectual and even religious life, not only at the local but even at the international level, in all sorts of ways. What chiefly interests us here, however, is the part played by typography in giving free access to knowledge to everybody who wants it. The arrival of the *editiones principes* on the market put an end to the monopoly of the manuscript tradition and the practice of 'bibliotaphy' (the jealous hoarding of valuable books): this had been the prerogative of the great princely collections, to which no one had access except members of the owner's intimate circle.

This is not the place for a lengthy discussion of that large subject, covering all the branches of learning studied during the Renaissance: I shall therefore simply enumerate facts relating to the editorial and typographical preparation of works of Greek and Latin literature for publication, whether in the original or in translation. The titles published, the number of editions and the size of the print runs supply the evidence from which we can draw our own conclusions about the multiplication of private libraries and the identity of the publishing houses' customers. Both of the first two systematic efforts to promote books aimed at a specific scholarly

1. A bookshop/scriptorium. Engraving from *Herodotus, Historiae, Venice, J. and G. de Gregorii, 1494.*

readership took place in Italian centres of learning, first Rome and then Milan; and in fact the initiative of the Rome printers is directly connected with the start of printing in the papal capital.

The inauguration of the art of typography in Rome was an after-effect of the work of two German clergymen from Mainz who were pioneers of the printing of books: Conrad Sweynheim and Arnold Pannartz. The Spanish Cardinal Johannes de Turrecremata (Abbot of Santa Scolastica at Subiaco from 1455) sent an invitation to the two churchmen, who set up a press in the abbey and started printing books there shortly before 1465.¹ The two printers then left Subiaco and moved into

Pietro Massimo's palazzo in Rome. There, working with the early champions of classical literature in the papal capital, they printed a corpus of forty-eight (or perhaps fifty-two) editions between 1468 and 1473.²

A major part in this editing and publishing programme was played by a group of scholars who financed the printing. The leader of this circle was Giovanni Andrea de Bussi,³ Bishop of Aleria, who was assisted by Andronikos Kallistos, Theodoros Gazis, Niccolò de Valle, members of Bessarion's Academy and others whose names are not known. The Latin authors they published included Cicero, Gellius, Livy, Caesar, Lactantius, Ovid, Apuleius and Suetonius, among many others; the Greek classics were represented only by Strabo's *Geographia* and the *Histories* of Herodotus.



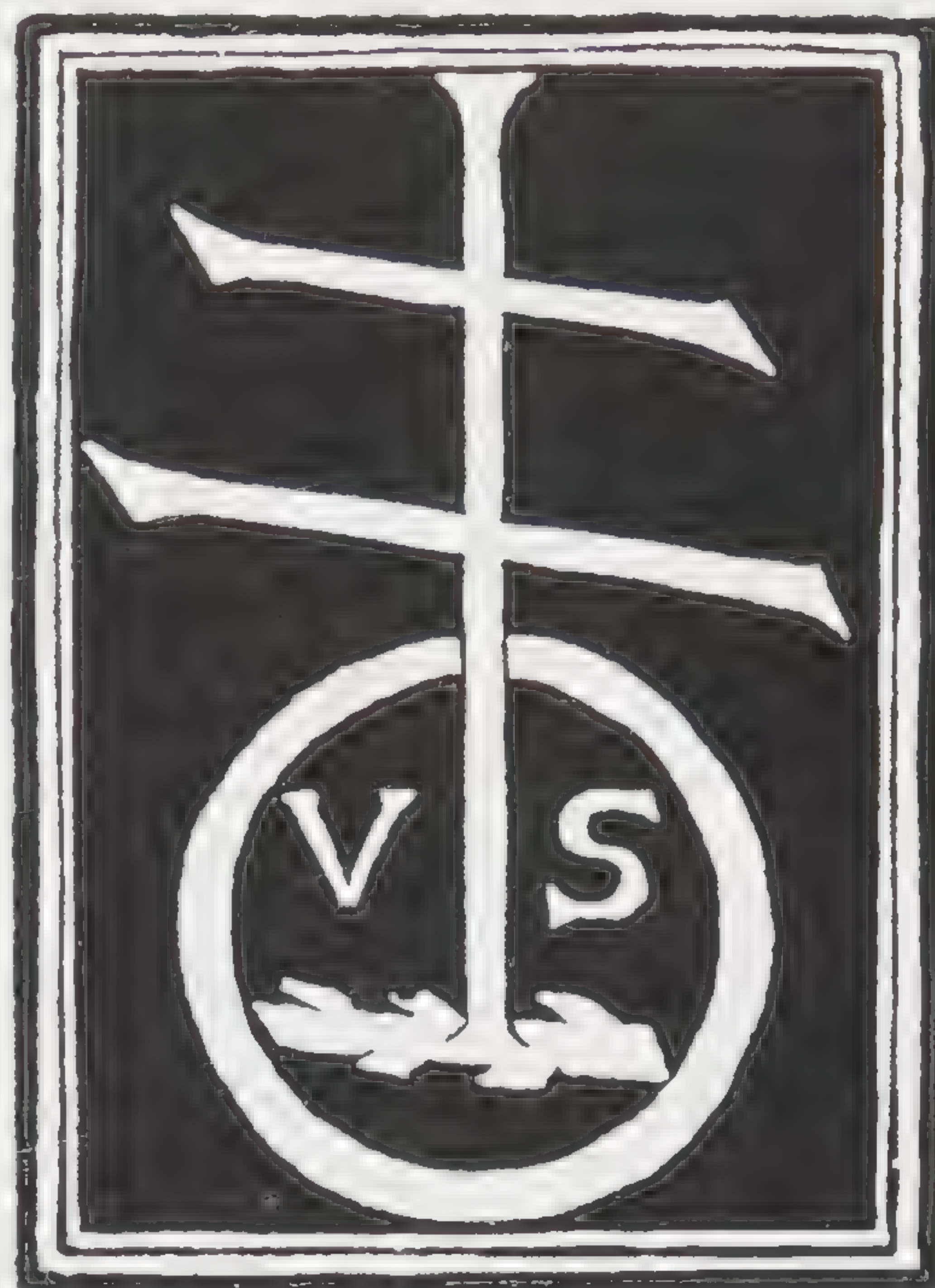
2. Printer's mark of Andrea Fritag de Argentina (1492-1496).

Bussi's collaboration with the two German printers lasted from 1468 to 1473. A year before their partnership was dissolved as a result of financial difficulties, they decided to appeal to Pope Sixtus IV to support their publishing programme,⁴ and so their edition of Nicolaus de Lyra's *Postilla super totam Bibliam* (1471) contained a leaflet with an open letter to the Pope listing all the books they had published and the numbers of copies of each that were printed.⁵ The size of the print runs for each of their editions is truly impressive by the standards of the time, especially considering that there was as yet no network of sales outlets in other Italian cities, let alone in the centres of learning in Northern Europe. The number of copies printed ranged from 275 or 300 (Suetonius and Pliny respectively) to 550 and even as many as 1,100 (Virgil and de Lyra respectively). Their total output

amounted to 13,925 (or, as Sweynheim and Pannartz claimed, 20,475) copies, which were sold in a market with no university infrastructure (unlike Padua, Florence and Venice), where the only scholarly circles were those of the Curia and Bessarion's and Leto's academies, and where the population probably amounted to no more 50,000. Obviously all these books – as well as those published by other early printers who set up presses in Rome soon after them, like Sixtus Riessinger – went into the creation or expansion of numerous libraries, for the great manuscript collectors immediately bought the new printed books to add to their collections:⁶ Cardinal Bessarion, who had the printed *Works (Opera)* of Apuleius (1469) in his library,⁷ was one example; another was Johannes Hinderbach, Bishop of Trento, who bought the 1466 edition of Lactantius; and another was Leonardo Dati, Bishop of Massa, who added St. Augustine (1467) to his collection.⁸

An indication of the tendency for academicians and other intellectuals to join forces with local printing houses is given by what happened in Milan, where Buono Accorsi⁹ opened a private humanistic school with the emphasis on teaching Greek and promoting the study of Greek literature. One of the fruits of this drive was the publication of the *editio princeps* of Konstantinos Laskaris's *Grammar*, printed by Demetrios Damilas in 1476, the first dated Greek book.¹⁰ Accorsi, who had been working on the recension of texts for Filippo de Lavagnia since 1474, acquired Andronikos Kallistos's collection of Greek manuscripts and spent about five years using that material in his teaching and for the publishing of books in Greek and Latin.¹¹ Most of his publications were grammar textbooks and dictionaries, doubtless intended for use as aids in his educational programmes. They were: the first edition of the Greek-Latin dictionary of Giovanni Crastoni, a bilingual edition of Aesop's *Fables*, Crastoni's Latin-Greek dictionary, a reprint of Laskaris's *Grammar*, the Greek/Latin Psalter, the only edition of the grammar textbook *De Accentibus* by Saxolus Pratensis, the *editio princeps* of Theocritus's *Idylls* and Hesiod's *Works and Days*, another first edition.¹²

No records have survived of the number of copies printed in each case, but it is unlikely to have been more than 300 for any of these books. It would appear



3. Printer's mark of Ulrich Scinzenzeler, from *Isocrates, Λόγοι (Orations)*, Milan 1493.

Buono Accorsi's
Academy
in Milan

that some or all of them sold out, an inference to be drawn from the fact that Laskaris's *Grammar* was reissued by Aldus in 1495 and Crastoni's Greek-Latin dictionary in 1497.¹³

Needless to say, this prolonged spell of editorial activity met with a warm response from scholarly circles and the academicians of the Milan of Ludovico il Moro, with the result that it continued without a break until 1481, when Damilas moved to Florence and the publishing programme came to an end; most probably the school closed down at the same time.¹⁴

But to get some idea of the powerful impact of the invention of printing and the way it was welcomed by learned men and students alike, as well as the part it played in encouraging young students to start libraries of their own, one need only look at some comparative figures which provide compelling proof of the spread of books during the Renaissance: for example, Aristotle and Cicero on the incunabular publishing map of Italy.

Aristotle's works are represented by 44 separate editions, the earliest being the 1472 Padua edition of *De anima*, printed by Lorenzo Canozzi with notes by Averroës. Of his commentators – Donato Acciaiuoli, Albertus de Saxonia, Boethius, Leonardo Bruni, Petro de Abano and others – 213 editions were printed. This makes a total of 257 separate Italian editions between 1472 and 1500, adding up to a total of approximately 120,000 copies, assuming an average print run of 500 copies per edition. The main centre for Aristotelian publishing was Venice, as evidenced by the six editions printed there of the entire Aristotelian corpus, starting with the Aldine *editio princeps* (1495-1498).¹⁵

Of Cicero and the commentators on his work – Asconius Pedianus, Philippus Beroaldus, Petrus Marsus, Georgius Valagusa and others – a total of 241 incunabular editions were printed in Italy. The first printed edition of any of the great Roman orator's work was *De oratore*, which was in fact the first book ever printed in Italy: it came from the Subiaco press of the two Germans, Sweynheim and Pannartz, before 30th September 1465. We can therefore calculate that the books by and about Cicero ran to a total of about 120,000 copies in Italy alone. There were three main centres for the publication of those books: Venice, Milan and Naples; and Rome also played a major part in the diffusion of Cicero's works.

4. *The single sheet with the petition of Sweynheim and Pannartz to Pope Sixtus IV. Insert from Nicolaus de Lyra, Postilla super totam Bibliam, Rome 1471-1472.*

Io. An. Alerien. Episcopi. S. D. n. Pape Bibliothecarii.
ad Xystum. IIII. summum Pontificem Epistola.

Omnis ac trita olim inter gentes opinio fuit pater beatissime Xyste. IIII.

Pontifex Maxime cetera diu deos ipsos duodecim etiam illos principes selectos & magnos appellatos uni necessitati continuo paruisse. Eam enim inter numina omnia absque puocatione imperiosum exercuisse magistratum. Id ne inter christianos quoque uere dici censeatur tua potissimum sapientia clementiaque occurri potest. & ut digneris misericorditer occurrere serui tue sanctitatis Conradus Suueynhem & Arnoldus Pannartz Impresores nostri ac utilissime huius fictorie artis primi in Italia opifices maximi in urbe operarii ante sanctissimos pedes tuos terram uestigis tuis impressam deosculantes implorant: namque ego ipse creatura tua ceteras epistolas proprio: hanc illorum nomine & decessoris antea & postmodum tuo numini diuino inscripsi. Vox quidem Impressorum sub tanto iam cartbarum fasce laborantium: & nisi tua liberalitas opituletur deficientium ista est pater beatissime: Nos de Germanis primi tanti commodi artem in Romanam Curiam tuam multo sudore & impensa decessoris tui tempestate deueximus. Nos opifices librariorum ceteros ut idem auderent: exemplo nostro incitauimus. Nos reliquis propter impensam magnitudinem a tanto negotio uel omnino uel maxima ex parte quasi in salebra berentibus recitioris animo uiribusque geminatis cum summa difficultate restitimus. Iam tandem defecti neruis & sanguine diuinam opem tuam imploramus. Indicem si perlegeris Impressorum a nobis operum: miraberis tante maiestatis & apostolici culminis pater uel cartas huius librorum copie potuisse uel Linamenta sufficere. Et ut plegere ualeas usque adeo curis pontificalibus districtus nihil aliud hec ad te epistola continebit. Nam auditis nominibus tantorum autorum duntaxat facere non poteris: si bene tuam pietatem nouimus: quin statim nobis subuenias. nec ulla re quam qualicumque occupatio difficultate ue ualebis derereri. Impressi sunt nostro studio pater Beatissime libri qui in subiectis suo ordine tibi recensentur.

Donati pro puerulis ut inde principium dicendi sumamus: unde imprimendi initium sumpsimus: numero trecenti. CCC.

Lactantii Firmiani Institutionum contra gentes & reliquorum eius auctoris opusculorum uolumina octingenta uiginti quinque. DCCC. XXV.

Epistolarum familiarium Ciceronis uolumina quingenta quinquaginta. D. L.

Epistolarum Ciceronis ad Atticum uolumina ducenta septuaginta quinque. CC. LXXV.

Speculi humane uite uolumina trecenta. CCC.

Diui Augustini de Ciuitate dei uolumina octingenta uiginti quinque. DCCC. XXV.

Diui Hieronymi Epistolarum & libellorum uolumina mille centum. M. C.

M. Tul. Ciceronis de oratore cum ceteris uolumina quingenta quinquaginta. D. L.

M. Tul. Ciceronis operum omnium in philosophia uol. quingenta quinquaginta. D. L.

L. Apuleii platonici cum Alcino uolumina ducenta septuaginta quinque. CC. LXXV.

A. Gellii noctium atticarum uolumina ducenta septuaginta quinque. CC. LXXV.

C. Cesaris commentariorum gallica & ciuiliu bellorum uolumina ducenta septuaginta quinque. CC. LXXV.

Defensionis diui platonis uolumina trecenta. CCC.

P. Virgilio Maronis operum omnium uolumina quingenta quinquaginta. D. L.

T. Liuii patauini cum Epitome omnium decadam uolumina ducenta septuaginta quinque. CC. LXXV.

Matthias Corvinus's library. If the book collection of Matthias Corvinus,¹⁶ King of Hungary, had survived intact, it would have stood comparison with the most famous princely libraries in Italy, as it was the biggest and best library of its day outside the Vatican according to Bartolomeo Fontio.¹⁷

Matthias Corvinus (1433-1490), the son of the national hero János Hunyadi, succeeded Ladislas on the Hungarian throne in 1458. His first task was to create order out of the anarchic conditions fostered by the oligarchy and local aristocrats. He turned his attention westwards and laid claim to parts of Bohemia and Austria,



5. *Matthias Corvinus. Woodcut from P. Giovio, Elogia Doctorum Virorum bellica virtute illustrium. Basel 1575.*

but at the same time he created a climate that encouraged a flowering of literature in Hungary. Before long his court was in no way inferior to those of the Italian princes¹⁸ with their attendant circles of humanists. However, the idea of starting a royal library reflects the interests not so much of Corvinus as of Vitéz, who gave the Hungarian court the quintessential Renaissance atmosphere that was to be its hallmark from then on.¹⁹

Johannes Vitéz had come to the royal court of Buda in 1433, when King Sigismund of the House of Luxembourg was on the throne. He had taken Holy Orders and soon made a reputation for

himself by his forceful personality, his erudition and the efficiency with which he performed his duties. In Sigismund's reign Buda was well known to the exponents of Italian humanism: Filelfo, Ambrogio Traversari, Antonio Loschi and Pier Vergerio were among those who visited it. Vergerio, in fact, was the person who really instilled the Italian Renaissance spirit into the Hungarian court, as he worked there for some decades and formed a close friendship with Vitéz;²⁰ and Vitéz sent his nephew János Csezmiczei, better known as Janus Pannonius,²¹ to study at Guarino Veronese's school at Ferrara, with the result that cultural relations were established between the court of Buda and Italian schools and centres of learning.

Sigismund was succeeded by Ladislas V (1452-1457), during whose short reign Vitéz, as his counsellor, went on urging him to try to buy manuscripts from King Alfonso of Naples. Meanwhile he turned the city of Várad, of which he was the

bishop, into the centre of Hungarian intellectual life. After the accession of Matthias Corvinus in 1458, the scene at Várad remained unchanged and Vitéz not only kept the court's artistic circle going but actually broadened its reach, as more and more scholars, miniaturists and other artists – and musicians too, such as the Frenchman Petrus Gallicus²² – visited Buda. Manuscript copyists and illuminators played



6. Buda. Woodcut from *Liber Chronicarum*, Nürnberg, A. Koberger, 1493.

a prominent part in this circle, and with their help Vitéz built up his private library. This must have been the first humanist library in Hungary, to judge by what is left of it: unfortunately very little survives, but we do have enough evidence to get a good idea of what it contained.²³ idea of its size and the range of subjects it

covered. When Janus Pannonius was consecrated Bishop of Pécs in 1459, he bade farewell to Várad in one of the most beautiful poems inspired by his poetic Muse, in which he sang the praises of Vitéz's library, 'so full of famous books from antiquity'.²⁴



7. J. Vitéz. Miniature in the manuscript of Plautus, *Comoediae* (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 111, fo. 1r). Phot. N. Panayotopoulos.



8. J. Pannonius. Miniature in the manuscript of Plautus, *Comoediae* (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 111, fo. 1r). Phot. N. Panayotopoulos.

Vitéz and Pannonius exerted a powerful influence on Matthias Corvinus and it is probably no exaggeration to say that they were virtually joint rulers of the country, at least on the cultural plane. But Corvinus too was a tireless apostle of humanist principles and an outstanding personality in his own right. The following assessment of his character is by János Csontos: 'King Matthias was a greatly gifted and very learned man of independent spirit, strong and born to govern; a prince with an extraordinary personality and a decided inclination for authority, a man of such remarkable individuality that he was able to assimilate, in a manner peculiar to himself, the Renaissance aspirations awakened in his soul by Vitéz and Janus Pannonius, in this way achieving results which far surpassed the original intentions of his instructors.'²⁵

The early history of the library. We do not know exactly when Corvinus started collecting books systematically, nor when his library was founded. Most probably he did not follow any clearly-defined plan: it was simply that his private collection gradually came to be thought of as a library when it became so big that it had to be arranged on a different footing.

The main source of new accessions to the library was the Italian peninsula and the driving force behind its enlargement was Pannonius, who kept urging the king to build up a good library so as to lift the country out of its 'barbarism', as he put it.²⁶ The court at Buda had special relationships with two main book centres, Ferrara and Florence, thanks to Janus and Andreas Pannonius, who spent a good deal of time in the local art studios and studied the working methods of the gifted miniaturist Guglielmo Giraldi. Pannonius's presence in these two important centres of humanism attracted large numbers of Hungarians to Florence, where they pursued their studies at the Platonic Academy, the Studium and the *Chorus Academiae* Florentinae of Ioannes Argyropoulos,²⁷ as Giorgio Vasari attests.²⁸ The year 1465 is a landmark in the history of Hungarian humanism. It was then that Pannonius was appointed Hungarian ambassador to Italy: his triumphal entry into Rome with an escort of three hundred horsemen opened the Italians' eyes to the grandeur of Corvinus's court. Pannonius brought his mission to a successful conclusion by obtaining the Pope's consent to the founding of a university at Pozsony and the confirmation of Vitéz's enthronement as Archbishop of Várad. He also met many of the scholars then living in Rome, including Pomponio Leto, the founder of the Academy known by his name.²⁹

But Pannonius did not spend all his time on his diplomatic and academic duties, for he was more interested in finding and buying manuscripts in the well-stocked bookshops of Rome. Some of these new acquisitions were intended for his own library, others for the royal collection and for his uncle, Vitéz. According to Vespasiano da Bisticci, 'He bought all the books he could find in Rome – books in Greek and in Latin, in all fields of study – and on arriving in Florence he went on buying all the Greek and Latin books available, regardless of their price.'³⁰ When he went back to Buda, accompanied by taking Galeotto Marzio, his new acquisitions aroused tremendous interest among scholars, especially Vitéz and Georgius Polycarpus.³¹

*Pannonius finds
manuscripts
for the Corvina*

The first phase in the history of the Corvinian Library ran from about 1460 to 1472, a year marked by two untoward events: the removal of Vitéz from the archiepiscopal throne and the death of Janus Pannonius. Both these occurrences were natural consequences of the oligarchs' failed conspiracy against Corvinus, in which Vitéz and Pannonius were both involved. Vitéz was thrown into prison and Pannonius died while incarcerated in the Bishop of Zagreb's castle. The question is what happened to their fine libraries? A large number of Pannonius's Greek codices passed into the possession of the Corvinian Library, as did some of the books from Vitéz's collection, with the result that by 1472 the royal library had

grown spectacularly, from about 250 to about 500 or 600 books.³² Another important milestone reached during this first phase was the appointment of an official Librarian, none other than Galeotto Marzio, who held this position (*Praefectus Bibliothecae Budensis*) from 1465 to 1472.³³

The second phase in the library's history was no less fruitful, though most of the new books were now acquired through different channels. Though deeply disillusioned by his counsellors' involvement in the conspiracy to dethrone him,



9. Beatrice of Aragon. Relief (Berlin, Nationalmuseum).

which he blamed on the humanists in general, Corvinus did not give up the idea of creating a great library. A decisive step in this direction was taken in 1475 with the acquisition of the library of Prince Manfredini of Bologna, according to the testimony of Carlo Malagola.³⁴ Corvinus's interest in humanist studies was rekindled in 1476 by his marriage to Beatrice, the daughter of King Alfonso of Naples. Beatrice, who was a book-lover and had a considerable collection of manuscripts of her own, brought all her books with her to Buda. Her personal interest prompted Matthias to enlarge his library still more, and their shared receptiveness to humanist ideals attracted scholars to the court from Italy, including Francesco Fontana, Giustiniano Cavitelli, Lucas Lupus, Gabriele Rangoni and Giovanni Leoncio.³⁵

The growth of the library also benefited from Corvinus's friendship with the principal exponent of Neoplatonism, Marsilio Ficino, and other Florentine scholars, notably Francesco Bandini and Taddeo Ugoletto. In 1477 Ficino sent to Bandini, then living in Buda, a manuscript of the biography of Plato in Latin translation, with a preface by himself in which he wrote, 'I am not sending the Plato to Athens, because Athens has been destroyed, but rather to Pannonia, which is under the beneficial influence of the great King Matthias, a man imbued with abundant power and wisdom, with which he will soon revitalize the temple of the almighty and wise Pallas.'³⁶

10. Didymus Alexandrinus, *Liber de Spiritu Sancto* (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Ms. 496, fo. 2r). Phot. N. Panayotopoulos.



From then on Ficino was in fairly frequent contact with Buda, cultivated closer relations with Corvinus's court and encouraged Bandini to set up a Neoplatonic Academy in the Hungarian capital on the model of the Platonic Academy in Florence. Ficino's Latin translations of Plato and the Neoplatonists made an enormous impact in academic circles, with implications not only on the cultural level but in the sphere of politics as well, as evidenced by Ficino's open letter to Corvinus (*Exhortatio ad bellum contra barbaros*) appealing to him to come to the aid of 'worthy Italy' when the Ottomans were threatening the Italian states in 1480.³⁷



11. Matthias Corvinus. From the codex J.F. Marlianus Mediolanensis, *Epistolarium* (Volterra, Biblioteca Guarnaci, Cod. Lat. 5518. IV. 49.3.7, fo. 5r).

Ficino and Bandini undoubtedly played a major part in enriching Corvinus's library, but the man who gave a new dimension to its contents and defined its identity was Marzio's successor as Librarian, Taddeo Ugoletto.³⁸ Ugoletto, who had excellent Latin and equally good Greek, travelled frequently around Italy and to monasteries further north, and so he was as well informed as it was possible to be about the books available in Western Europe. Little is known about his life in Buda, but we have ample information about his work on the reorganization of the library and the opening of a scriptorium in the heart of the book centre of Florence. The scrip-

torium, which was managed by Naldus Naldius, employed four scribes.³⁹ Besides containing important writings by ancient authors, the manuscripts produced there are works of outstanding artistic value, for they are illuminated with magnificent miniatures from the hands of such artists as Attavante degli Attavanti, Giovanni Boccardi and Francesco d'Antonio del Chierico, among many others.⁴⁰

Corvinus's library had the finest collection of Greek manuscripts outside Italy, which suggests that Brassicanus was probably right in saying that they could not all have been bought in Italy: some of them must have been sought out in the Greek homelands, especially Constantinople.⁴¹ As we have seen, Janus Pannonius bought many Greek manuscripts for Corvinus and Vitéz. This is clear from a letter he wrote in about 1465: 'Haven't I sent you enough already? All I have left are

Greek books, you have taken all my Latin volumes. By Jove, it's lucky none of you know Greek, otherwise I wouldn't have any books left at all. When you learn Greek I shall study Hebrew, so that I can collect Hebrew books as well.'⁴²

The second phase of the library's history ended in 1485: in other words it lasted some twelve years (1472-1485). During that time the Corvina acquired approximately five hundred new volumes (manuscript codices and printed books), at the most conservative estimate, of which about three hundred were in Latin and the rest in Greek. Thus by about 1484 Corvinus's royal library contained approximately a thousand volumes.⁴³

The library's third and most fruitful period lasted until the death of Corvinus in 1490. At the king's instigation, Naldius undertook to visit all the libraries in Europe to publicize the valuable contents of the Corvina and locate new sources for its further enrichment. By way of a letter of introduction, Naldi wrote a panegyric in praise of Corvinus's collection,⁴⁴ a copy of which he presented to any interested party on his travels. These moves mark the dawn of a new era for the library, when the old manuscripts were replaced with new copies made by some of the finest calligraphers and miniaturists of the Renaissance.

Matthias Corvinus had still greater ambitions for his library, and he told his closest advisers of his plans. In a letter written to Moreno a few months before the king's death, the Florentine Bartolomeo Fontio wrote, 'In this, as in so many other matters in the past, it is the King's desire to surpass all other monarchs, in other words to create the richest library in the world.'⁴⁵ In pursuit of this aspiration Corvinus spared no expense to supply the learned men in his court with the books they needed to pursue their studies in their chosen fields. Nor did he allow the Greek language – a closed book to many scholars – to stand in the way of his plans: Antonio Bonfini, in particular, set to work on the systematic translation of Greek literary works into Latin, probably in close collaboration with Ugoletto, although the latter spent much of his time in Florence.⁴⁶



12. Matthias Corvinus. Woodcut from *Constitutiones incliti regni Ungarie*, Leipzig, ca. 1491.

Corvinus's
cherished
objective

Corvinus did not live long enough to be swept off his feet by the magic of printed books and the possibilities opened up by printing presses for the spread of humanistic ideas and the study of the classics by the less privileged classes. Although the German master printer Andreas Hess set up a press in Buda and produced the first book to be printed there (*Chronica Hungarorum*) as early as 1473, the output of incunabula in Hungary was insignificant when compared with other countries in Central Europe.⁴⁷



13. Parchment binding made for Matthias Corvinus (Biblia, Erlangen, University Library, Ms no. 6).
Phot. N. Panayotopoulos.

The sudden death of Matthias Corvinus in 1490, at the early age of forty-seven, meant that he did not have time to realize his dream of glorifying the Hungarian court and its library, which by that time had some two thousand volumes on its shelves. It compared very favourably with other princely libraries, for it was bigger and better than the collections of the d'Este family at Modena, of Duke Federico da Montefeltro at Urbino, of King Alfonso in Naples, of the Medici in Florence and of any other ruler in Western Europe: only the Vatican Library could boast that it was still unsurpassed.⁴⁸

The next king on the Hungarian throne, Vladislas I, failed to maintain the cultured atmosphere created by Corvinus and there ensued a period of decline, culminating in the disastrous battle of Mohács (1526), where the Hungarian army was routed by the Ottomans. Corvinus's library was one of the many casualties: from then on it was more or less left to its fate and the books were dispersed, with the result that only about ten per cent of its contents now remain, and they are scattered in various libraries around the world, mainly in the West.

14. B. Fontius, Opera (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. 43, Aug. 2, fo. 1r). Phot. N. Panayotopoulos.

BARTHOLOMAEVS

FONTIVS

MATHIAE CORVINO

REGI .S.

MATHIA



urbo fama: quemadmodum felicitate
ac laetitia ualidas bello nationes domue-
ras: et quacumque uictoria signa conuer-
teras, perinde ut alter Mars ingentes
hostium strages semper edideras. Sed
nondum quae longe potiora sunt armis
cognoueramus; ut fortitudini animi &
scientiae militari studium quod uehemens



I A N I P A N N O N I I
E P I S C O P I Q V I N Q V E
E C C L E S. I L L I V S A N T I Q V I S
varibus comparandi, recentioribus
certè anteponendi, quæ uspiam
reperiri adhuc potuerunt,
omnia.

O P E R A Ioannis Sambuci
Cons: & Hist: Cæsar.

Cum Privilegio Sac: Cæs: Maiestatis
V I E N N Æ A V S T R I Æ
ex officina Caspari Stainhoferi,
M. D. L X I X.

The library of a humanist beyond the Alps: Janus Pannonius. The libraries of Matthias Corvinus and Johannes Vitéz may be vested with the splendour attaching to the princely libraries of the Renaissance,⁴⁹ but the collection of Janus Pannonius⁵⁰ is more indicative of the interests and profounder musings of a humanist – the first real exponent of humanism in Eastern Europe. His library suffered the same fate as those of Corvinus and Vitéz: that is to say it was dispersed after the defeat of the Hungarian army by the Ottomans in 1526. Little is known about his collection, and much of that is a matter of inference only.⁵¹ One of the main obstacles to the reconstruction of his library is the fact that he never marked any of his manuscripts with a bookplate or ex-libris, nor did he write any marginal notes, either of which would have helped to identify manuscripts of that period as coming from his collection.⁵²

Manuscripts belonging to Pannonius. Only eight codices can be identified with absolute certainty as having belonged to his collection, but they are enough to substantiate the picture we have of his solid erudition.⁵³

1. The jewel in the crown was a Greek Gospel book dating from the eleventh century, with a portrait of the four evangelists. This was given to him by Péter Garázda,⁵⁴ most probably when Garázda was studying at Guarino Veronese's school in Ferrara. In lieu of a colophon this codex has a note written in Greek by the donor, containing grammatical mistakes which show that he had not yet mastered Greek.⁵⁵ Presumably Pannonius met Garázda when he was sent on a diplomatic mission to Rome and then went on from there to Ferrara.⁵⁶

2. A thirteenth-century codex of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*,⁵⁷ though not notable for the magnificence of its illuminations, does contain two notes attesting to changes of ownership: at one time it belonged to Opsopoeus ('Liber Vincentij Obsopoej et suorum amicorum') and it was later given to Pannonius by Guarino Veronese.

ἦν περ ἐγὼ βιβλίου κλεινοῦ παῖς δώκα γαρίνου
βαπτιστῆς φαιδρῶ ξένιον λάβε φέρτατε θυμῶ [sic]

This dedication from the *Βαπτιστῆς* (Baptist, i.e. Battista Veronese) testifies to the close friendship between Guarino Veronese's son and Pannonius, whom the Italian humanist sometimes addressed as 'great father' (πάτερ μέγα).⁵⁸

3. Even more important than the Xenophon for Pannonius, in the pursuit of

*The crowning
glory of
Pannonius's
collection*

15. Title page of Janus Pannonius, *Epigrammata*, Vienna 1559.

his serious linguistic and literary studies, was a Greek-Latin and Latin-Greek dictionary.⁵⁹ In fact Pannonius wrote on it «Ἰανὸς ὁ παννόνιος ἰδίᾳ χειρὶ ἔγραψεν ὅταν τὰ ἑλληνικὰ γράμματα μάθειν ἔμελεν» ('Janus Pannonius wrote [this] in his own hand when he was intending to learn Greek').⁶⁰

4. An example of Pannonius's scholarly endeavours to bridge the divide between Greek and Latin literature is provided by the fourth-oldest manuscript in his collection, which contains his translations of works by Plutarch, Demosthenes and Homer.⁶¹ At the head of the manuscript there is an epigram addressed to Galeotto from which we learn that he started work on the translation in 1456/57, when the two essays by Plutarch were translated.⁶²

5. Another codex of Plutarch again attests to Pannonius's literary scholarship: it is *De dictis regum et imperatorum*, written in the *antiqua rotunda* humanistic script by a scribe who obviously had a good knowledge of grammar.⁶³ It was proofread by Pannonius himself, who retranslated this piece in 1467 and donated the book to King Matthias Corvinus.

6. The editorial activities of Ficino's Platonic Academy are represented by a codex of the *Commentarium in Platonis Convivium de amore*, in Ficino's own translation of course, with a dedication to Pannonius.⁶⁴ It is dated to 1467 and was given to Pannonius in 1469 by the hand of their mutual friend Garázda.⁶⁵

7. Another of the manuscripts in Pannonius's collection was the *Bibliotheca* of Diodorus Siculus, copied at Florence in 1442 by Ioannes Skoutariotes.⁶⁶ That he had it in his library is deduced from the fact that Opsopoeus mentions it in the first edition of the *Bibliotheca* (Basel, 1539): 'has ... reliquias ab Jano Pannonio quondam Quinqueecclesiensi episcopo ab interitu vindicatas ac deinceps ab eruditissimo viro Alexandro Brassicano ... nobis per Johannem Petreium....'⁶⁷

8. Lastly, Pannonius's library contained a valuable manuscript of a work by Battista Guarino entitled *De ordine docendi et studendi*, describing the educational system in use in his school at Ferrara. The system was introduced by Battista's father, one of Manuel Chrysoloras's favourite pupils, and it worked so well that most students learnt Greek very quickly.⁶⁸

Besides those eight, there are other codices for which there is good evidence to suggest that they belonged to Pannonius's collection: volumes of Christian poetry, history books and others such as Strabo's *Geographia*, the *Oratio M. Antonii in funere Julii Caesaris* by Dio Cassius (both of these in Battista Guarino's Latin translation) and Theophrastus's *Natural History* in the Latin translation by Theodoros Gazis. Others, too, have been assigned to his collection, but with no firm proof that they belonged to him.⁶⁹

Lost manuscripts. The nucleus of Pannonius's library must have consisted of books he acquired in one way or another while he was studying at Guarino's school in Ferrara.⁷⁰ On the evidence of Guarino's essay *De ordine*, the school textbooks in general use included the grammars of Donatus and Priscian, *Regulae grammaticales* by Guarino Veronese, the *Erotemata* of Chrysoloras, either in the original or in Guarino's adaptation, Cicero's *Letters* and the *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa Dei. At the upper levels of high school the pupils used textbooks by Valerius Maximus, Virgil (*Aeneid*), Statius (*Thebaid*), Ovid (*Metamorphoses*), Terence, Seneca, Juvenal, St. Augustine (*De Civitate Dei*), Aulus Gellius, Pliny the Elder, Plautus and others. Those who wished to proceed to a more advanced level needed the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, then attributed to Cicero, as well as treatises by Quintilian and Lucan, philosophical essays by Cicero (*De officiis*) and above all, of course, works by Aristotle and Plato.⁷¹

Out of all this teaching material, Pannonius is known certainly to have possessed works by Virgil, Ovid and Lucan, as well as *Elegantiae cum invectivis in Poggium* by Lorenzo Valla and Martial's *Epigrams*, which he regarded as models of their kind.⁷² His library may also have contained

selected epigrams which interested him, by such poets as Beccadelli (Panormita, *Hermaphroditus*),⁷³ Statius,⁷⁴ Propertius⁷⁵ and Claudian, whose panegyrics he imitated.⁷⁶ Allusions in his writings to poems (by Catullus, Tibullus and others) and prose works could be taken as indicating that he had them in his own library.⁷⁷ It can be taken as a certainty that he possessed copies of the works he translated from Greek into Latin during his time at Padua (1456-1457), such as the essays from Plutarch's *Moralia*, as well as poems in Italian by Jacopo Antonio Macello which he translated into Latin.⁷⁸

At some time before returning to Hungary, and before 1458, Pannonius went to



16. Janus Pannonius as Bishop of Pécs.

Florence with the intention (according to Vespasiano da Bisticci) of making the acquaintance of that city's leading lights, such as Cosimo de' Medici, Ioannes Argyropoulos,⁷⁹ Poggio and Donato Acciaiuoli.⁸⁰ While there he took the opportunity to visit the local libraries and bought a number of books, and he also found time to attend Argyropoulos's lectures on logic and philosophy.⁸¹ The scholars and philosophers of Florence were using Argyropoulos's Latin translations of Aristotle's *Physica* and *Ethics*, as well as the *Expositio Ethicorum Aristotelis in novam traductionem Argiropili* by his beloved pupil Acciaiuoli.⁸² Among the books that Pannonius took back with him to Buda were two Greek codices, one of Plotinus and the other of Homer, both of which he subsequently translated into Latin.⁸³



17. Niccolò Perotti. Woodcut from N. Reusner, *Icones sive Imagines viuae, literis Cl. Virorum, Italiae, Graeciae...*, Basel 1599.

One would naturally expect his haul of books from Florence to have included the collections of poetry that he later translated or edited, as well as books by Guarino Veronese and letters and poems by the humanists he had met, including Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Niccolò Perotti, Francesco Durante da Fano, Giovanni Sagundino and Ludovico Carbone.⁸⁴ Among the books in his baggage there must also have been

some learned treatises that he used in his study of law at Padua, as well as papers written by himself on physics and mathematics.⁸⁵

When he arrived back in Hungary, Pannonius had a collection of approximately forty codices, a sizable library for a humanist but not big enough to satisfy his intellectual interests and textual research.⁸⁶ In his letters he often bemoans the shortage of books that would be of use to him in his studies, and he was constantly declaring his intention of building up a really good collection of his own.⁸⁷ There are only two books that he is definitely known to have acquired between the time of his return to his homeland and his consecration as Bishop of Pécs: the *Commentarium in Platonis Convivium de amore* του Ficino and George of Trebizond's Latin rendering of the works of St. Basil the Great.⁸⁸

Pannonius's library at Pécs. His enthronement as Bishop of Pécs and the court's recognition of his superior abilities gave him excellent opportunities to expand his book collection as he wished. He revisited Italy in 1465 as Matthias Corvinus's ambassador, and on completion of his diplomatic mission to Rome he embarked on an unprecedented hunt for manuscripts in which expense was no object. Vespasiano da Bisticci records that in four Italian cities renowned as manuscript-copying centres (Rome, Florence, Ferrara and Venice) he made mass purchases.⁸⁹ It is hard to estimate the number of manuscripts Pannonius obtained during his stay in Italy: the figure of 300 or more is often mentioned, but it may well be much higher, because he was looking not only for manuscripts of calligraphic and artistic value – the qualities sought by Corvinus for his own collection – but for writings of any kind that might deepen his learning and allow him to complete his studies without let or hindrance.⁹⁰ A further significant point is that his library was bilingual (*libraria in greco ed in latino*), the only one of its kind beyond the Alps, containing as many books in Greek as in Latin; in fact it was one of the most notable and most valuable humanistic libraries of his day, on a par with the best collections of Italian and Greek humanists.⁹¹

*The size of
Pannonius's
collection*

What became of his library. It was common practice for the humanists to make provision for the future of their libraries, which they did either by making bequests in their wills or by making oral promises to their close friends and associates. Pannonius's involvement in the political intrigue to depose Corvinus left him with no option but to give up his episcopal throne and he was more or less compelled to flee, taking with him an unknown (put presumably fairly small) number of manuscripts. His library was then dispersed: many of his books were taken by Corvinus, while the rest either disappeared or were preserved in other libraries, with no indication that they had once belonged to Pannonius.⁹²



The Medici library. The library of the Medici in Florence is perhaps best known for the fact that the building was designed by Michelangelo and has remained unaltered ever since, rather than for the history of its founding and development, the driving forces behind the collecting of its manuscripts and the role it played on the humanistic scene.

From the first decades of the fifteenth century Florence was transformed into a hothouse for the flowering of the arts, spearheaded by great architects, sculptors and painters; and the artistic and technical standards of miniature painting developed apace, to the great delight of book-lovers in every corner of Italy and with significant reverberations in the court of King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary.⁹³ The bulk of the library consisted of books acquired by members of the Medici family and dated from the time when the father of Cosimo the Elder, Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici (1360-1429), bequeathed three codices to him – all three in Italian.⁹⁴

Cosimo showed a liking for literature from an early age and spent three years studying with teachers who taught him Latin and Greek, and the time he spent with members of Roberto Rossi's academy⁹⁵ aroused his interest in humanistic ideas. Under the influence of the passionate bibliophilism of Niccolò Niccoli and the great manuscript collector Francesco Barbaro, he planned a voyage to Palestine to look for Greek manuscripts.⁹⁶ Being on friendly terms with Poggio, that insatiable manuscript-hunter, he went with him on a tour of Italy, looking for ancient Roman inscriptions.⁹⁷ Cosimo often attended humanistic symposia with the indefatigable Giannozzo Manetti at the Monastery of Santa Maria degli Angeli,⁹⁸ where the assembled company would read such books as Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* under the guidance of Ambrogio Traversari.

It is to Cosimo that the humanist world was indebted for the foundation of the Platonic Academy of Florence, which schooled a whole generation of Italians in the ideals of Platonism and served as the beacon for the spread of Platonic and Neoplatonic philosophy throughout the West.⁹⁹ The leader of the project for the revival of the Platonic Academy on the banks of the Arno was Marsilio Ficino,¹⁰⁰ an indefatigable champion of the wider dissemination of Plato's works and the ideas of the Neoplatonic school. Not only did Ficino teach from the original Greek texts, but he also made Latin translations of all Plato's works and the most important writings of the Neoplatonists, such as Plotinus and Iamblichus.

*Cosimo moves
in scholarly
circles*

18. *Cosimo de' Medici (il Vecchio)*, also known as 'Pater Patriae'. Oil painting by Pontormo. Florence, Uffizi Gallery.

Ficino had the Platonic Academy functioning on a regular basis in 1469, gathering round him some of the leading members of the Medici, including Piero and Lorenzo. At the age of forty-two he entered the Church and thereafter divided his time between teaching Platonic philosophy and performing his religious duties. To 'Plato's brethren', as he called his followers, he made no secret of the fact that he found the basis of the Christian world-view in Plato's *Crito*.¹⁰¹

By 1418 Cosimo already had 63 manuscripts in his library,¹⁰² including a good many classical titles as well as a copy of the Bible, various mathematical textbooks and works by Italian poets and scholars including Dante's *Canzoni*, Petrarch's *Sonnets* and Boccaccio's *Decameron*. It was rumoured in scholarly circles that he never went anywhere without at least one of his books.¹⁰³ The first substantial collection of manuscripts to come into the Medici family's possession came from the library of the eccentric Florentine scholar Niccolò Niccoli.

Niccoli and his library. Niccoli (1367-1437) was a retiring person who lived in seclusion, reading voraciously and collecting and collating early copies of the classics for the sole purpose of textual emendation.¹⁰⁴ He also gathered information that might help him to track down lost manuscripts, and in this way he discovered Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* – the only known copy at that time – in a Dominican monastery in Lübeck.¹⁰⁵

By dint of painstaking searches, and thanks to his ample private means, Niccoli soon amassed a total of eight hundred manuscripts, a very impressive number for those days, making it perhaps the biggest private library of his time.¹⁰⁶ He never travelled himself, but he advised friends of his and agents of the Medici where to go, including monastery and cathedral libraries in the North, to look for lost works of Latin literature. By a lucky chance one of his catalogues¹⁰⁷ has survived and makes fascinating reading, as it lists hitherto unknown works of Roman literature such as the minor works of Tacitus, which he had obtained by sending a trusted agent on a special mission to the Fulda Abbey library to bring the manuscript back to Florence.¹⁰⁸

Niccoli lived well beyond his means, spending money recklessly on valuable manuscripts and other antiquities. With the acquiescence of the Medici family he also borrowed money, with the result that when he died in 1437 he had nothing left to pay off his creditors. And so his books became the property of the sixteen trustees of his estate, who included Cosimo and his brother Lorenzo de' Medici, Poggio, Leonardo Bruni, Traversari and Manetti.¹⁰⁹ Cosimo, who was Niccoli's biggest creditor, managed to ensure that the collection was not dis-

Niccoli joins
the hunt
for ancient
manuscripts



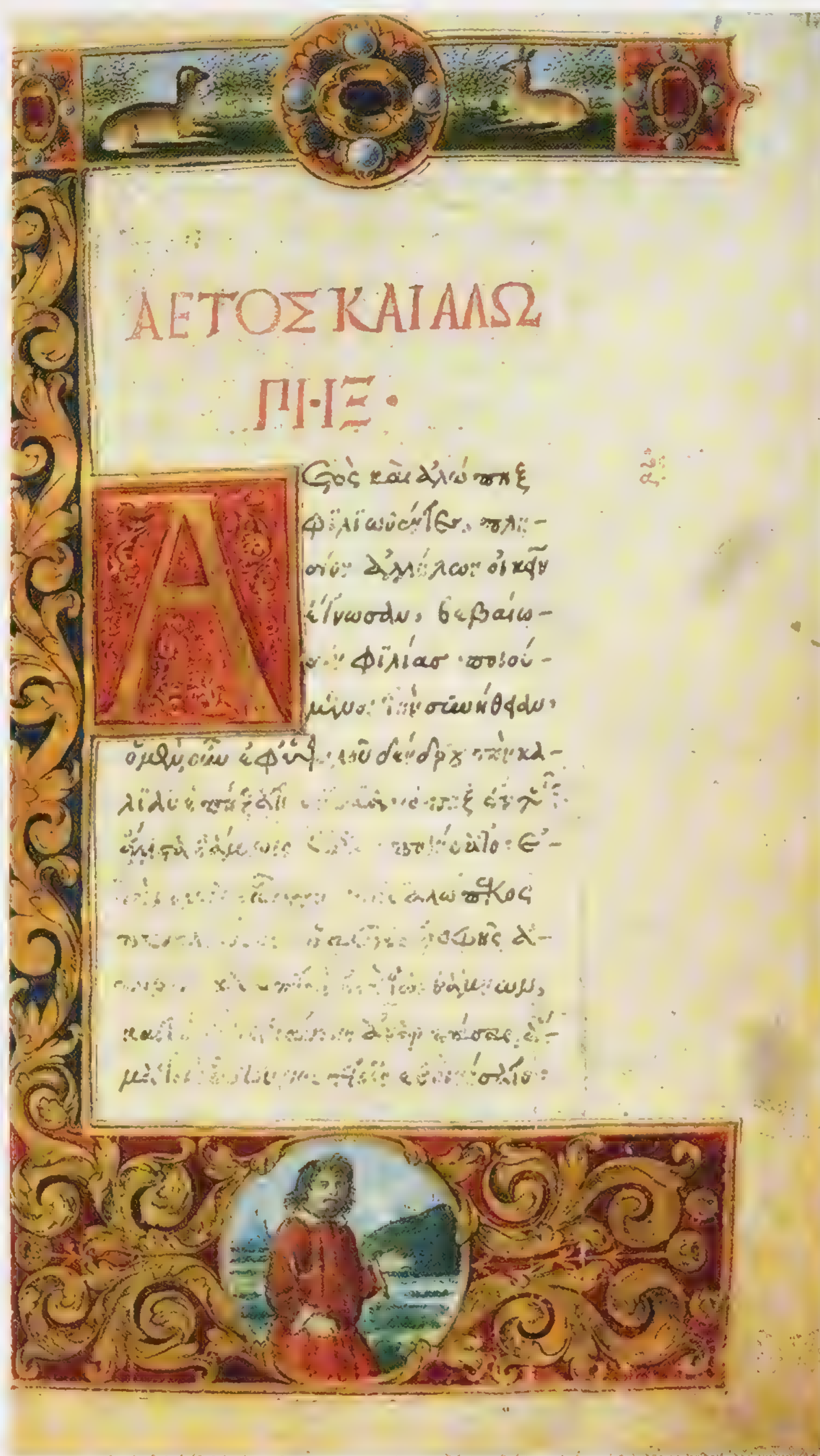
19. Eleventh-century codex containing works by Sophocles, Aeschylus and Apollonius Rhodius, bought in Constantinople ca. 1422 by G. Aurispa for N. Niccoli. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana (Plut. 32.9, fo. 40v).

persed, for he was having second thoughts about what to do with this Florentine aesthete's collection.

Cosimo envisaged a public library containing a representative selection of secular and Christian writings, and he commissioned Tommaso Parentucelli (the future Pope Nicholas V) to compile a catalogue of the 'ideal library'.¹¹⁰ Armed with

this list, he had no difficulty in persuading his fellow-trustees to waive their claims and then, by offering them other assets in exchange, he managed to become the sole owner of all Niccoli's manuscripts. He gave only a small part of this 'ideal library' to the Monastery of San Marco in Florence, keeping most of the manuscripts for himself, but he did undertake to repair the codices in the San Marco library. At the same time he had a room set aside for use as a reading-room and for book storage, with the codices chained to desks and bookstands. The library was designed by Bartolomeo di Michelozzo and the final result was hailed as a jewel in Florence's crown and a model of Renaissance architectural design.¹¹¹

Cosimo's heirs. Cosimo passed on his passion for books to both his sons, Piero and Giovanni. Piero I (1416-1469), whose talents lay mainly in the direction of politics and diplomacy, was also a lover of books. He is known to have com-



20. Aesop's Fables ('The Eagle and the Fox') from the codex known as the Medici Aesop in the Spencer Collection. The miniatures and ornamentation in the manuscript are by Gherardo di Giovanni (1444-1497). The New York Public Library (Spencer Ms 507, fo. 12).

missioned Donato Acciajuoli to translate Plutarch's *Lives of Alcibiades and Demetrius* for him.¹¹² About Giovanni de' Medici the Florentine ambassador to Milan,

Nicodemi, remarked, 'He looked after his books as if they were rivers of gold,' and he added that when Giovanni was on his deathbed he had said to his court favourite Angelo Poliziano, 'I had hoped that death would wait at least until I had completed my library.'¹¹³

Another book that may have been in Piero's collection was the superb manuscript of Aesop's *Fables* illuminated probably by Gherardo di Giovanni (1444-1497), a contemporary of Botticelli's.¹¹⁴ Piero wanted to differentiate his books, and so he used a colour code to distinguish between the various genres, the codices being bound in velvet of different colours for different subjects: blue for theology, yellow for grammar, purple for poetry and so on.¹¹⁵

Both brothers had their manuscripts illustrated with elaborate illuminations by famous miniaturists such as Francesco d'Antonio del Chierico and Attavante degli Attavanti. Many of these illuminations are inspired by motifs and compositions derived from classical antiquity, while others are portraits of luminaries of Florentine intellectual and political life.¹¹⁶

A catalogue of Piero's library compiled in 1465 lists 150 titles: in other words he had more than doubled the size of the library he had inherited from his father, which contained no more than seventy volumes.¹¹⁷



21. Lorenzo the Magnificent. Woodcut from N. Reusner, *Icones sive Imagines viuae, literis Cl. Virorum, Italiae, Graeciae...*, Basel 1599.

The library under Lorenzo the Magnificent. The most fertile period for the growth of the Medici library was when Lorenzo the Magnificent (1449-1492) was the city's ruler. It was during that period in the second half of the fifteenth century that Florence came to be considered an essential port of call for every scholar and thinker from the West; and the city's schools and academies, as well as the coterie of scholars concerned chiefly with specialized aspects of philosophy, put us in mind of Classical Athens.

Miniaturists in the
Medici entourage

The Studium, founded in 1397, was at the pinnacle of its prestige and its Chairs of Philosophy, Poetry and Literature were occupied by men of the calibre of Ioannes Argyropoulos, Demetrios Chalkokondyles, Francesco Filelfo, Cristoforo Landino and Angelo Poliziano.¹¹⁸ Small groups of scholars formed private 'academies', the Greek language and Greek philosophy were on the public educational curriculum, and symposia and philosophical discussions were held one after the

other.¹¹⁹ Marsilio Ficino's Platonic Academy, founded in 1469, numbered the most original thinkers in Italy and Northern Europe among its members.¹²⁰ In 1471, with the foundation of the first Florentine printing presses, research on every aspect of the classics and contemporary literary and humanistic output proceeded at an ever faster pace.¹²¹

Lorenzo the Magnificent, a poet himself, was not particularly interested in enriching his library with works of Greek and Latin literature. However, surrounded as he was by friends noted for their great love of literature, who were free to use the Medici library as if it were their own, he went along with their collective efforts to track down and acquire works of Greek and Latin literature. Accordingly, he bought two excellent collections of books: that of Francesco Sassetti,¹²² comprising sixty-seven extremely valuable codices,

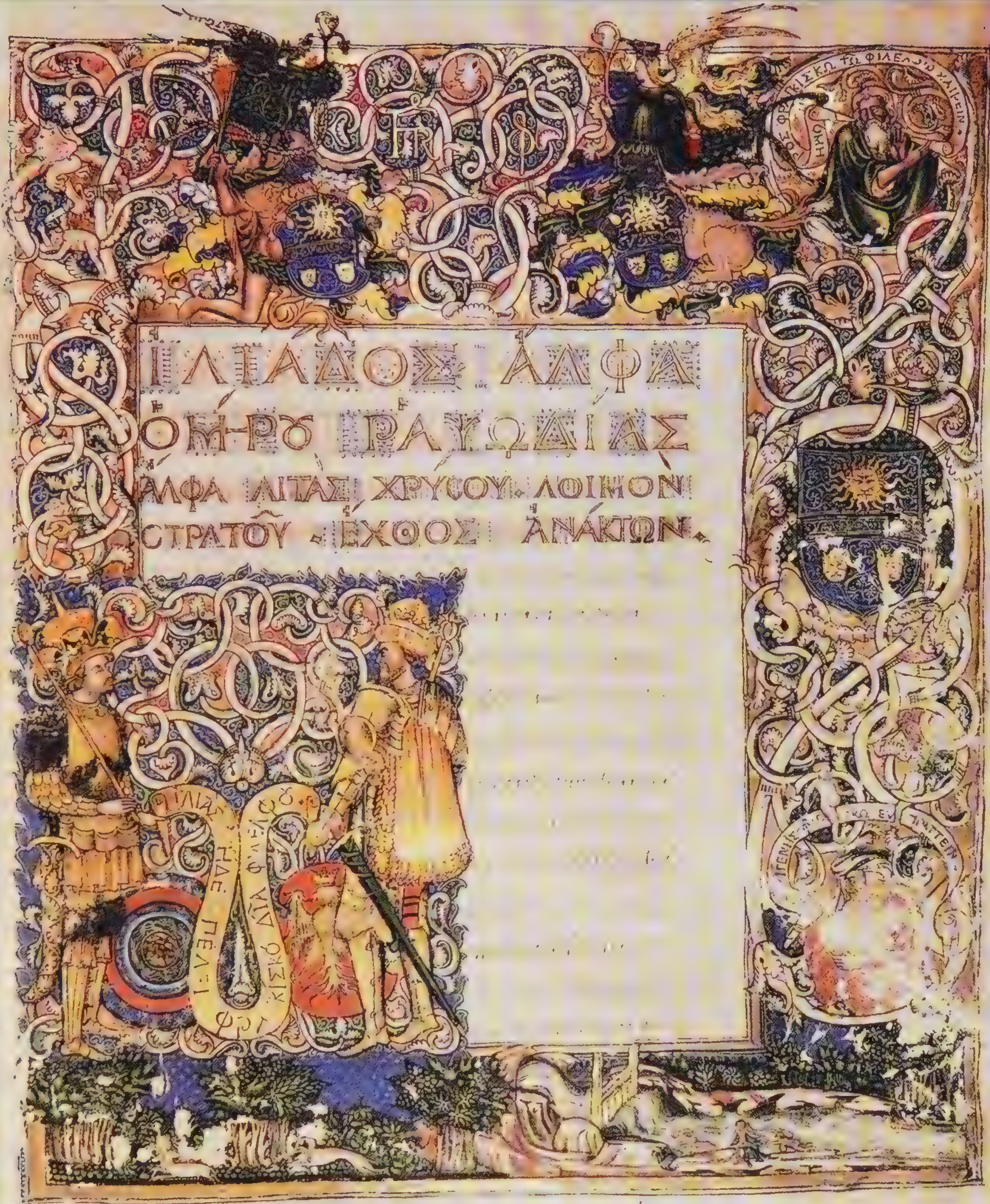


22. Ianos Laskaris. Engraving after an oil painting belonging to Count Luigi Bossi of Milan. From G. Roscoe, *Vita e pontificato di Leone X*, vol. 8, Milan 1817, pp. 48, 255.

and a historic collection of Greek manuscripts that had belonged to Francesco Filelfo, who had acquired them when he was studying in Constantinople.¹²³

But the two persons who were most active in searching for specific manuscripts to turn the Medici collection into a quintessential humanist library were Ianos Laskaris and Angelo Poliziano, or Politian.

23. Homer, *Batrachomyomachia* and *Iliad*. Parchment manuscript of the fifteenth century (Plut. 32.1, fo. 17r). Transcribed by Theodoros Gazis for Francesco Filelfo and illuminated by members of the Lombard School.

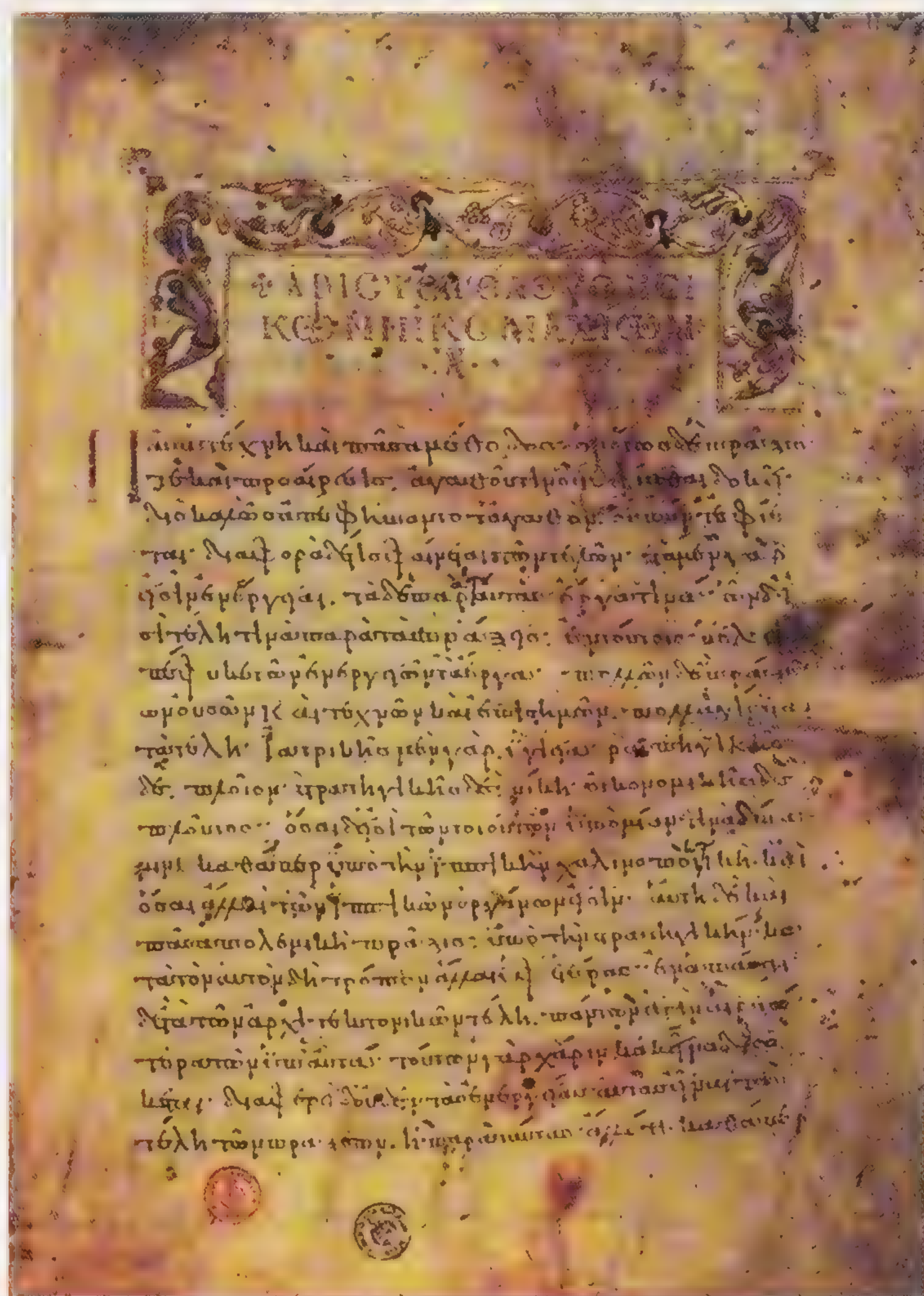


Ianos Laskaris,¹²⁴ the most eminent representative of Byzantine scholarship after the death of Cardinal Bessarion in 1471, set out to track down and copy all works of Greek literature surviving in both East and West, from the Preclassical to the Byzantine period. With this end in view he went on two long journeys in 1490/91 and 1492, travelling as the Medicis' ambassador to Sultan Beyazit II, and came back with about two hundred manuscripts for Lorenzo, many of them rare

works and some then unknown in the West.¹²⁵

Before setting out on his travels he drew up an inventory of the Greek codices in the Medici library and a list of the manuscripts he wanted to obtain, including poems and prose works by authors ranging from the Attic orators to the late Byzantines.¹²⁶ His object in undertaking these exploratory journeys was to map the contents of the private and monastic libraries scattered throughout the West and the East.

On his return from his second expedition, in 1492, by which time Florence was under the rule of Piero II de' Medici (Lorenzo having died on 8th April of that year), countless new treasures were added to the library:¹²⁷ they included the oldest known copy of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, dating from the tenth century,¹²⁸



24. Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, the oldest extant manuscript of this work. It dates from the early tenth century and belonged to Lorenzo the Magnificent. Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana (Plut. 81.11, fo. 12).

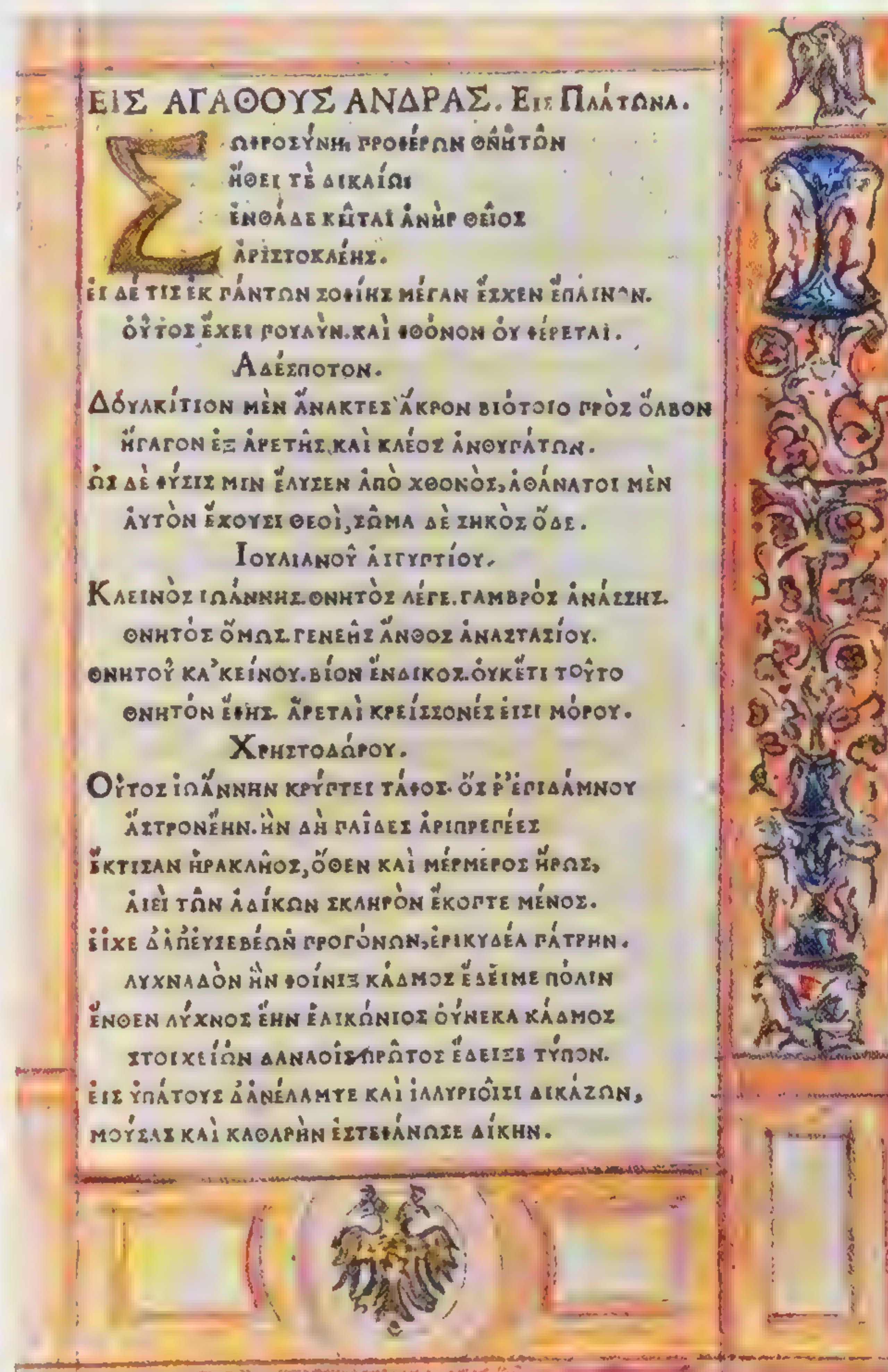
and another codex of similar date containing the *History* of Thucydides, written by an unknown scribe named Petros.¹²⁹ Some earlier manuscripts were particularly valuable: for example, a sixth-century copy of the first six books of the *Historiae adversus Paganos* by Paulus Orosius¹³⁰ and a ninth-century copy of Cicero's *Ad familiares*.¹³¹ A collection of treatises on surgery dating from the tenth or eleventh century, unknown anywhere else, was bought from a certain Niketas at Candia, Crete;¹³²

and in Constantinople Laskaris bought a unique eleventh-century codex of the *Stromateis* by Clement of Alexandria, which was used later as the basis for Piero Vettori's *editio princeps* (1550).¹³³

Mention should also be made here of two codices of historic importance which had belonged to Niccoli: the famous Codex Etruscus of the eleventh century, containing Seneca's tragedies, which was preserved in the Pomposa Abbey library,¹³⁴ and a codex containing the tragedies of Sophocles and Aeschylus and the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius, dating from the same century.¹³⁵ The latter was used as the basis for the *editio princeps* of Apollonius Rhodius, edited by Laskaris (Florence, 1496).¹³⁶

Politian, a scholar with an insatiable passion for literary studies and grammar, and a perfectionist when it came to the emendation of classical texts, was undoubtedly the greatest Hellenist of the Renaissance. He travelled round Italy, collating the manuscripts located by Laskaris in cities and towns all over the country, and when he could not buy them he had them copied for him by Ioannes Rossos.¹³⁷ But this unrivalled collection was by no means an open library, as the privilege of reading and borrowing the manuscripts was limited to close friends of the family. Poliziano, for example, had numerous codices from the Medici library in his house: by the time he died he had no less than thirty-five.¹³⁸

To make the valuable texts which Laskaris had collected for the Medici available to a wider readership, it was decided that they should be disseminated through the medium of the printed book. A new fount of Greek characters was therefore cut, modelled on Laskaris's own handwriting, at the Florentine press of Francesco di Alopa. The first book to be published was the *Planudean Anthology* (*Ἀνθολογία διαφόρων ἐπιγραμμάτων*, compiled by Maximos Planoudes) in 1494. It was followed by the *editio princeps* of six tragedies by Euripides, the first edition of the



25. Maximos Planoudes, *Anthology*, ed. I. Laskaris, Florence, Lorenzo de Alopa, 1494.

Greek books
printed at
a Florentine
press

Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius, Lucian's *Dialogues of the Dead* (Νεκρικοὶ Διάλογοι), the *Pinax* of Cebes and other titles. This publishing venture was brought to a halt when the Medici were expelled by the French army, not only because the funds dried up but also because Laskaris left Florence soon after.

Towards the end of 1494 the Medici family was driven out of Florence, the palazzo in the Via Larga was looted by Charles VIII's French army and an unknown number of books disappeared. However, all the manuscripts in the main part of the library were moved to the Monastery of San Marco – but there, too, they were in danger from the rioting that followed the conviction of Savonarola.¹³⁹ It was at that precise moment that a commission formed by the Signoria, composed of Ianos Laskaris, Marsilio Ficino and Girolamo Benivieni, drew up an inventory of the Medicis' private collection and made arrangements for the return of the books that were out on loan.¹⁴⁰ The monks of San Marco wanted to take the whole collection into their library, but they bought only two-thirds of the books, with the result that the rest of them passed into the ownership of the Salviati, a noble Florentine family.¹⁴¹

Only a few years later, the monks of San Marco were in a dire financial situation and were given leave to sell off the manuscripts they had acquired from the Medici *libreria* to Cardinal Galeotto Franciotto, who was acting on behalf of Lorenzo the Magnificent's younger son, Giovanni de' Medici, the future Pope Leo X.¹⁴² This they did in 1508. The cardinal then transferred the Medici collection to Rome and installed it in one of the rooms in the ornate Villa Medici. More and more new acquisitions were added to the original collection in the ensuing years, many of them extremely valuable: for example, the famous codex of Tacitus discovered at Corvey in 1508.¹⁴³ When Pope Leo X died, in 1521, the Medici collection was returned to Florence on the initiative of Giulio de' Medici (Pope Clement VII), who commissioned Michelangelo to prepare architectural designs for a home for it, worthy of the importance and great value of its contents.¹⁴⁴

26. Plotinus, *Enneads* (in the Latin translation by Marsilio Ficino). Parchment manuscript of the fifteenth century (Plut. 82.10, fo. 3r). This codex, dedicated to Lorenzo the Magnificent, is illuminated by Attavante degli Attavanti, the great Florentine miniaturist at the court of the Medici.

PROHEMIVM MARSILII FICINI FLOREN
TINI IN LIBROS PLOTINI AD MAGNA
NIMVM LAVRENTIVM MEDICVM
PATRIAE SERVATOREM

AGNVS
COSMVS

[The page contains dense handwritten text in a cursive script, likely from a historical manuscript or letter.]

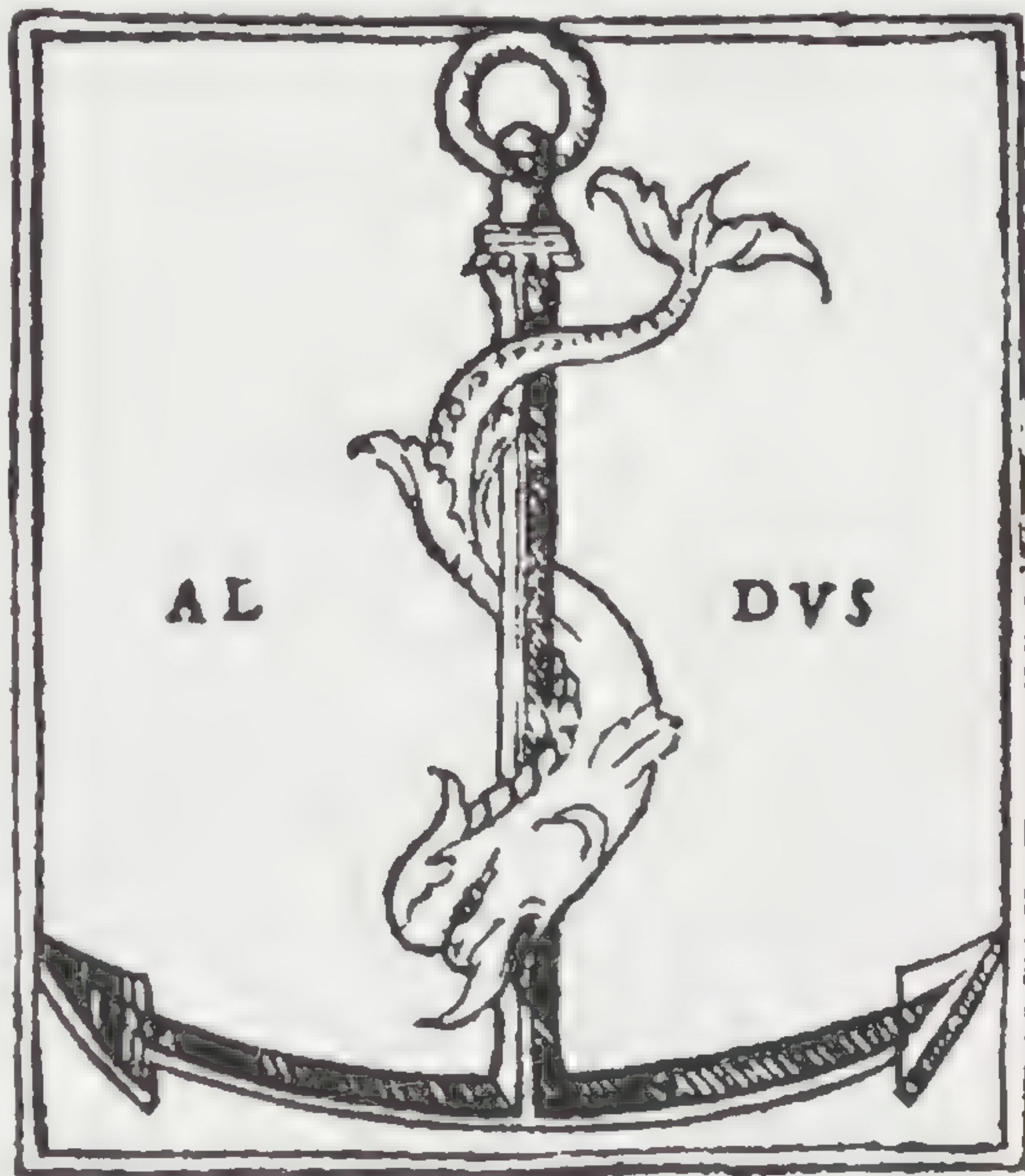


Aldus and his contribution to the promotion of Greek and Latin literature. After about a century of systematic study of Greek and Latin literature at various centres of learning in Italy, from Milan to Messina, Aldus set up a press in Venice to print and publish a corpus of books representative of the Graeco-Roman intellectual tradition in its entirety, in so far as it was possible to do so.¹⁴⁵ Having worked as a teacher earlier in his career, he had acquired a classical education which shaped his whole outlook on life and is reflected in the words he wrote in *Musarum panegyris*: 'How can anyone who does not know Greek possibly hope to emulate the Greek writers, who are the best educated in every branch of learning and from whom, as it is generally acknowledged, nearly everything of any note in the Latin language is derived?'¹⁴⁶

Aldus's printing and publishing house in Venice soon developed into a local academy where scholars gathered to study and discuss the classical tradition; and not only that, but it became a centre of textual scholarship to which eminent men of letters – the greatest of them being Erasmus – came from the North to broaden their learning. They then returned to their own countries to promote the wider study of Greek and Latin literature, assuming the mantle of apostles of the humanist philosophy. It was no mere chance that caused Aldus to set up his press in Venice, for by that time the city had emerged as the foremost book centre in Italy and it also had a strong Greek community, which he relied on for assistance with his editing and publishing programme. Another significant factor was that Cardinal Bessarion's book collection had come to rest in Venice and Aldus hoped to borrow valuable manuscripts from it, especially as he was a friend of the librarian, Marco Antonio Sabellico.¹⁴⁷



28. Aldus Pius Manutius in a contemporary woodcut.



29. Printer's mark of Aldus Manutius, from Gregory of Nazianzos, [Carmina], vol. 2, Venice 1504.

In the matter of selecting the works – or at least the Greek works – for publication, Markos Mousouros and Ianos Laskaris played a decisive part, not only because of the books they had in their own collections but also because they had a good overall knowledge of which manuscripts were to be found in almost all the ducal and other libraries in Italy.¹⁴⁸ Many other scholars, too, provided Aldus with manuscripts for publication. Thomas Linacre, who worked on the recension of the Aristotelian corpus (1495-1498), also brought with him a rare manuscript of Prudentius which he had in his possession.¹⁴⁹ Giangiacomo Bardellone, the owner of a manuscript of Hesychius's *Lexicon* which is still the only one known today, lent it to be used for the *editio princeps* edited by Mousouros (1514).¹⁵⁰ Niccolò Leonicensio, too, assisted Aldus by lending him some reliable manuscripts that he had in his library, mostly on medical subjects.¹⁵¹ And while Aldus was expecting more rare codices to be sent from the North, as Conrad Celtis had promised him,¹⁵² Erasmus spoke of being approached by Poles and Hungarians offering manuscripts for sale.¹⁵³ Aldus, carried away by the never-ending and sometimes hazardous search for manuscripts, found it quite easy to believe Lubrański when he spoke of a castle full of manuscripts in Dacia.¹⁵⁴ He was also relying on Giorgio Valla's¹⁵⁵ fine library in Venice, which contained a number of important Greek codices and was arranged and classified by Mousouros when it was acquired by Alberto Pio. Yet another collection in Venice was the very fine library of Cardinal Domenico Grimani, enlarged in 1498 by the purchase of Pico della Mirandola's 1,190 codices and his printed books: by the time Grimani died in 1523 his library contained no fewer than fifteen thousand volumes.¹⁵⁶ Another bibliophile who contributed to the success of Aldus's publishing venture was Urbano Bolzanio,¹⁵⁷ who went on a tour of the cities and towns of Greece and the Aegean islands – a pilgrimage to the lands described by Homer – and then settled in Venice, where he opened a private school of Greek and wrote a Greek grammar.

The sheer magnitude of Aldus's publishing programme up to 1500 is impressive, and so is the size of the print runs; and from 1502 onwards the number of copies printed of each of his editions rose steeply. The first dated book from his press was K. Laskaris's *Grammar* (1495), which marked the beginning of the systematic printing of Greek books in Venice.¹⁵⁸ Altogether Aldus published twenty-nine editions up to and including 1500, of which more than half were in Greek and many of the Latin ones were translations from Greek, such as the collective work comprising writings by Iamblichus, Proclus and Alcinoüs in Marsilio Ficino's translation. It is clear that in choosing his Greek texts for publication Aldus was concentrating on books that would be useful to scholars engaged in Greek studies

and would serve as teaching aids in schools like those of Bolzanio and Valla. The grammar books (by Laskaris, Gazis, Bolzanio and Aldus himself), Crastoni's *Dictionarium* and other dictionaries, the *Thesaurus Cornucopiae*, the five-volume *editio princeps* of Aristotle's complete works, the *Idylls* of Theocritus, Hesiod's *Works and Days*, the first edition of the comedies of Aristophanes and a collection of letters by ancient authors were the main teaching aids in use by students of Greek.¹⁵⁹

From 1500 onwards Aldus enjoyed the universal support of scholars living in Venice and his print-shop was organized as an 'academy', as evidenced by the leaflet headed «NEAKAΔHMIAΣ ΝΟΜΟΣ», with the result that the printing house's output reached its peak between 1502 and 1504.¹⁶⁰ The year 1502 saw the publication of the *editio princeps* of Sophocles's *Tragedies*, a small-format edition of 2,000 copies, with a colophon containing the first written reference to the Academy's existence: *in Aldi Romani Academia*.¹⁶¹ In that same year no fewer than eighteen other editions came from the Aldine press. In the preface to the first edition of Herodotus (1502), addressed to Giovanni Calfurnio, a well-known teacher of literature at Padua, Aldus pays public tribute to Calfurnio for his willingness to lend two of the codices from his collection: Cicero's *Letters to Atticus* and Pausanias's *Description of Greece*, which Calpurnio himself had edited and emended.¹⁶²

*The New Academy
and its regulations
in Aldus's
printing house*

But not everybody offered Aldus a helping hand, and Mousouros castigated the offenders in a letter to Nikolaos Vlastos: 'The shortage of books is a grave drawback, dear Nikolaos, especially for people who have a burning desire to enrich their learning [...] and it is all because of those book-eaters.'¹⁶³

By the time the 'New Academy' was founded, Aldus had already won recognition throughout Europe and men of letters in Italy, as well as academics and members of princely courts and supported his efforts by placing large orders with him, while at the same time enriching their own libraries with Aldine editions. In one letter to Marcello Virgilio Adriano the Venetian printer writes about Alessandro Acciaiuoli,¹⁶⁴ who bought every book that came from his press, and in a letter to Johann Reuchlin he refers to the books he had sent to Germany, which included editions of Julius Pollux, Thucydides, Sedulius and Aratus and the *Etymologicum Magnum* (published by Kalliergis and Vlastos), among others.¹⁶⁵

Aldus and his closest associates – especially Mousouros, with his dislike of 'bibliotaphy' (the jealous hoarding of valuable books) – considered it vitally important that they should be allowed access to libraries to copy manuscripts, so as to be able to produce reliable editions of the texts. Aldus makes this point in his preface to the new edition of Cardinal Bessarion's *In calumniatorem Platonis*,¹⁶⁶ addressed to Accursius Mainer, an Avignon jurist who was the French ambassador

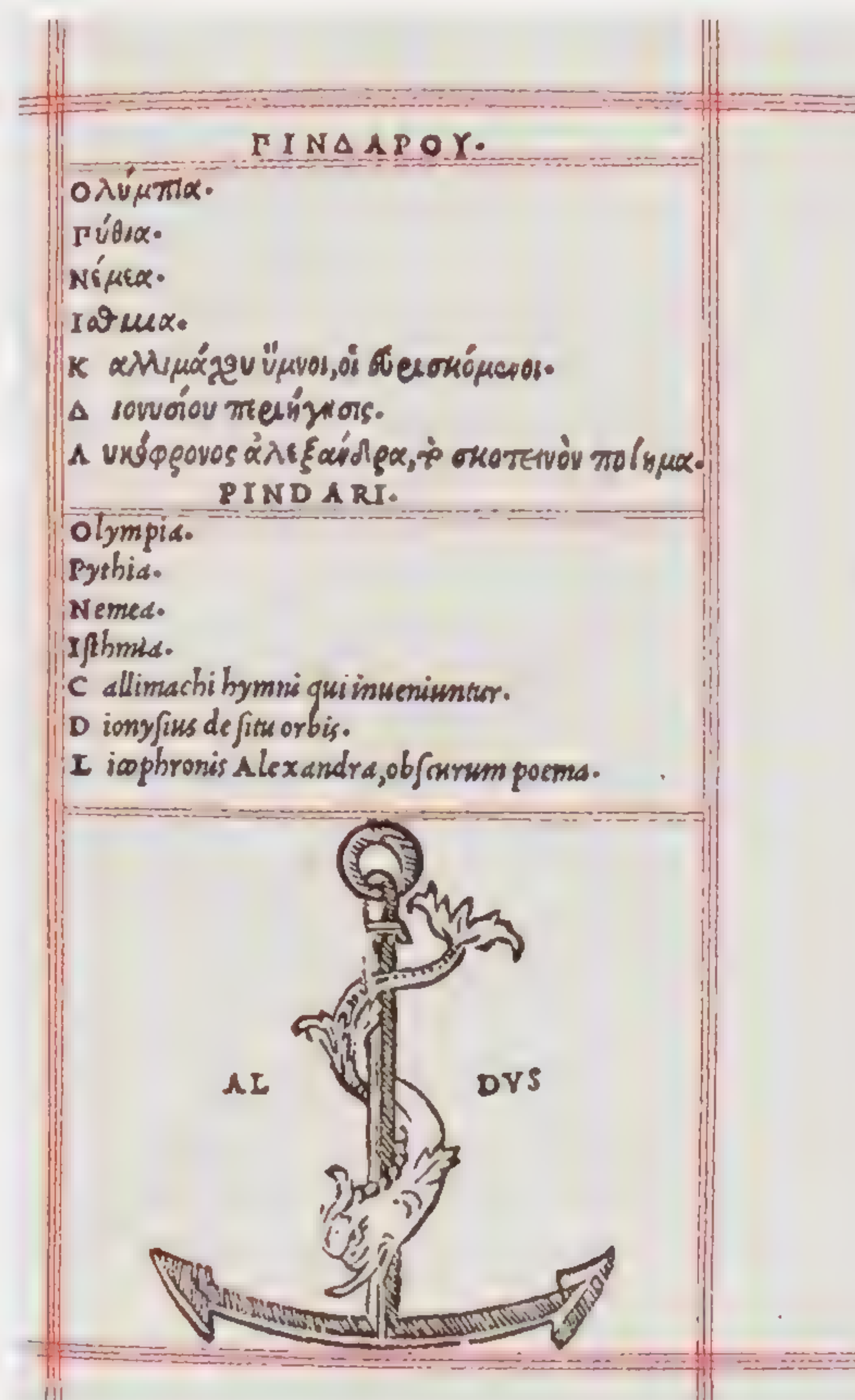
to Venice. As an appendix to the four books of the text proper, this edition contains a transcript of the revisions Bessarion made to George of Trebizond's translation of Plato's *Laos*. The *editio princeps* of Bessarion's work was printed by Sweynheim and Pannartz in Rome in 1469,¹⁶⁷ but the Aldine edition contains additions and emendations based on a manuscript copy annotated in Bessarion's own hand, which was given to Aldus before his edition was completed, presumably by Sabellico, the Marciana librarian.¹⁶⁸

Aldus's achievements as a printer and publisher, and as the leader of the team of literary scholars he formed to assist him in his efforts, were quite unprecedented. As Erasmus remarked, he built up a library that recognized no geographical restrictions or chronological limits, unlike the great libraries of the past. That library knew no boundaries other than the boundaries of the world.¹⁶⁹ The pillars of the library were Aldus's close associates living in Venice, and he also received assistance on a smaller scale from the most eminent scholars of the North.

The textual accuracy of Aldus's Greek editions was guaranteed by the great Mousouros, who stood by his side until his death, while a great many of the books he published were edited by Cretan scholars and grammarians who had book collections of their own, including Arsenios Apostoles, Ioustinos Dekadyos, Ioannes Grigoropoulos and Demetrios Doukas, as well as Ianos Laskaris, of course.¹⁷⁰ For his Latin editions Aldus was lent a helping hand by men of the calibre of Andrea Navagero, a future librarian of the Marciana, Battista Egnazio, Paolo da Canal, Francesco Rosetto and Scipio Fortiguerra, among others.¹⁷¹ His prestige beyond the Alps made his printing house an essential port of call for every scholar wishing to get a taste of humanist ideals. It is no coincidence that on returning to their countries those scholars headed the movement for the study of the humanities, supported the formation of new libraries and introduced literary studies into the university curricula, so broadening the horizons of classical literature. Among them were William Grocyn, Thomas Linacre and William Latimer from England, who worked on the five-volume Aldine edition of Aristotle (1495-1498), Johann Reuchlin, Conrad Celtis and Johann Cuno from the German Empire, Lefèvre d'Étaples, Guillaume Budé and Girolamo Aleandro from France and, above all, Erasmus.¹⁷² The Aldine Academy was transformed into an open university where travellers from the North were instructed in Greek by Chalkokondyles and studied under Politian. To learn the secrets of textual scholarship and editorial emendation, they spent their days at Aldus's printing house under the guidance of Mousouros and Laskaris. Erasmus first visited Italy in 1506 to perfect his Greek, preceded by a reputation that brought him into disfavour with the ecclesiastical establishment

inasmuch as he had thought fit to edit Lorenzo Valla's *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum*, a treatise that dared to take a literary approach to so important a sacred text.¹⁷³ The time spent by Erasmus in Aldus's printing house, his relations with Laskaris and his browsing in the libraries of the Academy's members left their mark on the new, expanded edition of the *Adagia* published in 1508.¹⁷⁴ Among other references to Aldus in the long preface to that edition, Erasmus praises him for his passionate commitment to the literary resuscitation of the ancient world, summing up his tribute in these words: 'If some deity friendly to literature will but favour the truly royal vows of Aldus, I can promise that within a few years the studiosus will possess, by his work alone, all the good authors there are in the four languages, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Chaldee.' (This was written at the time when Aldus was planning to cut a fount of Syriac types.)¹⁷⁵ Lastly, it is worth mentioning a visitor from the North who worked at the Aldine press and formed a collection of books that included proof copies full of corrections, print rejects and other cast-offs from the typecase (as in the case of the editions of Aristotle and Theophrastus): he was Johann Cuno.¹⁷⁶

Aldus's contribution to the wider dissemination of Greek and Latin literature and the growth in the supply of classical works and humanistic writings is quite astonishing, especially in terms of the number of copies of each edition. His publications made it possible for anyone to obtain copies of books previously out of their reach, while at the same time they allowed academies and universities in Northern Europe, such as the Societas Rhenana in Heidelberg, to include in their curricula classical writings that had been unknown until then. To appreciate the magnitude of Aldus's achievements as printer and publisher between 1495 and 1515 one has only to consider that in that time he published – among other titles – no fewer than 94 first editions of Greek works of the classical and postclassical periods. Given that the print runs of these editions ranged from 1,000 to 3,000 copies, the number of copies produced by his press came to a total of between 100,000 and 120,000.¹⁷⁷



30. Title page of Pindar's Odes (in Greek and Latin). Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1513 (Pierre Bergé catalogue).

NOTES

III

The Invention
of Printing

NOTES

1. See A.W. Pollard, *BMC* I, VII-IX; Geldner II, 25-29; G.P. Carosi, *La stampa da Maganza a Subiaco*, Gutenberg, 1976.
2. See Geldner II, 29-30.
3. On Bussi see M. Miglio, 'Bussi, Giovanni Andrea', in *DBI* 15 (1972), 565-572; *Charta* I, 71-73.
4. See V. Scholderer, 'The Petition of Sweynheim and Pannartz to Sixtus IV', *The Library*, 3rd ser., 6 (1915) 186-190; Id., *Fifty Essays in Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Bibliography*, ed. D.E. Rhodes, Amsterdam 1966, 72-73; *Charta* I, 78-79.
5. See B. Botfield, *Praefationes et Epistolae Editionibus Principibus Auctorum Veterum Praepositae*, Cambridge 1861, 64-67.
6. See V. Scholderer, 'Sixtus Riessinger's First Press at Rome', in *Fifty Essays...*, 70-71.
7. See *Bessarione e l'Umanesimo. Catalogo della mostra*, ed. Gianfranco Fiaccadori, with introduction by M. Zorzi, Naples, Vivarium, 1994, 495-496 (108).
8. See M. Davies, 'Two Book-lists of Sweynheim and Pannartz', in *Libri Tipografi Biblioteche: Ricerche storiche dedicate a Luigi Balsamo* I, Florence, Leo S. Olschki, 1997, 25-53. The lists quoted there give the prices of some of the two German printers' books and the names and dates of their owners. The buyers included church dignitaries from various cities in Italy who used the opportunities of their visits to the Holy See to enrich their collections with the first products of typography.
9. Accorsi was born at Pisa in the middle of the fifteenth century. As a young man he moved to Milan, where he studied with Francesco Filelfo, before going on to Pavia for further studies in Greek under Andronikos Kallistos. He was a member of Piero de' Medici's scholarly circle, and before long he opened a private school in Pisa. In about 1474 he went back to Milan and took the lead in opening a new school there with a humanistic slant. See G. Ballistreri, 'Bonaccorso', in *DBI* 11 (1969), 464-465; Teresa Rogledi Manni, *La tipografia a Milano nel XV secolo*, Florence, Leo S. Olschki, 1980, 39-41.
10. *BMC* VI, 731 (IB. 26274); *BH* I/1, 1-5 (1); *Charta* I, 139-140.
11. See Manni, *La tipografia...*, 40.
12. See *Charta* I, 142-149; *BMC* VI, 754 (IB. 26552); *BMC* VI, 754-755 (IB. 26555); *BMC* VI, 756 (IA. 26562); *BMC* VI, 756 (IA. 26563); *BMC* VI, 756 (IB. 26559); *BMC* VI, 757 (IB. 26568a); and *BMC* VI, 756-757 (IB. 26564a), respectively.
13. Renouard, 1-2 (1) and 13-14 (7).
14. On Damilas and his activities see *Charta* I, 137-163.
15. See M. Flodr, *Incunabula Classicorum. Wiegendrucke der griechischen und römischen Literatur*, Amsterdam, Verlag Adolf M. Hakkert, 1973.
16. The story of Corvinus's library now lost almost in its entirety, is a never-ending source of interest to book-lovers, not only because of the richness of its contents but also because of the circumstances that led to its dispersal. According to Johannes Lomeier's historical study *De bibliothecis liber singularis*, Zutphen 1669, 'This hero [Corvinus], without regard to expense, founded a large library which contained more than fifty thousand printed and

manuscript books.' Julius Pflugk, the first historian of the Corvinian Library, agrees with Lomeier ('The library is said to have consisted of fifty thousand volumes') and gives it as his opinion that this estimate cannot be far from the truth, as Péter Pázmány offered to buy it from the Turks for 200,000 florins (J. Pflugk, *Epistola ad Vitum a Seckendorf, praeter fata Bibliothecae Budensis, librorum quoque ultima expugnatione repertorum catalogum exhibens*, Jena 1686). In reality, however, the library must have been very much smaller: according to Csaba Csapodi in his detailed study entitled *The Corvinian Library: History and Stock*, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1973 (= Csapodi, *Corvinian Library*), 17-29, it could not have contained more than two thousand volumes. The other question of interest to historians is what happened to the library. It is still not known whether the books were taken to Constantinople at Sultan Suleyman's orders, or whether most of them were destroyed when Buda was sacked by the Turks after their capture of the city in 1526, or whether the library survived intact at that time and the books were dispersed gradually thereafter. The sources are contradictory, and although the consensus of opinion in the German-speaking countries in the seventeenth century was that the library had been completely destroyed by the Sultan, Pál Enyedi, in his history of the Transylvanian War, wrote fulsomely of 'the library of Matthias Corvinus which still survives in its original location in Buda, without having been sacked, because guards had been set to protect it.' See Csapodi, 'The Decay of the Library', in *Corvinian Library*, 72-90. As Csapodi points out (*Corvinian Library*, 7), the literature on

the Corvinian Library was already extremely extensive in 1942, when Klára Zolnai and Józseph Fitz compiled a 130-page list of all the relevant titles in their *Bibliographia Bibliothecae Mathiae Corvini*, Budapest 1942. For more general information on the Library see Ilona Berkovits, *Illuminated Manuscripts from the Library of Matthias Corvinus*, Budapest, Corvina Press, 1963 (= Berkovits, *Illuminated Manuscripts*).

17. See Csapodi, *Corvinian Library*, 54-55. Bartolomeo Fontio or Fonzio was a great Hellenist who had studied under Argypoulos and under Andronikos Kallistos. Owing to his bad relations with Politian he was more or less forced to leave Italy and move to Buda. He translated numerous Greek books into Latin and worked for a time as a proof-reader at S. Jacopo di Ripoli, the first printing press in Florence. See also *Charta* I, 197.
18. V. Fraknoi, A. *Hunyadiak és a Jagellók kora: A magyar nemzet története*, ed. Sándor Szilágyi, IV, n.d.
19. See VBV I, 319-326; V. Fraknoi, *Vitéz János esztergomi érsek élete*, Budapest 1879, 13; P. Ruzicska, *Storia della letteratura ungherese*, Milan 1963, 237-243; Berkovits, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, 11.
20. VBV I, 393, II, 141; Berkovits, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, 11. Pier Paolo Vergerio, who was born at Capo d'Istria in 1370 and died in Hungary in 1444, was a member of a distinguished family. He spent some time touring various cities in Italy, displaying his talents for philosophy, civil law, mathematics, rhetoric and Greek, which he had learnt from Chrysoloras. In Florence he studied under Francesco Zabarella, an expert in canon law, who liked him so much that he took him into

his employ. He went with Zabarella to Rome and in 1414 accompanied him to the Council of Konstanz, where he met his former teacher Chrysoloras for the last time. After Zabarella's death in 1417, Vergerio moved to Sigismund's court in Hungary and never returned to Italy. See L. Smith, 'Note cronologiche Vergeriane', *AVT* 10 (1920) 149-157; J. Huszti, 'Pier Paolo Vergerios a magyar humanizmus kezdetei', *Filológiai Közlöny* (1955) 521-533.

21. On Pannonius's library see p. 139 ff.

22. J. Ábel, *Adalékok a humanizmus történetéhez Magyarországon*, Budapest 1880, 158-159; Id., 'Magyarországi humanisták és a Dunai Tudós Társaság', *Ért. MTA* 8 (1880) 8.

23. On Vitéz's library see: V. Fraknoi, *Vitéz János könyvtára*, Budapest 1878; Edit Hoffmann (ed.), *Régi magyar bibliofilek*, Budapest 1929.

Fewer than thirty of Vitéz's books have survived, and they are not indicative of the thematic orientation of the greater part of his collection. They include works by Victorius and Tertullian and perhaps a manuscript containing Ptolemy's *Cosmographia* in Regiomontanus's translation; but of the writings by the great scholars of the day such as Poggio, Argyropoulos and Bruni, with whom Vitéz corresponded regularly, not one manuscript remains that is known to have been in his library.

24. See VBV I, 333; Berkovits, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, 13.

25. See J. Csontos, 'A Korvina', *Pallas Nagy Lexikon*, X, Budapest 1895, appendix V.1.

26. In a letter to Marzio Galeotto, Pannonius excused himself for his neglect of his studies, which he said was 'due partly to my other business, partly to the circumstance that I could not obtain the necessary books in this barbarian country, nor did I

find an appreciative audience which might have spurred on my ambition to learn': Huszti, 'Pier Paolo Vergerios...', 251.

27. In about 1471 Pannonius had delivered to Argyropoulos (who may have been his Greek teacher) a letter from the King of Hungary inviting him to Buda to teach Greek on a regular basis. Argyropoulos declined, preferring to return to Rome and go on with his teaching there. See G. Cammelli, *Ἰωάννης Ἀργυρόπουλος (= I dotti bizantini e le origini dell' Umanesimo II: Giovanni Argiropulo*, tr. D. Arvanitakis), Athens, Kotinos, 2006, 111-112.

28. See VBV I 328-329; G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architetti, con nuove annotazioni e commenti di Gaetano Milanesi*, vol. III, Florence 1878, 334. See also G. Gombosi, 'Pannóniae Mihály és a renaissance kezdetei Ferrarában', *Az Országos Magyar Szépművészeti Múzeum Evkönyve* 6 (1929-1930) 91-108. On the art of manuscript illumination in Ferrara see Ilona Berkovits, *La miniatura nella corte di Mattia Corvino: Ferrara ed il Rinascimento ungherese*, Budapest 1941, 14.

29. See Huszti, 'Pier Paolo Vergerios...', 231; Csapodi, *Corvinian Library*, 41; Berkovits, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, 15-16. On Leto's Academy see p. 70.

30. See J. Ábel, *Analecta ad historiam renaissance in Hungaria litterarum spectantia*, Budapest 1880, 225 (= *Analecta ad historiam*); Csapodi, *Corvinian Library*, 41.

31. Polycarpus was married to George of Trebizond's daughter Maria. For more on Polycarpus see V. Fraknoi, 'Mátyás király magyar diplomatái I-II', *Századok* 32 (1898) 1-14; also J. Monfasani, *George of Trebizond: A biography and a study of his rhetoric and logic*, Leiden 1976, 197, n. 98, with bibliography on the relationship be-

- tween George of Trebizond and Polycarpus. See also A. Mercati, 'Notiziola sulla famiglia di Giorgio da Trebisonda', *OCP* 11 (1945) 227-228.
32. See Berkovits, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, 16.
33. See Csapodi, *Corvinian Library*, 49. Mária Kubinyi, *Libri manuscripti graeci in bibliothecis Budapestinensibus asservati*, Budapest 1956.
34. See Csapodi, *Corvinian Library*, 46.
35. See Berkovits, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, 18-19; A. Berzeviczy, *Beatrix Királyné*, Budapest 1908. On Beatrice's library see C. Csapodi, *Beatrix Királyné Könyvtára*, Muszle 1964 (= 'La biblioteca di Beatrice d'Aragona, moglie di Mattia Corvino', in *Italia ed Ungheria*, 1967, 113-133).
36. Csapodi, *Corvinian Library*, 47; J. Huszti, *Platonista törekvések Mátyás király udvarában*, Pécs 1925. The text of Ficino's preface is given in J. Ábel and I. Hegadüs, *Analecta nova*, Budapest 1903. On Ficino and the Platonic Academy of Florence see p. 71 herein.
37. See the Introduction to the second volume of Ficino's *Epistolae*, first printed by Anton Koberger at Nürnberg in 1497 (GW 9874).
38. Csapodi, *Corvinian Library*, 46. Information about his duties as Librarian is supplied by Ugoletto himself in his preface to *Opera Ausonij nuper reperta* (BMC VII, 946, IA, 30367), printed in 1499 at his brother Angelo's press in Parma. Taddeo mentions that he first had the idea of preparing an edition of Ausonius in the year when Matthias invited him to take charge of his collection of Greek and Latin books. Ugoletto was perhaps better qualified for this post than anybody else: himself a highly cultured man and a collector of manuscripts (see A. del Prato, *Librai e biblioteche parmensi del secolo XV*, Parma

- 1905), he fully deserved the title of *Musarum Cultor* bestowed on him by the anonymous engraver of a medallion reproduced in Padre Ireneo Affò, *Memorie di Taddeo Ugoletto*, Parma 1781. He travelled frequently to Florence to buy manuscripts for Corvinus, and his excellent relations both with the literary élite and with the Medici themselves, who financed his purchases of manuscripts for Corvinus in some way, stood him in good stead. Evidence for the financial assistance given to Corvinus by the Medici is to be found in the Florentine State Archives (I^a Cancelleria. – Signori Carteggio. Missive, Registri 51, c. 48): see A. de Hevesy, *La Bibliothèque du Roi Matthias Corvin*, Paris 1923, 52-53.
39. See Csapodi, *Corvinian Library*, 48-49. Naldius, whom Ficino called his greatest friend, was born in Florence in 1435 and died there *circa* 1500. Practically nothing would now be known about him if he had not been immortalized in the work of Ficino and Politian. He was a protégé of Lorenzo de' Medici and taught rhetoric, grammar and poetry at the Florence Studium. See A. Della Torre, *Storia dell' Accademia Platonica di Firenze*, Florence 1902, 503-508, 668-681.
40. See Hevesy, *La Bibliothèque...*; C. Csapodi and Klára Csapodiné Gárdonyi, *Bibliotheca Corviniana*, Budapest, Magyar Helikon Corvina, 1976.

Matthias Corvinus's library provided the main impetus for the perpetuation of the art of manuscript illumination both in Buda and in Italy. The manuscripts intended for the Corvina are works of great beauty displaying an astonishing degree of artistic inspiration, in which we can recognize the hands of Attavante degli Attavanti, Giovanni Boccardi and Francesco d'Antonio del

- Chierico, as well as many anonymous artists working in Buda. For examples of these illuminations and some typical bindings see Berkovits, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, Pls. 1-47. See also L. Vayer, 'Rapporti tra la miniatura italiana e quella ungherese nel trecento' in *La miniatura italiana tra Gotico e Rinascimento*, ed. Emanuela Sesti, vol. I, Florence, Olschki, 1985, 3-33.
41. See Csapodi, *Corvinian Library*, 49.
 42. *Ibid.*, 41-42.
 43. *Ibid.*, 51; Berkovits, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, 15.
 44. See Csapodi, *Corvinian Library*, 52.
 45. See B. Fontius, *Epistolarum libri*, ed. Ladislaus Juhász, Budapest 1931, 36.
 46. See Csapodi, *Corvinian Library*, 54.
 47. See Proctor II, 692; Geldner II, 358; also J. Heb, 'König Matthias Corvinus und der Buchdruck', *GJ* (1939) 128-137; and esp. J. Fitz, *A magyar nyomdászat, könyvkiadás és Könyvkereskedelem története a XV. században*, Budapest 1959.
 48. See pp. 93-101.
 49. On Matthias Corvinus's library see pp. 128 ff.
 50. Pannonius was born in 1434 in a small village at the mouth of the River Drave. From 1447 to 1451 he was studying at Ferrara and Padua. On one of his visits to Italy, in 1460, Pope Pius II consecrated him Bishop of Cinquechiese (Pécs). He died in 1472; see *VBV* I, 327-335 and J. Huszti, *Janus Pannonius*, Pécs 1931 (= *Janus Pannonius*).
 51. On the history of Pannonius's library see C. Csapodi, 'Les livres de Janus Pannonius et sa bibliothèque à Pécs', *Scriptorium* 28 (1974) 32-50 (= Csapodi, 'Les livres').
 52. See Hoffmann, *Régi magyar...*, 104.
 53. See Csapodi, 'Les livres', 32-33.
 54. See Huszti, *Janus Pannonius*, 249, 388; Csapodi, 'Les livres', 33.
 55. See Kubinyi, *Libri manuscripti Graeci...*, 63-66, giving a transcript of Garázda's dedicatory note with his name written in Greek (Γαράστα).
 56. See S.V. Kovács, *Péter Garázda* [Irodalomtört, 1957], 50.
 57. See C. Csapodi, 'Description des manuscrits Corvins', in Csaba and Gárdonyi, *Bibliotheca...* no. 52.
 58. See Csapodi, 'Les livres', 33-34.
 59. See J. Bick, *Die Schreiber der Wiener griechischen Handschriften*, Vienna/Prague/Leipzig 1920, 54-55 (no. 47).
 60. See Csapodi, 'Les livres', 35.
 61. *Ibid.*, 36; Plutarch, *De utilitate inimicitarum* and *De curiositate*; Demosthenes, *Oratio adversus epistolam Philippi*; Homer, *Fabula Bellerophontis*.
 62. See Huszti, *Janus Pannonius*, 115.
 63. See Csapodi, 'Les livres', 36.
 64. See Huszti, *Janus Pannonius*, 248; Csapodi, 'Les livres', 36-37.
 65. 'Nuper nobis editum tibi potissimum, vir clementissime, dedicare constituti, qui et Platonius es': see Csapodi, 'Les livres', 36.
 66. See Csapodi, 'Les livres', 37. Skoutariotes taught at the Studium in Florence from 1480; see Verde I, 315.
 67. See Csapodi, 'Les livres', 37.
 68. See Csapodi, 'Les livres', 37; J. Fitz, *Mátyás Király a Könyvbarát*, vol. 2, Budapest 1940, 220-222.
 69. See Csapodi, 'Les livres', 38.
 70. *Ibid.*, 40 ff.
 71. See Huszti, *Janus Pannonius*, 17-21.
 72. See Janus Pannonius, *Poëmata: Traiecti ad Rhenum 1784* (= *Epigrammata* I, CCXCIII, CCXCIV, 585); Ábel, *Analecta ad historiam*, 93; *Epigrammata* I, CCCDXXXI.
 73. See Huszti, *Janus Pannonius*, 49-52.
 74. See R. Gerézdi, *Janus Pannoniustól Balassi Bálintig*, Budapest 1968, 24.

75. *Ibid.*, 35.
76. See G. Ferenczy, *Claudius Claudianus és Janus Pannonius panegyricus Költészete*, Budapest 1943.
77. See Csapodi, 'Les livres', 42.
78. *Ibid.*; and on his translations of Macello's poems see *Epigrammata* I, CCCXXXIX, 611.
79. See Ábel, *Analecta ad historiam*, 223-224. On Pannonius's relations with Argyropoulos see p. 131 herein.
80. *Ibid.*; see also Csapodi, 'Les livres', 43.
81. On the academy founded by Argyropoulos in Florence see p. 70.
82. See *Epigrammata* I, CCXXXVII, 561-562. This edition of the *Expositio* was printed in Florence at the Monastery of San Jacopo di Ripoli (GW 140).
83. See Ábel, *Analecta ad historiam*, 225-226.
84. See Csapodi, 'Les livres', 43-44.
85. See Ábel, *Analecta ad historiam*, 207.
86. See Csapodi, 'Les livres', 44.
87. *Ibid.*, 45.
88. *Ibid.* On George of Trebizond's work as a translator, see p. 93-94 herein.
89. To get a rough idea of the number of books Pannonius bought on this visit to Italy, it is worth mentioning what Vespasiano has to say about another great collector from Hungary, György Handó, who bought books to the value of 3,000 florins in Naples and Florence and eventually amassed a collection of over three hundred volumes in Pécs: see Ábel, *Analecta ad historiam*, 225-226.
90. See Csapodi, 'Les livres', 46.
91. See Ábel, *Analecta ad historiam*, 226. For more on the libraries in Italy with well-stocked and well-organized Greek sections up to 1465, see p. 146 herein. On the question of whether the humanists made provision for the future of their libraries, and if so in what circumstances, see pp. 63, 64, 74.
92. Similar fates befell the libraries of Chrysoloras, Giorgio Valla and Politian, among others.
93. See p. 128.
94. See VBV II, 168 and, on Cosimo's life and work, 167-211; see also C. Gutkind, *Cosimo de' Medici il Vecchio*, Florence 1940.
95. VBV II, 168. Rossi was born in Florence (ca. 1355) and was on friendly terms with the élite of Florentine scholarship, including Francesco Barbaro and Guarino Veronese, to whom he dedicated his Latin translation of Plutarch's *Life of Flaminius*. A circle of scholars gathered round him, including Domenico Buoninsegni, Bartolo Tebaldi, Luca degli Albizzi and Alessandro degli Alessandri. He knew Greek well, having studied under Kydones and Chrysoloras, and he had a library which included Greek manuscripts. See *Charta* I, 109. On his books see VBV II, 141, 169.
96. See VBV II, 169.
97. *Ibid.* On Poggio and his book-collecting see p. 68-70.
98. See VBV I, 452; Gutkind, *Cosimo...*, 99. Ambrogio Traversari (1386-1439), though a monk of the Camaldolese order, was at the same time a zealous devotee of the humanities. After taking lessons with Chrysoloras, he continued his study of Greek language and literature by empirical methods, using bilingual books such as the Psalter and the Gospels. In fact he later boasted that he had learnt the language without the least help from a teacher (*absque miniculo praeceptoris*). On the humanists' methods of learning Greek see R. Sabbadini, *Il metodo degli Umanisti*, Florence 1922, 17-27. On Traversari

- see VBV I, 449-461; A. Dini Traversari, *A. Traversari e i suoi tempi*, Florence 1912; C. Somigli, *Un amico dei Greci: Ambrogio Traversari*, Arezzo 1964.
99. On the Platonic Academy see p. 71-73.
100. On Ficino see p. 71 ff.
101. See p. 132. On the similar academy founded in Corvinus's court at Buda see p. 134.
102. On the history of the Medici library from Cosimo's time to its installation in a new building designed by Michelangelo, see esp. E.S. Piccolomini, *Intorno alle condizioni ed alle vicende della Libreria Medicea Privata*, Florence 1875 (= Piccolomini, *Intorno*); E. Müntz, *Les collections des Médicis au XV^e siècle*, Paris 1888; F. Pintor, 'Per la storia della libreria Medicea nel Rinascimento. Appunti d'Archivio', *IMU* 3 (1960) 139-165; *The Great Libraries*, 338-357.
103. See VBV II, 183 ff.; Pintor, 'Per la storia...', 196.
104. Niccoli possessed all the characteristics of Maecenas and his life's work differed little from that of the adviser on cultural affairs in Augustus's reign. He himself worked tirelessly at copying manuscripts, which he did using a new style of writing, the so-called humanistic script (*castigata et clara*, according to Petrarch): see VBV II, 225-242; M.C. Davies, 'An Emperor without Clothes? Niccolò Niccoli under Attack', in *Maistor: Classical, Byzantine and Renaissance Studies for Robert Browning*, ed. Ann Moffatt, Canberra 1984, 269-308.
105. See VBV II, 229.
106. See B.L. Ullman and P.A. Stadter, *The Public Library of Renaissance Florence: Niccolò Niccoli, Cosimo de' Medici and the Library of San Marco*, Padua 1972; and the much earlier monograph by G. Zippel, *Niccolò Niccoli*, Florence 1890.
107. One of Niccoli's library catalogues, which has survived by chance, is headed *Commentarius Nicolai Niccoli*. It was first published by E. Jacobs in *Wochenschrift für Klassische Philologie*, 1913, 701. The original document is in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, and was published by R.P. Robinson: 'De fragmenti Suetoniani de grammaticis et rhetoribus codicum nexu et fide', *University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, VI, 4 (1922).
108. On the manuscript of Tacitus in Fulda Abbey see L. Pralle, 'Die Wiederentdeckung des Tacitus', *Quellen und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Abtei und der Diözese Fulda* 17 (1952) 15 ff.
109. See VBV II, 200, 230.
110. Vespasiano da Bisticci described this catalogue as a list of 'works necessary to a library' (*opere necessarie ad una libreria*): see VBV I, 46-47; Pintor, 'Per la storia...', 209.
111. The old Sylvestrine Monastery of San Marco was given to the Dominicans by a bull of Pope Eugenius IV dated 21st January 1436, and within a month a group of Dominicans from Fiesole had settled in there. It was in a dilapidated state and remained so until Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici paid for its rebuilding. Construction work was completed in 1443, to designs by Michelozzo: see p. 447. The monastery was badly damaged by a catastrophic earthquake, and when it was rebuilt in 1457 an extra room was added to the north of the basilica to house the Greek section of the library. See R. Morçay, 'La cronaca del convento fiorentino di San Marco', *Archivio Storico Italiano* 81

- (1913) 1-29; A. Visani, 'La biblioteca del convento di San Marco in Firenze', *L'Archiginnasio* 35 (1940) 275-285.
112. See VBV II, 50; Pintor, 'Per la storia...', 200 ff.
113. Bl. A. Hobson, *Great Libraries*, London 1970.
114. See *The Medici Aesop*, intr. Everett Fahy, tr. B. McTigue, New York 1989.
115. See Piccolomini, *Intorno*, 116.
116. On the miniature art of the Florentine school and Attavante degli Attavanti's studio, see p. 169.
117. A major source of new acquisitions for the libraries of the Medici and other local rulers in the West, and indeed of book-lovers in the broadest sense of the term, was the scriptorium and bookshop of Vespasiano da Bisticci: see E. Barfucci, 'Vespasiano da Bisticci (1421-1498) e la sua Bottega' in *Lorenzo de' Medici e la società artistica del suo tempo*, Florence 1964, 247-271. On Bisticci's role in the Buda book trade, see p. 30.
118. On the Studium see p. 41-45.
119. On the academies and scholarly coteries see p. 70 ff. An illuminating but little-known story is told by Landino in his *Dialogus de Vera Nobilitate* about one of the philosophical symposia organized by the Medici. In 1469 a certain Philotimos of Constantinople, a wealthy Byzantine nobleman living in Rome, went to Florence to offer his condolences to Lorenzo de' Medici on the death of his father, and Lorenzo arranged a symposium in his honour. Also present were an Athenian philosopher named Aretophilos, who was accompanying the Byzantine nobleman, and all the most eminent scholars then living in Florence, including Politian, Landino, Argyropoulos, Donato Acciaiuoli, Alamano Rinuccini and Giorgio Antonio Vespucci.
120. On Ficino and the Platonic Academy see p. 71-73.
121. On the early printing houses in Florence and their contribution to the progress of printing in Italy see R. Ridolfi, *La Stampa a Firenze nel secolo XV*, Florence 1958; D.E. Rhodes, 'La Stampa a Firenze 1471-1550', in *Omaggio a Roberto Ridolfi*, ed. D.E. Rhodes, catalogue, Florence 1984; and on the press which printed and published Ianos Laskaris's writings, many of which were based on manuscripts from the Medici library, see *Charta* I, 272-278.
122. On Lorenzo's efforts to enrich the Medici family library see A. Rochon, *La Jeunesse de Laurent de Médicis (1449-1478)*, Paris 1963. The codices in Sassetti's collection are distinguished by their marvellous miniature paintings and show the characteristics of the Florentine school of manuscript writing and illumination: two of the most notable are Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*, a fifteenth-century manuscript with miniatures by Mariano del Buono (Plut. 46.6), and *De bello judaico* by Flavius Josephus, in Latin, again illuminated by del Buono (Plut. 66.7). Francesco Sassetti (1421-1490) was a close associate of the Medici in the banking sector who was sent to manage the Medici Bank's branches in various towns in the North, including Avignon and Geneva. Not only was he a lover of books and interested in humanism, but he also endowed the chapel that bears his name.
123. The high quality of Filelfo's manuscripts is to be seen at its finest in a codex of Homer's *Batrachomyomachia* and *Iliad*, copied for Filelfo by Theodoros Gazis and containing miniatures and orna-

- mentation of the Lombard school (Plut. 32.1). On Filelfo's library see A. Calderini, 'Ricerche intorno alla biblioteca e alla cultura greca di Francesco Filelfo', *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica* 20 (1913) 204-242. On Filelfo more generally see also p. 76, 78 herein.
124. On Laskaris (1444/45-1534) and his many-sided contribution to the propagation of Greek literature, as well as his activities on the European political scene, see esp. B. Knös, *Un ambassadeur de l'hellénisme – Janus Lascaris – et la tradition Gréco-Byzantine dans l'Humanisme Français*, Upsala/Paris 1945; F. Walton, 'Janus Lascaris', in *Tò Βιβλίο στὶς προβιομηχανικὲς κοινωνίες*, Athens, NHRF, 1982, 45-54; *Charta* I, 257-309.
125. For a list of these manuscripts see K. Müller, 'Neue Mittheilungen über Janos Lascaris und die Mediceische Bibliothek', *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 1 (1884) 333-412 (= Müller, 'Neue Mittheilungen'). See also E.S. Piccolomini, 'Due documenti relativi ad acquisti di codici greci, fatti da Giovanni Lascaris per conto di Lorenzo de' Medici', *Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica* II (1874).
126. See Müller, 'Neue Mittheilungen', 333 ff.
127. *Ibid.*, 349-351. In his journal Laskaris noted details of all the places he went to in Italy and in the Greek homelands. He also gives the names of the manuscript collectors and the titles they had in their possession: at Ferrara he visited Giovanni Battista Guarino, at Padua he searched for books in the monasteries of Santa Justina and San Giovanni da Verdara and in the private libraries of Manuel Anaticus and Giovanni Calfurnio. Next he went on to Venice, where he admired the manuscripts in the libraries of Giorgio Valla, Joachim della Torre, Alexander Benedetti and Ermolao Barbaro. From there he travelled down to Brindisi to see Sergius Stissus's library there, and in the small town of Coroliani he met a priest named Giorgio who had a manuscript in his possession: in Legrand's opinion (*BH* I/1, CXXXVI) this must have been Georgios Alexandrou. In Greece Laskaris hunted for manuscripts in monastic libraries on Mount Athos and in Crete and in private collections in Corfu, Arta and Thessalonika, as well as in Constantinople.
128. Plut. 81.11. Cosimo de' Medici is recorded as having been the first owner of this manuscript in Italy.
129. Plut. 69.2.
130. Plut. 65.1. The Orosius codex was written at Ravenna by Viliaric in a majuscule script.
131. Plut. 49.9. This manuscript, formerly known the Codex Vercellensis from its provenance, had probably belonged to Filelfo. It is first mentioned by Politian in his *Miscellanea*.
132. Plut. 73.41. This codex is illuminated with miniatures based on examples from earlier periods.
133. Plut. 5.3.
134. Plut. 37.13. This codex was written during the abbacy of Hieronymus and was probably copied from an earlier manuscript borrowed from Monte Cassino: see B. Bischoff, *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*, ed. and tr. M. Gorman, Cambridge University Press 1994, 154-155.
135. Plut. 32.9. This is the most reliable source for the texts of most of Aeschylus's tragedies and the only source for the *Choephoroi* and *Supplices*.

136. BMC VI, 667; BH I/1, 42-43 (18). See also *Charta* I, 268.
137. See Müller, 'Neue Mittheilungen', 354-356. On Politian, his dealings with books and with Rossos, see pp. 102 and 153 herein.
138. A list of the books we should now class as borrowings drawn up by Luigi Bossi, was first published by G. Roscoe in his book *Vita e Pontificato di Leone X... tradotta e corredata di annotazioni e di alcuni documenti inediti dal conte cav. Luigi Bossi*, Milano 1816-17, III, *Appendice*, N. vol. XXXII, 269-271. See also Piccolomini, *Intorno*, 106-108.
139. See Piccolomini, *Intorno*, 65-108.
140. *Ibid.*, 12.
141. *Ibid.*, 29-30.
142. *Ibid.*, 31.
143. Plut. 68.1. This the archetype of the manuscript tradition of Tacitus: it came from Corvey Abbey and is known as the Mediceus primus to distinguish it from the Mediceus secundus (Plut. 68.2), which came from Monte Cassino.
144. On the history of the library's construction and the correspondence between the Pope and Michelangelo, see p. 480 ff.
145. Out of the voluminous literature on Aldus, see esp. A.A. Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Alde, ou Histoire des trois Manuce et de leurs éditions*, Paris 1834; A. Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce et l'Hellénisme à Venise*, Paris 1875 (= *Alde Manuce*); Ester Pastorello, *L'Epistolario Manuziano. Inventario cronologico-analitico 1483-1597*, Venice/Rome, Istituto per la Collaborazione Culturale, 1957; G. Orlandi, *Aldo Manuzio editore*, 2 vols., Milan, Edizioni Il Polifilo, 1976; and the comprehensive study by M.J.C. Lowry, *The World of Aldus Manutius: Business and Scholarship in Renaissance Venice*, Oxford 1979.
146. *Census* M 227. *Musarum panegyris* is also known as *Epistola ad Catherinam Piam*.
147. See p. 89.
148. On the libraries owned by Byzantines in the West generally, see p. 61 ff. On the Aldine editions of the Greek classics see L. Balsamo, «Aldo Manuzio et la diffusione dei classici greci», *L'Eredità Greca e L'Ellenismo Veneziano*, ed. G. Benzoni, Leo S. Olschki, 2002, 171-188.
149. On Th. Linacre see p. 12, 22; on the Aldine edition of Aristotle see Renouard, 7 (5), 10 (1), 11 (2), 11 (3), 16 (1).
150. Renouard, 66-67 (3); BH I/1, 122-124 (44); *Charta* I, 348.
151. See Lowry, *The World...*, 52; also, more generally, D. Vitaliani, *Della vita e delle opere di Niccolò Leonico vicentino*, Verona 1892.
152. Celtis, who enjoyed working at textual studies using the methods employed by Aldus's associates, had moved in 1497 from Heidelberg to Vienna, where he founded the Societas Danubiana and thereby gave still greater prominence to Aldus's work. See L. Spitz, *Conrad Celtis, the German Arch-Humanist*, Cambridge Mass. 1957; *Der Briefwechsel des Konrad Celtis*, ed. H. Rupprich, Munich 1934, 568, Ep. 115.
153. A typical case occurred in 1502 when Anne de Foix, Queen of Hungary, passed through Venice on her way to Buda and a member of her entourage known only as 'John the chaplain' (Johannes Capellanus), who was in correspondence with Aldus, sent him an inventory of the Greek manuscripts in Matthias Corvinus's library. See generally: G. Hrabán, 'Alde Manuce et ses amis hongrois', *Mag. Kön.*,

vol. 69 (1945) 38-98; G. Bónis, 'Gli scolari ungheresi di Padova alla corte degli Iagelloni', in *Venezia e Ungheria nel Rinascimento*, ed. V. Branca, Florence 1973, 227-244; P. Gulyás, 'Catalogue descriptif des Aldines de la Bibliothèque Széchényi du Musée Nationale Hongrois», *Mag. Kön.*, s. 2, vol. 15 (1907), 17-33, 149-165, 241-256, 331-351, vol. 16 (1908), 51-72, 148-165.

154. In the preface to his edition of Valerius Maximus (1502), which is addressed to Jan Lubrański, Bishop of Poznań, Aldus reminds him that once at a dinner party, where Raffaele Regio was among those present, he had promised to send agents all the way to Dacia to search for ancient manuscripts kept in remote castles: see D.-M. Manni, *Vita di Aldo Manuzio, insigne restauratore delle lettere greche e latine in Venezia*, Venice 1759, 35.
155. Giorgio Valla (1447-1500) was a polymath who gathered a following of devoted students when holding an official post teaching the young men destined for office in the Venetian Cancellaria: see A. Segarizzi, 'Cenni sulle scuole pubbliche a Venezia nel secolo XV e sul primo maestro d'esse', *Atti del Reale Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere e Arti* LXXV/2 (1915-1916) 651.

He amassed an extremely fine collection of books which survives almost intact in the Modena Library, building it up by commissioning various Greek scribes to copy works of Greek literature: one of those scribes was Michael Souliardos, from Argos, who copied a codex containing two commentaries on Ptolemy's *Cosmographia* (1490) and another with three poems by Theognis in 1492 (Gr. 131 and 40 respectively). Another

who helped him to enlarge his library was Nikolaos Vlastos, who in 1499, with Zacharias Kalliergis, founded in Venice the first ever Greek-owned printing house, whose first published title was the famous *Etymologicum Magnum* (1499). Valla's library was a meeting-place for scholars: Ianos Laskaris visited him when on his travels in search of manuscripts for the Medici library in 1491 (see pp. 158 ff.); Politian was impressed by Valla's acquisitions, as he found works by Hero and Archimedes (see *Prose volgari*, ed. Isidoro del Lungo, 1867, 79-80); and many others came to his library to find material for their researches.

We know from Valla's correspondence that Konstantinos Laskaris requested permission to copy books that Valla had in his library, as did Aldus, who, acting also an agent for Niccolò Leonicensio of Ferrara, looked there for copies of specific works on medicine and botany. Others who asked for copies to be made for them included Pico and his nephew Alberto Pio of Carpi, who came into joint possession of the whole of Valla's library consisting of 138 Greek codices and fourteen in oriental languages. Of the most important books in his collection, mention should be made of a tenth-century Gospel book (Est. Gr. 1) containing three miniature portraits of the evangelists, an eleventh-century codex of works by Lucian (Est. Gr. 193) and a fifteenth-century collection of commentaries on Euripides, Aristophanes and Homer (Gr. 93). Valla's collection was eventually acquired by the library of the Dukes of Ferrara, the famous Biblioteca Estense: see the historical study by E. Milano, *Biblioteca Estense*, Florence, Nardini Editore.

CHAPTER III

Aldus's role in the dissemination of classical literature

- re, 1987, 28. See also J.L. Heiberg, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte Georg Valla's und seiner Bibliothek', *ZB* 16 (1896) 353-416; G. Bertoni, *La Biblioteca Estense e la cultura ferrarese ai tempi del duca Ercole I, 1471-1505*, Turin 1903.
156. See M. Sanudo, *Diarii*, 3rd edn., ed. R. Fulin et al., XXXIV, Venice 1892, 407-408.
157. Urbano Bolzanio (1453-1524), a Franciscan friar, accompanied Doge Andrea Gritti to Constantinople as his private secretary and stayed there to study. Later he took further lessons in Greek from Konstantinos Laskaris in Messina. Bolzanio wrote a Greek grammar which he published in Latin under the title of *Institutiones graecae grammaticae* (Aldus, 1497); see Renouard, 11-12 (4). He had a valuable collection of manuscripts, which Erasmus consulted when preparing the new edition of his *Adagia* (1508). See A. Castrifranconius, *Oratio habita in funere Urbani Bellunensis*, Venezia 1524; *Charta* I, 167, 318, 362-363.
158. Renouard, 1-4 (1).
159. On the teaching aids used in the study of Greek language and literature during this period, which were systematically published in print in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and on their continuance of the Byzantine tradition, see K. Sp. Staikos, «Τὰ πρῶτα βήματα τῆς ἐκπαίδευσης στὰ χρόνια τοῦ Νεοελληνισμοῦ καὶ τὰ ἐργαλεῖα μάθησης (16ος αἰ.)», in *Tò Βιβλίον. Διαχρονικὴ Πορεία στὴν Ἑκπαίδευση*, Symposium and Exhibition, Athens, Gaia Centre, 2011; also the unpublished dissertation by Fevronia Nousia, *Byzantine Textbooks of the Palaeologan Period*, London 2007, 77-130.
160. This unique document (of which a single copy is preserved in the Vatican Library) lists seven founder members of the Academy and stipulates that they are obliged to speak Greek to each other: see esp. M.J.C. Lowry, 'The "New Academy" of Aldus Manutius: A Renaissance Dream', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* LVIII/2 (1976) 378-420.
161. Renouard, 34-35 (2).
162. See Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce*, 216-217.
163. *Ibid.*, 221.
164. *Ibid.*, 233.
165. *Ibid.*, 235.
166. Renouard, 40-41 (5).
167. *BMC* IV, 7-8 (IB. 17126).
168. See Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce*, 247.
169. *Ibid.*, 300.
170. On the Greeks who worked with Aldus see *Charta* I, 311-356.
- *171. See Lowry, *The World...*, 180 ff.
172. On Reuchlin, Aleandro and Erasmus, see pp. 343, 188 and 229 respectively.
173. See A. Renaudet, *Érasme et l'Italie*. Préface de Silvana Seidel Menchi, Geneva, Librairie Droz, 1998 (= Renaudet, *Érasme*). Valla's approach to the *Annotationes* made an enormous impression on Erasmus and he was particularly struck by Valla's dictum: 'Is there any higher authority than logic?' The first edition was edited by Erasmus and printed and published by Josse Bade, Paris 1505: P. Renouard, *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVI^e siècle (1501-1510)*, ed. Brigitte Moreau, vol. II, Paris 1977, 179 (188).
174. Renouard, 53-54 (2); see also M.M. Philips, *The Adages of Erasmus: A study with translations*, Cambridge 1964.
175. See Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce*, 298.
176. Johann Cuno (1462/63-1513), an ardent Hellenist, longed for the day when a scholarly circle centred on a printing and

publishing house, like Aldus's Academy, would come into being in Germany too. In Venice his work was concerned mainly with textual recension and copy-editing of books for publication. He was a member of the entourage of Emperor Maximilian and was the driving force behind the plans for moving the Aldine

press to Vienna. See A. Oleroff, 'L'humaniste dominicain Jean Conon et le Crétois Jean Grégoropoulos', *Scriptorium* IV (1950) 104-107; M. Sicherl, *Johannes Cuno, ein Wegbereiter des Griechischen in Deutschland. Ein biographisch-kodikologische Studie*, Heidelberg 1978.

177. See Lowry, *The World...*, 257.

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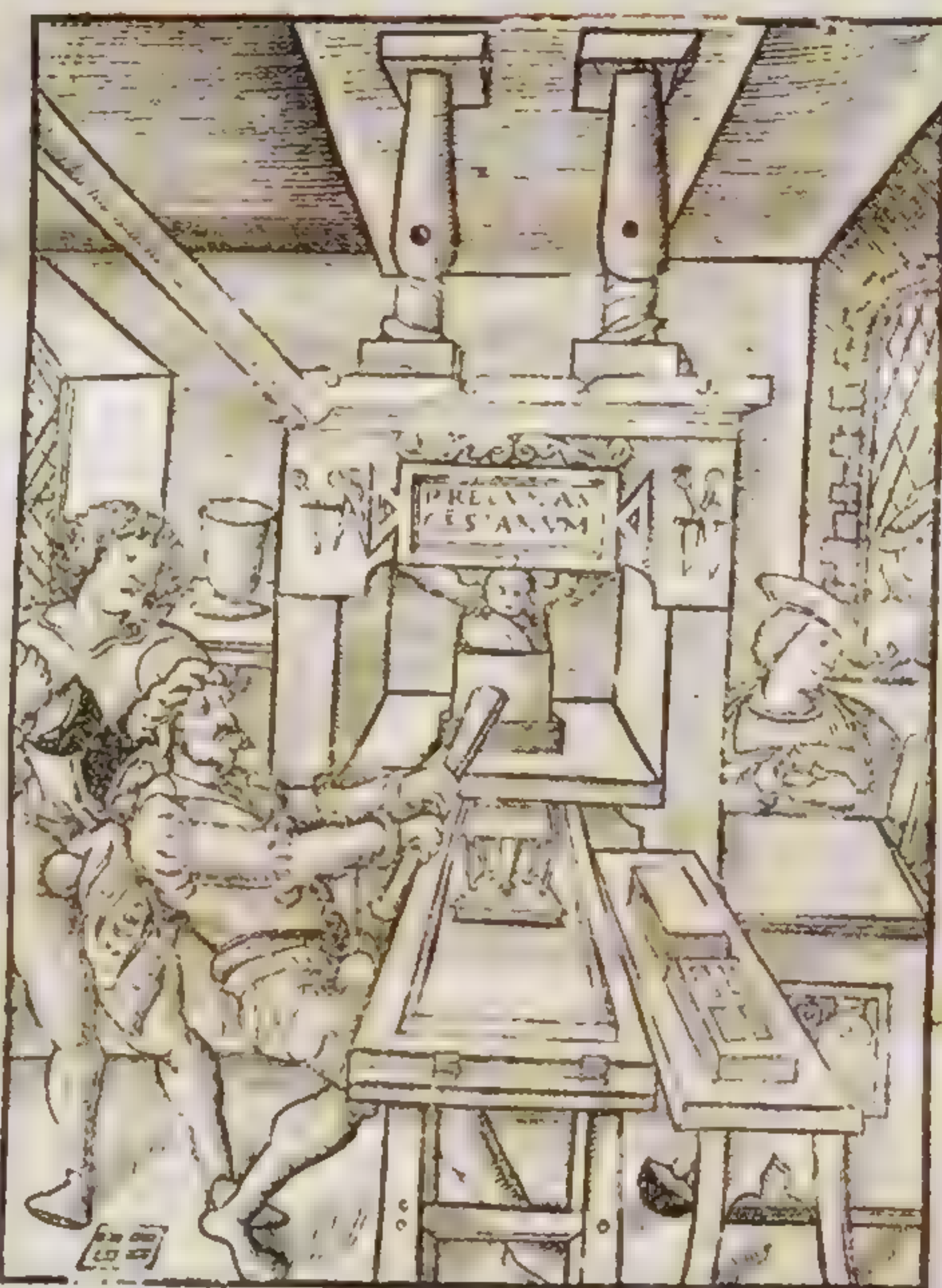
IV

THE GREAT CENTRE OF HUMANISM IN THE NORTH



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THE GREAT CENTRE OF HUMANISM IN THE NORTH

*The pioneers of French humanism,
the role of the Parisian printing houses,
and the French royal libraries*

The character of French humanism and its pioneers. The first stirrings of french humanism can be traced to the papal entourage at Avignon, where Petrarch lived and worked for years, and the leaders of the humanist movement there were laymen and churchmen holding high office in the papal chancellery, including Nicolas de Clémanges and Jean de Montreuil, the secretary to the Duc de Berry.¹ By the mid fifteenth century the seed had been sown in Paris, too, where the young students at the Sorbonne began to delve deeper into metaphysics and the questions it raised.² In 1458 or thereabouts the authorities of the Sorbonne created a Chair of Greek to which they appointed Gregorio da Città di Castello, who adopted the name Tiphernas, and by so doing they instituted the practice of teaching Greek literature in the original.³ Tiphernas, who had learnt Greek in Greece, taught at the Sorbonne for about a year and a half and one of his pupils was the theologian Jean Wessel Gansfort.⁴ In 1476 he was succeeded in his post by Georgios Hermonymos Spartiates, from whom many humanists got their grounding in Greek: among them were Erasmus, Beatus Rhenanus, Guillaume Budé and David Chambellan.⁵ Another who taught Greek in Paris for a short time was Andronikos Kallistos, who moved there from Milan and had to sell his books to Buono Accorsi to raise enough money for the journey.⁶

It is true that the climate of the pre-humanist period, especially in Paris, was completely different from that prevailing in the Italian centres of learning, but intellectuals often forgathered at symposia and friendly meetings to discuss the revival of classical studies. The members of the circles included Guillaume and Guy de Rochefort, Pierre de Courthardy, the italians Angelo Cato and Domenico Mancini, Martin and Gilles de Delft and Guillaume Tardif.⁷ Although there was a tendency among these intellectuals to immerse themselves in ancient Greek philosophy, especially Platonism, some of them – such as Guillaume Fichet and Robert

*The first
stirrings
of French
humanism*

1. Guillaume Budé, *Commentarii Linguae Graecae*, Paris, Josse Bade, 1529.

Gaguin – were so deeply rooted in Catholicism that they remained faithful to their Catholic upbringing. Gaguin and Fichet both went to Rome (in 1471 and 1472 respectively) to meet Cardinal Bessarion and have discussions with him; and Fichet actually ended his life as the papal Camerlengo.⁸ At all events, these scholars nurtured a humanistic nationalism whose characteristics became apparent later, particularly from the reign of François I.

From the last two decades of the fifteenth century the flow of scholars from North to South was gradually reversed, with the result that Italian humanists and intellectuals started crossing the Alps, most of them heading for Paris. Paolo Emili arrived there in 1483⁹ to study theology at the invitation of Cardinal Charles de Bourbon; the following year Girolamo Balbi went to Paris from Venice and settled there;¹⁰ and four years after that, in 1488, the Italians Cornelio Vitelli de Cortone¹¹ and Fausto Andrelini¹² came to join the humanist circles in Paris. The former had spent fourteen years teaching at Oxford, while Andrelini still basking in the glow of his *succès d'estime*, having won a reputation as a talented poet with the publication of his collection of *Elegiae*.

Platonic philosophy, introduced into Paris by Fichet in 1471, acquired its greatest advocate in the person of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (ca. 1460-1536).¹³ A former pupil of both Balbi and Andrelini, Lefèvre went to Florence in 1492 to study Neoplatonic philosophy with Marsilio Ficino, and on his return to Paris in 1494 he published *Poemander* in Ficino's Latin translation. It was thanks to Lefèvre that the reconciliation between Neoplatonism and the Bible came to be accepted in France.

The French Church and classical literature. The Catholic Church's path towards coming to terms with classical literature in the early decades of the fifteenth century, culminating in the stance adopted by Pope Nicholas V towards Homer, did not run smooth in French intellectual life. Once Greek had started to become accessible to the general public, issues relating to the condonement and teaching of Greek writings supporting the Twelve Gods and the part played by the Olympian deities in the lives of mortals came to the fore once again.¹⁴ To this literary and philosophical corpus of ancient writings there was now added the issue of the Bible, as the text of the Septuagint was now accessible to Christians who had learnt Greek; and this meant that they were able to compare it with the Latin Vulgate of St. Jerome, on which the Catholic Church was founded. Unlike Cardinal Bessarion and Lorenzo Valla – whose stature was such that they were given free rein to treat the Bible as a problem of textual scholarship even in Rome, the very heart of Catholicism – the conservative French theologians were far from ready to accept

DV TRANSLATEVR.



2. François I and his courtiers listen to Claude de Seyssel reading aloud from his own translation of the *Bibliotheca* by Diodorus Siculus. Engraving from Geofroy Tory's edition of Diodorus Siculus, *History*, Paris 1535).

the practices of Italian humanism without demur. Consequently the study of Greek was regarded by some theologians as a suspect occupation, and in that climate Greek books were considered instruments of heresy.¹⁵ A typical instance of this attitude occurred in about 1523 when Rabelais and his friend Pierre Amy arrived at the Franciscan friary of Fontenay-le-Comte, seeking a lodging, for the friars promptly confiscated the Greek books they had in their luggage.¹⁶ Nor was this an isolated case: as late as 1538 Éstienne Dolet wrote in one of his Latin poems, 'If anyone dared to teach Greek, the people would consider him a heretic or worse.'¹⁷

The classics seen as 'French literature'. An important difference between the publishing output of Italy in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries and that of France has to do with French humanistic nationalism. The characteristic products of this humanist spirit are the French translations of and commentaries on classical literature, notably those done by Claude de Seyssel, who was commissioned by the king to translate Thucydides, Diodorus Siculus, Xenophon and other authors.¹⁸ And Louis XII engaged the services of other translators besides Seyssel: Antoine de Macault was commissioned to translate Cicero's *Philippicus* and Hugues Salel to translate the *Iliad*.¹⁹ In this way the identity of French humanism was formed, for the pioneers of the humanist movement in France were keen to enrich their national literature with French translations, mainly from Greek. Everybody who was interested in the classics knew Latin, though from about the middle of the sixteenth century it was normal for the French intellectual élite to know Greek as well.²⁰ This being the case, publishers and printers, and the editors and proof-readers working with them, were free to choose the field they wanted to specialize in: books in Greek or Latin or French, or bilingual, as the case might be.²¹ According to the French humanists' publishing philosophy, once a book had been published in French it was automatically accorded a place in the canon of French literature. By translating classical works into French they not only made them accessible to a wider public of specialists and educated readers, but also greatly enriched the French vocabulary, chiefly by enlarging the language of poetry but also through the introduction of new scientific (especially medical) terms.²²

The encyclopaedic nature of French culture is already apparent from that time, that is the early sixteenth century: one has only to look through the inventories of private libraries belonging not only to men of letters but also to a very wide circle of scholars including lawyers and judges, members of the medical profession and fledgling scientists in every field.²³ French intellectuals were not content with simply making straightforward translations of the ancient texts: when a French trans-

lation was made, it was often published in an annotated edition.²⁴ The outcome of all this editorial processing of the classics was that a very important corpus of new books came into existence, satisfying the scholars' special interests even more fully. This period marks the beginning of the 'gentleman's library', which was to provide nourishment for the Gallic esprit for centuries to come. To give some idea of the scope of this translating and publishing drive in France, new editions of almost all the works of classical literature were published from 1503 onwards, when Josse Bade opened his press, as the French printers were not content to rely solely on the Italian *editiones principes*, most of which were from the Aldine press. Bade, who ran his press until 1535, supplied the French public with Latin versions of Plato, Aristotle, Herodotus, Thucydides and Demosthenes, and in the space of about a century from 1503 all the works of Graeco-Roman and Byzantine literature were brought out in Greek or Latin or in French translation by the various printing and publishing houses in France.²⁵

By the early part of the sixteenth century, works by French scholars on grammar, lexicography and literary studies in general were already making their appearance: some examples are Budé's *Commentarii Linguae Graecae* (1529),²⁶ Dolet's *Commentarii Linguae Latinae* (1538)²⁷ and Robert Estienne's *Dictionnaire français-latin* (1536-38),²⁸ and the high point was reached with Henri Estienne's *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, published in Geneva in 1572.²⁹ Another aspect of this vigorous literary activity is represented by the prefaces and notes accompanying the new editions of the classics: these were often much sought-after by literary scholars, as they contained astute observations. It is worth mentioning Bade's prefaces to the editions of Seneca and Terence,³⁰ Dolet's essay on Terence's comedies,³¹ J.C. Scaliger's commentaries on Aristotle, Hippocrates and Theophrastus³² and Pierre de la Rammée's commentaries on Plato, Aristotle and Cicero,³³ to name only a few. French poets with humanistic leanings made their presence felt from an early date as critics of poetical works by their illustrious predecessors: for example, the second edition of Ronsard's *Amours*, published in 1553, includes notes by M.A. Muret.³⁴

The transfer to France of the cultural heritage of ancient Greece and Rome – the *translatio studii*, as it was called – was a standard topos in the first half of the sixteenth century, though it was later to take a different turn.³⁵ With all the resources supplied by a gigantic publishing output, and with libraries having amassed impressive numbers of books covering the whole spectrum of human knowledge, French nationalism penetrated once and for all into the humanist philosophy. Explorations along linguistic and cabbalistic paths (i.e. in accordance with the esoteric Jewish tradition of interpreting the scriptures) gave rise to lines of rea-

*Books of interest
to linguists*

soning that were expounded in books such as Guillaume Postel's *Apologie de la Gaule* (1552)³⁶ or *La Galliade* (1578) by Guy Lefèvre de la Boderie,³⁷ which shed light on this phenomenon and the various aspects of French nationalism.

The great story of Greek printing in France. Occasional Greek words and phrases were printed in French incunabula, for example by Jean de Vingle³⁸ at Lyon, but the person responsible for the establishment of Greek printing in France was a native of Amboise, François Tissard, who studied the classics under Guarino Veronese, Beroaldo and Calfurnio, learnt Hebrew at a synagogue in Ferrara and

was taught Greek by Georgios Hermonymos.³⁹ On his return to Paris he decided to set up the first Greek press there, to supply French universities with the necessary textbooks so that they would not lack for teaching aids which were in use in every Italian university, as he himself acknowledged. The press Tissard chose to bring his plans to fruition was that of Gilles de Gourmont.⁴⁰ There a new fount of Greek characters was cast and used for the first Greek book ever printed in Paris, in 1507. It was a little book entitled *Βίβλος ἡ γνωμαγυρικὴ* (*Alphabetum Graecum*),⁴¹ containing the Greek alphabet, the rules of pronunciation and so on, and its publication was funded by the Prince of Valois and Jean d'Orléans, Bishop of Toulouse. Further books were published



3. Printer's mark of Gilles de Gourmont from Manuel Chrysoloras, *Erotemata*, Paris [post 1520].

before the end of that year: the *Batrachomyomachia*, Hesiod's *Works and Days*, the *Erotemata* of Chrysoloras and *Hero and Leander* by Musaeus. These were the very books on the standard syllabus in use for the teaching of Greek.⁴² After 1508 Tissard is heard of no more; his work was carried on by Girolamo Aleandro, who in 1512 published his most important work, the *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum*.⁴³

4. Manuel Chrysoloras, *Erotemata*, Paris, Gilles de Gourmont, 1507 (Spyros Loverdos Library).

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΝ ΜΑΤΙΑ ΤΩΝ

ΧΡΥΣΟΛΩΡΑ.



Ἰσὸς ποσα διαίρουνται τὰ εἰκοσὶ τέσσαρα
γράμματα, α καὶ στοιχεῖα
λέγονται; εἰς δύο, εἰς φωνήεντα
καὶ εἰς συμφωνά.

Ποσα φωνήεντα; ἑπτὰ, α, ε, η, ι, υ, φιλον, ο μικρον,
καὶ ω μεγα. Εἰς ποσα διαίρουνται τὰ ἑπτὰ φωνήεντα;
εἰς μακρά, εἰς βραχεα, καὶ εἰς δίχρονα. Ποσα
μακρά; δύο, η, καὶ ω, μεγα. Ποσα; βραχεα; δύο
ε, φιλον, καὶ ο, μικρον. Ποσα δίχρονα; τρία, α, ι, υ.
Ποσαι διφθόγγοι κυρίως; ἑξ, αι, αυ, ει, ευ, οι, ου. Εἰσι
καὶ ἄλλαι διφθόγγοι πέντε, καταχρηστικῶς λεγόμεναι,
αη, ηυ, υι, ω. Ποσα συμφωνά; δεκά ἑπτὰ, β, γ,
δ, ζ, θ, κ, λ, μ, ν, ξ, π, ρ, σ, τ, φ, χ, ψ.

Tissard's initiative in setting his publishing venture on a classical course was followed up in Paris by another great printing and publishing house, founded by Josse Badius Ascensius (Josse Bade).⁴⁴ To get an idea of the huge impact of a humanistic publishing house in Paris from the early sixteenth century, one need only consider the 400-odd editions printed by Bade up to 1536, the year of his death. Among the valuable products of his press were a number of fundamental works



5. Printers at work in a sixteenth-century printing house.
Engraving from Plutarch, *Vitae virorum illustrium*,
Paris, Josse Bade, 1520.

by eminent French intellectuals: many of them were by Budé, including *Annotationes in Pandectas* (1508), *De Asse* (1514) and *Commentarii Linguae Graecae* (1528).⁴⁵

These printing ventures by Tissard and Bade opened the way for the establishment in Paris of one of the most important printing and publishing houses in Europe, which, among other things, played a crucial part in propagating the Graeco-Roman intellectual tradition. The new firm was founded by Robert Estienne, who joined the community of printers in France in 1526 and, thanks to his classical education, rose to be the greatest bookman in France during the Renaissance.⁴⁶ In the preface to his edition of the Bible (1528) Estienne informs us that the idea of starting up a publishing firm first took root in 1524, when he was browsing through the medieval bookshops of Paris, especially that

of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, and found some manuscripts of great value and great age. Another source of material for his work was the priceless collection of manuscripts at the Saint-Denis library, where he discovered some codices more reliable than the printed editions then available.⁴⁷

So laborious were the print jobs that Robert Estienne took on that he only managed to produce about twelve editions a year, with print runs ranging from 600-

800 to 1,000-1,500 copies, depending on the popularity of the works in question: for example, the French translation of Thucydides by his father-in-law, Josse Bade, was printed in an edition of 1,225 copies. Once Estienne had been appointed King's Printer in Greek, a position he held from 1544 to 1551, the books he printed and published were bought by numerous libraries in France.⁴⁸ What is more, his editions won a following not only among the French but also among academics on the other side of the Channel: a teacher at Cardinal College owned a copy of *De inventoribus rerum* by Polydorus Virgilius and two Oxford dons had copies of Estienne's first Latin Bible (1528) in their libraries. But the one of his books in widest circulation in England was the 1550 Greek New Testament, multiple copies of which are to be found in Oxford college libraries: Corpus Christi, Magdalen, Merton, New College and others. And at least 120 Estienne editions are listed in the catalogue of Oxford University's Bodleian Library.⁴⁹ Not that Robert concentrated exclusively on the English market, of course: with an eye on the potential of the German-speaking countries, in about 1545 he sent his younger son, François, to prepare the ground. Melanchthon wrote to Johann Sturm in 1535 to tell him that he had looked through Budé's *De transitu hellenismi ad christianismum*, while Conrad Gesner of Zürich included some of Estienne's editions in the second part of his *Bibliotheca universalis* (1545-1549).⁵⁰ The result of this spate of activity by the French printer and publisher was that in the thirty years or so (1528-1559) that he was working in Paris he published a total of about 460-470 editions, which translates into approximately 500,000 copies.⁵¹

The high patronage offered by François I himself to printers, publishers, editors and the world of books in general is demonstrated by his institution of the post of King's Printer, at first for Hebrew and Latin and later for Greek as well.⁵² The first person to hold that title was Robert Estienne for Hebrew and Latin, while Conrad Neobar was appointed King's Printer in Greek in 1539, though he held the post for only a year until his death in 1540.⁵³ In 1541 Estienne was commissioned to cast a new Greek fount and entrusted the work of cutting these types to Claude Garamont, who based his design on the handwriting of the great Greek calligra-



6. Claude Garamont. Engraving dated 1582.

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pher Angelos Vergikios (Ange Vergèce).⁵⁴ And so in 1544 Estienne, in his capacity as *de facto* King's Printer, printed the first edition of Eusebius of Caesarea's *Ecclesiastical History*,⁵⁵ which not only bore the device of the King's Printer in Greek but was also adorned with the ornate headpieces, initials and elegant characters reflecting Vergikios's calligraphic skills.⁵⁶



7. Portrait of François I. Engraving after a drawing by Thierry Bellange.

Greek books printed by Estienne (1545-1551). Robert Estienne's activities as a printer of Greek books demonstrate the effectiveness of the king's policy of building up a high-quality printing and publishing machine producing its own first editions or new editions merely reprinting books already published in Italy, even if with textual improvements, was not enough. Besides contributing manuscripts from his private library,⁵⁷ which he enlarged steadily and systematically, François I involved himself in the preparatory editorial work, as he had a say in the choice of works to be published, one of his selections being the *Roman Antiquities* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus.⁵⁸ As

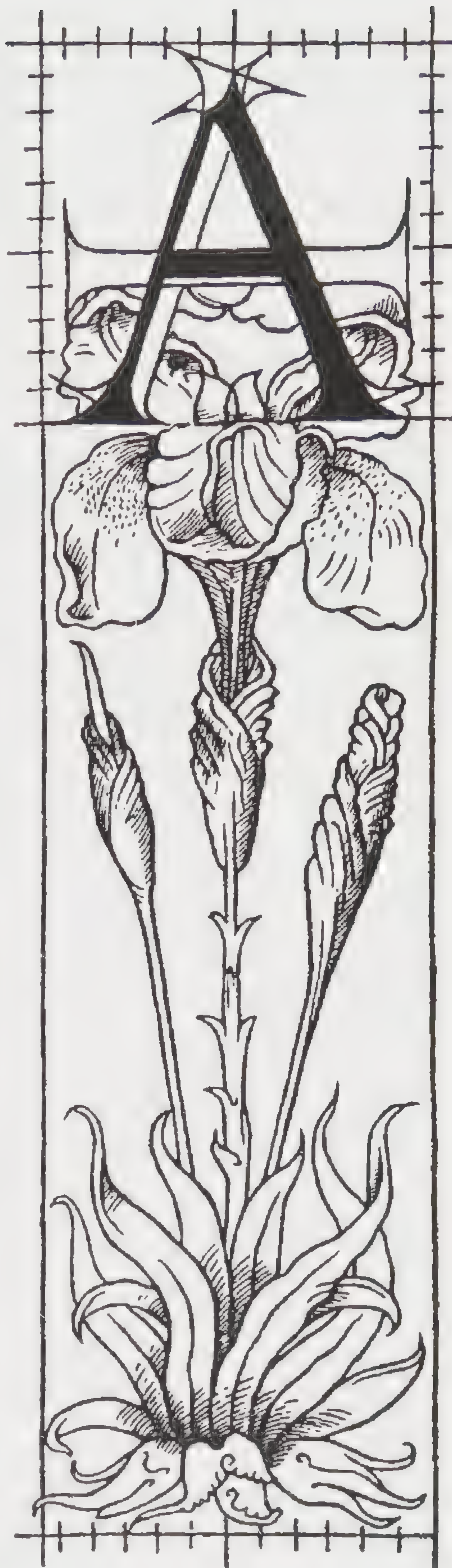
already mentioned, the first book printed by Estienne as King's Printer was the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius,⁵⁹ based on two manuscripts from the Royal Library,⁶⁰ in a volume that also included the same author's *Life of Constantine the Great*: thus was the greatest historian of Christianity honoured by the publication of his work in the language in which it was written.

François I, who had men of the calibre of Budé, Vergikios, Lefèvre d'Étaples and Du Chastel (among many others) as the *éminences grises* behind his cultural policy, supported their efforts to combine the French intellectual and religious tradition with the spirit of the Greeks, not the Romans, in their publishing programme. And so these scholars opened a great new chapter in French ecclesiastical history, with readings being given in Greek from the *Acts of the Apostles* and other passages from the New Testament, at least on the feast day of St. Denis at the abbey of that name;⁶¹ in fact, tradition relates that this practice dated back to the seventh century. Furthermore, Budé himself apparently revised the text of the Mass in Greek and so had a hand in the revival of the tradition.⁶² It was unthinkable

Robert Estienne.
King's Printer

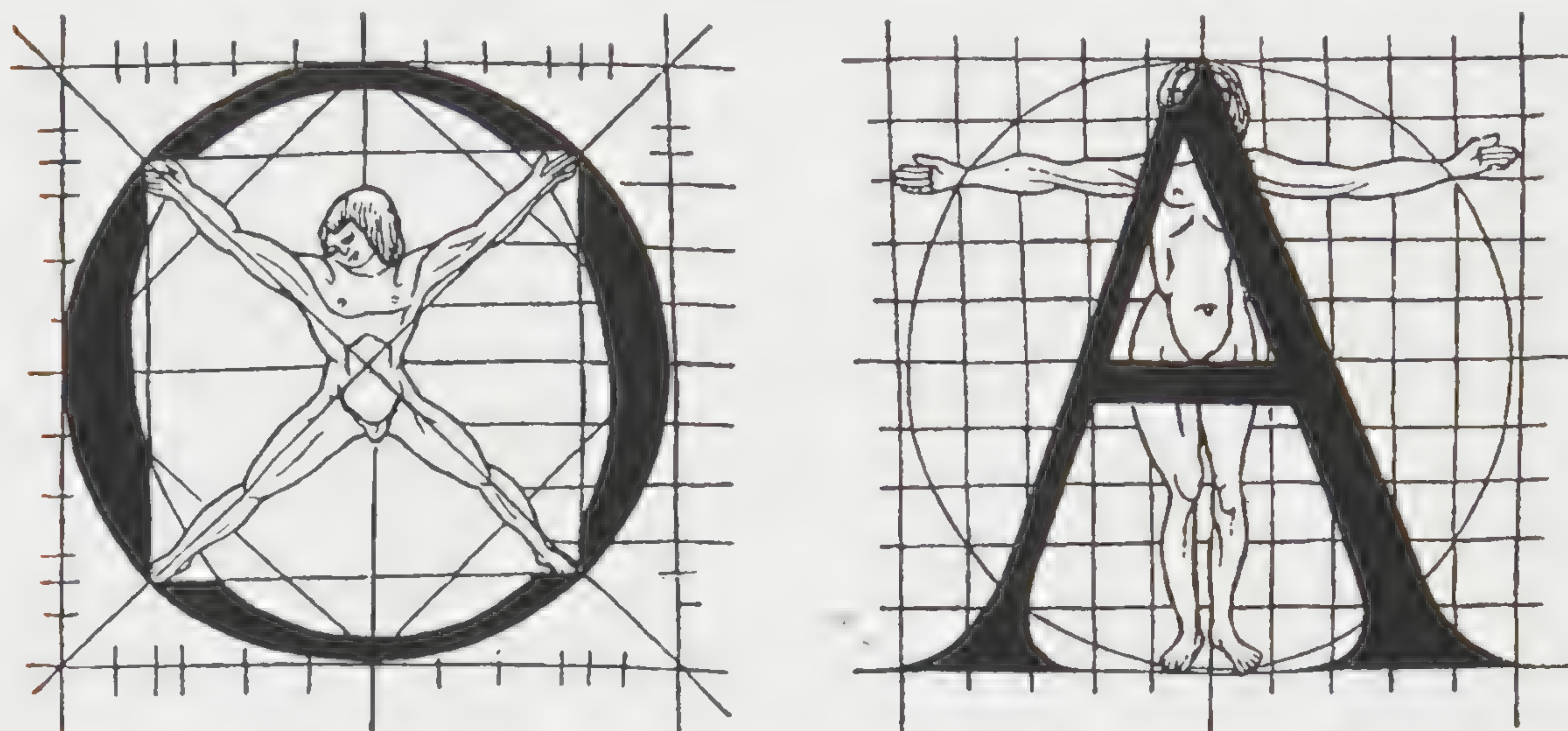
able that a great Hellenist like Budé, and a nationalist to boot, would not become involved in a matter of this kind, closely connected with the tradition that St. Dionysius or Denis, the first Christian missionary to reach Paris and the spiritual father of France, was Dionysius the Areopagite, an Athenian. Also, Budé and his fellow-scholars knew that the first Christians in Gaul were Greek speakers. To the French, the national legend that grew up round St. Denis symbolized the fact that Greek civilization was completing its task by immersing the true Word of God in Christianity, using France as the medium for the propagation of Christ's teaching. Geofroy Tory was on the same wavelength at this time: in his treatise *Champ Fleury*, wishing to find bonds linking France and Greece, he demonstrated the predominance of Greek over Latin in the intellectual and linguistic tradition of Gaul.⁶³

When the matter is viewed from this perspective, there was obviously a good case to be made for producing a French edition of the Greek New Testament, even though two editions had come out many years earlier: one in 1516, edited by Erasmus, and another in the Complutensian Polyglot Bible.⁶⁴ Estienne longed to use the incomparable 'Royal Greek' types (the *greco du roi*) for this purpose, and he also aspired to improve on the text of two existing editions now that he had all the manuscripts of the Royal Library at his disposal. He explains his thinking in the preface to his Greek Testament of 1550, in which he included an apparatus criticus based on fifteen different manuscripts.⁶⁵ This edition is known as the *O mirificam*, from the first two words of Estienne's preface addressed to François I.⁶⁶



8. Allegory of the letter A, from G. Tory, *Champ Fleury*, Paris 1529.

Robert Estienne worked in Paris only until 1550, because after the death of François I in 1547 he was at loggerheads with the Sorbonne authorities, who censored all his books and articles – whether intended for publication or not – in accordance with the papal bull *Exsurge Domine* (1520). This encyclical forbade the faithful to read any written matter or print books containing the errors and heretical opinions put forward by Luther with regard to the holy scriptures recognized



9. Letters of the alphabet, showing how they correspond to the proportions of the human body, from G. Tory, *Champ Fleury*, Paris 1529.

by the Church.⁶⁷ In 1544 the Faculty of Theology set to work to draw up an Index of Prohibited Books which was then ratified by the Parlement of Paris, whereupon anyone who possessed any heretical written work was commanded to hand it in to the authorities within three days and to halt the printing of any prohibited book then in press.⁶⁸ Among the books on the Index were some printed by Estienne, most notably the Bible and the New Testament, as well as some by other prominent printers in France.⁶⁹ His monumental folio edition of the New Testament (1550) got him into serious trouble with the theologians because it contained variant readings taken from various early manuscripts including the famous Codex Bezae, here used in a published edition for the first time.⁷⁰ It need hardly be added that the newly-imposed restrictions shook the book trade to its foundations all over France.

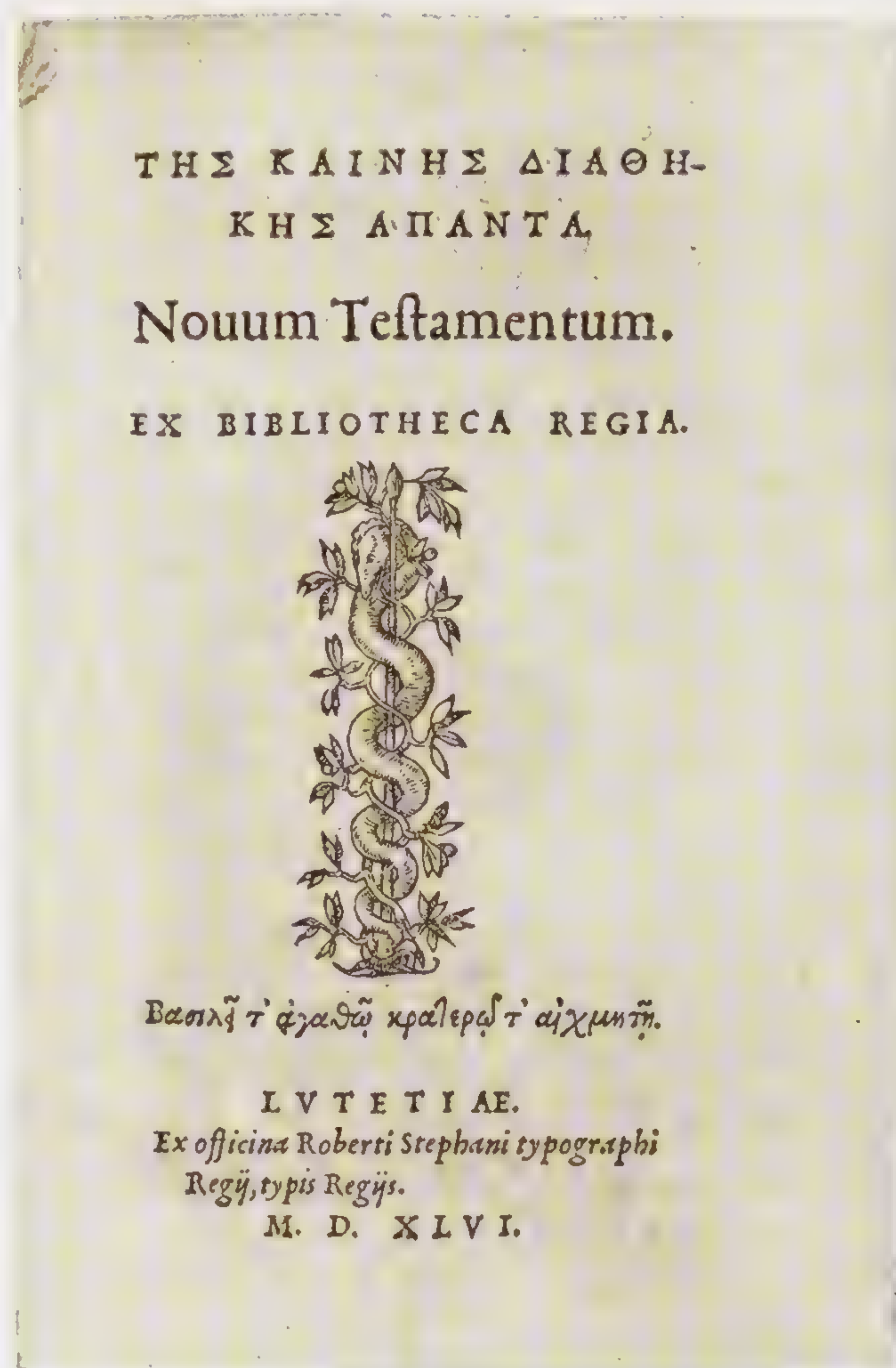
Only in the years when he was working in Paris, Robert Estienne bequeathed to the scholars of France and the rest of Europe a corpus of at least 455 editions, adding up to a total of hundreds of thousands of copies.⁷¹ Among them were important *editiones principes* of works of classical and Christian literature, including

the *Ecclesiastical History* and *Praeparatio Evangelica* of Eusebius and the *Roman Histories* of Dio Cassius and Appian. When the Paris period came to an end a new chapter was begun in the history of the Estienne family's contribution to the world of books, this time in Geneva.

The formation of the French Royal Library. The beginnings of the French Royal Library date back to the reign of Charles VIII and Louis XI, that is after the library founded under Charles VI had been looted by the Duke of Bedford. Bedford appropriated the whole royal collection in 1425 and took it back with him to England in 1429: a total of 843 codices including some magnificent examples of French manuscript writing and illumination.⁷²

The rudimentary royal library slowly built up by Charles VIII and Louis XI⁷³ was a paltry collection in comparison with that of Cardinal Bessarion, for example, who in 1472 possessed more than eight hundred codices and incunabula. It was gradually enlarged in the usual ways that new accessions are acquired, such as gifts from courtiers and manuscripts commissioned from renowned scribes,⁷⁴ including a French translation of Caesar's *Commentaries* (*Commentarii*) edited by Robert Gaguin⁷⁵ and a copy of the *Statuts de l'Ordre de*

Saint-Michel with exquisite illuminations, one of the scribes being the Maître de Moulins.⁷⁶ Consequently the establishment of printing in Paris in 1470⁷⁷ opened up a new way forward for every book-lover and for the library of the kings of France: from then on books printed on parchment with lavish illustrations and ornamentation found their way to the library of Charles VIII and Louis XI, most of them from the press of Antoine Vérard, such as the *Grandes Chroniques de France* (1493).⁷⁸ However, neither Charles VIII nor Louis XI made any really determined



10. First edition of Robert Estienne's New Testament known as the O mirificam, Paris 1546.

effort to improve the royal library: Louis, for example, was not interested in looting the rich libraries of defeated enemies like Charles the Bold and Jacques d'Armagnac.⁷⁹ Fresh impetus to the growth of the library was given by Charlotte of Savoy, Queen of France, who gave 160 books to her librarian Martin l'Uillier, as recorded in the catalogue compiled after her death.⁸⁰

The character of the royal library altered radically on the return of Charles VIII from his victorious campaign in Italy, in which he conquered the Kingdom of Aragon and captured its capital, Naples (1495). Although Charles's political gains



11. King Charles VIII of France. Engraving. 16th c.

from the capture of the capital of the Kingdom of Aragon were only temporary, the spoils he carried away from his campaign and deposited in the Château of Amboise included a substantial part of the Aragonese library: 1,140 volumes of incunabula and manuscripts in Latin, Greek, Italian, French and Spanish.⁸¹ We should remember that members of the House of Aragon were great patrons of art and literature: one such was Alfonso I ('the Magnanimous', 1442-1458), whose court bestowed honours on scholars of the calibre of Bartolomeo Facio, Panormita (founder of the Neapolitan Academy), Lorenzo Valla, Leonardo Bruni and Theodoros Gazis, who flocked to Naples after the death of Pope Nicholas V in 1455.⁸² Although a very large number of books were

carried off as spoils of war, the most valuable manuscripts in the library remained in Alfonso II's possession, as he took good care of them when he fled to Ischia and Sicily.⁸³ The original catalogue is lost, but a true copy of it survives; this, however, does not permit its identification with all the manuscripts in the French library, but only with 447 codices (mostly in Latin and Italian) and two hundred incunabula.⁸⁴ The most notable of the Greek manuscripts include the *Acts of the Apostles* (11th-12th c.), the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides (14th-15th c.),⁸⁵ works by the astronomer Andalò di Negro, Boccaccio's teacher⁸⁶ and Aristotle's *Politics* in Bruni's translation, a codex bearing the Duke of Calabria's coat of arms.⁸⁷ On his return to Paris Charles VIII brought with him a treasure of a different kind along with the

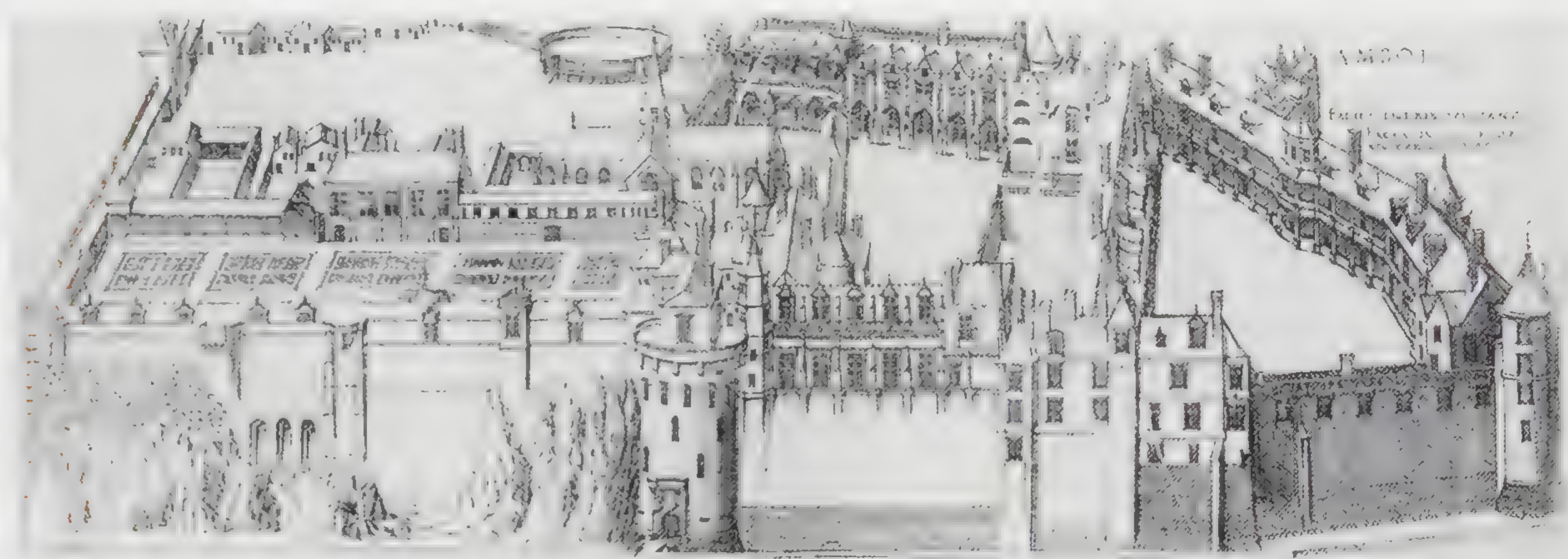
rest of his spoils, as he had persuaded Ianos Laskaris, the keeper of the Medici collection of Greek manuscripts, to go back with him to Paris. The arrival of Laskaris was an event of inestimable value to French humanists, especially Budé.⁸⁸ But the conqueror of Italy did not have long to enjoy the fruits of his victory, meeting an untimely death in 1498. The throne then passed to the Duke of Orléans, son of the poet Charles of Orléans, who reigned as Louis XII.⁸⁹

Louis breathed new life into the Royal Library, which he moved to the Château of Blois. In the first place, as a ruler he modelled himself on Marcus Aurelius, a Roman emperor well known for his penchant for literature. Furthermore, Louis was the lawful heir to an aristocratic family of bibliophiles: his grandfather, the Duke of Orléans, Charles V's son, had put together a fine library after his father's death, using the services of Gilles Mallet⁹⁰ in the book market. He was a systematic buyer of lavishly illuminated manuscripts and also had miniaturists working for him: a fine example of their work is the *Miroir historial*, embellished with numerous illuminations.⁹¹ Notable among the library's new acquisitions were the donations received from courtiers and intellectuals, such as the *Épître d'Othéa à Hector* by Christine de Pisan.⁹² On the death in 1465 of Louis' father, Charles of Orléans, his books – which were kept on the third floor of the tower of the *Trésorerie* as part of the royal Exchequer – passed to Louis XII before he ascended the throne.⁹³ In 1499, on his marriage to his second wife, Anne of Brittany (the widow of Charles VIII), the books that Anne had inherited and was keeping in the Château of Amboise were transferred to the Château of Blois.⁹⁴

*The library
of Louis XII*

Once again Italy was to be the source for the expansion of the French kings' book collection, after Louis crossed the Alps and occupied the Duchy of Milan, pursuing his claim to the title he had inherited from his grandmother, Valentina Visconti.⁹⁵ When Ludovico il Moro was imprisoned Louis seized a large part of his library, which had been built up by the Visconti and Sforza families and was kept in Pavia Castle.⁹⁶ In Moro's time that library must have numbered about 950 volumes, but only 355 Latin, 15 French and 14 Italian manuscripts out of all the relevant material in the Bibliothèque Nationale have been identified as having come from the Visconti collection. Of these treasures, mention should be made of fourteen manuscripts of works by Petrarch, including an incomplete autograph of his *Vita Caesaris*, which was left unfinished at his death in 1374,⁹⁷ and two exceptionally fine copies of *De viris illustribus* illuminated for Francesco da Carrara in about 1379–1380 by the gifted Veronese painter Altichiero.⁹⁸ One section of the Visconti library which went to the French Royal Library consisted of thirty-four manuscripts from Petrarch's own library, many of them with notes and scholia in his own hand.⁹⁹

The library of Louis de Bruges. In the reign of Louis XII the French Royal Library acquired the private library of Louis de Bruges, lord of Gruthuyse, who held high positions under two Dukes of Burgundy, Philip the Good and Charles the Bold.¹⁰⁰ Following the normal practice of the Dukes of Burgundy, de Bruges commissioned renowned artists to illuminate manuscripts for him. One of them was Lievin van Lathem, who collaborated with other artists to illuminate *Les Secrets d'Aristote*, and another was the master who in 1492 illuminated the Dutch translation of *The Consolation of Philosophy*.¹⁰¹ Louis de Bruges was a collector not only of manuscripts illuminated in his own lifetime but of older examples as well, which he obtained from other sources when he was sent on diplomatic missions to other countries. In this way he acquired eight manuscripts from Charles VIII's library, including a French version of the Apocalypse.¹⁰² When this collection passed into the ownership of the Royal Library it comprised 159 volumes, all in French except four, which were in Latin.¹⁰³



12. Drawing of the Château of Amboise, from Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, *Les plus excellens bastiments de France*, Paris 1576-1579.

Manuscripts commissioned by Louis XII. Surrounded as he was by artists, writers, poets and scholars, the king demonstrated his special interest in history as leader of Christendom and at the same time heir to the Roman emperors. The monk Jean d'Anton, who accompanied the king on his campaigns of conquest, wrote (among other things) two works entitled *Les Alarmes de Mars sur le Voyage de Milan* and *Discours ruyneux de Assirie, de Grèce, de Rome et triumphe de France*, and in the latter he hails France as the natural successor to Rome.¹⁰⁴ Louis himself, besides receiving gifts from members of his court, commissioned a series of Roman literary works with French translations, including Ovid's *Heroides* (translated by Octovien de Saint-Gelais) and Virgil's *Aeneid*, which appeared in

manuscript in 1500;¹⁰⁵ and Claude de Seyssel took on the task of translating Ap-
pian, Justinus, Thucydides and Xenophon, working from Latin translations made
by Ianos Laskaris in 1502-1503.¹⁰⁶ Fausto Andrelini, a professor at the University
of Paris and a protégé of both Charles VIII and his successor Louis, dedicated
many of his poems to the king.¹⁰⁷

The library is transferred to the Château of Blois. One consequence of the
flurry of activity to expand the Royal Library was that Louis XII moved it to his
château at Blois, where it was kept in what is now called the Gaston d'Orléans
Wing.¹⁰⁸ In 1504 he engaged François
du Refuge to be its keeper,¹⁰⁹ and in
1509 Guillaume de Sauzay was ap-
pointed the official royal librarian.¹¹⁰
Thereafter it was turned into a 'public'
library and opened its doors to schol-
ars from France and visitors from
other countries. Seyssel described it as
'très magnifique et très singulière', and
it was there that he was tutored by
Ianos Laskaris on problems relating to
translation from Greek.¹¹¹ Two years
after the death of Louis XII (1515),
Cardinal Louis d'Aragon wrote a de-
scription of the library at Blois in the
journal of his visit to France: 'In this
château or palace you can see a great
library, well arranged and furnished
not only with benches [or desks] but
also with cupboards ... from floor to
ceiling. It is completely filled with
books.... These books are all written by
hand on parchment in very beautiful
handwriting and bound in silks of many
colours.... We were shown Petrarch's
Trionfi, illuminated with most excellent
miniatures by the hand of the Fleming....'¹¹² The cardinal's words were written at
about the time when a catalogue of the Royal Library was compiled, listing its ac-
tual contents for the first time.



13. Claude de Seyssel, *La Victoire du roy contre les Veniciens*, Paris, for Antoine Vérard, 1510 (Im-
primés, Rés. Vélins 2776).

The catalogues. The oldest surviving catalogue of the library is an exact copy of the original compiled by the Dominican Guillaume Petit, Bishop of Troyes, who was commissioned to perform the task on account of his acknowledged bibliophilism.¹¹³ This catalogue is in two parts. The first lists 355 books in French, in alphabetical order, followed by five registers of which the first three deal with books in French, Latin and Italian, the fourth contains a number of books in Italian and the fifth lists the books 'que le Roy porte communement'. The second part of the catalogue is given over to the indexing of books containing works in Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Arabic, which are classified according to their binding as 'bound in velvet' or 'not bound in velvet'. Altogether 1,626 volumes are listed in the two parts of the catalogue: of these, 1,220 are in Latin, 348 in French, one in Dutch, about twelve in Italian 41 in Greek two in Arabic, two in Hebrew and one in Chaldaic, as well as one Psalter in five languages.¹¹⁴

The contents of the library. It would be far from the truth to describe this as a humanist library. Of the Latin books in the first part of the catalogue, most have to do with theology and very few are contemporary works. A substantial proportion of the total is accounted for by history books and the number of works dealing with philosophy is about the same as the numbers for rhetoric or poetry. Medical science is represented by 65 titles, grammar by about fifty; astrology by about the same number; the same number again for geometry; and books on architecture and agriculture are also listed. Of course, this library does not reflect the intellectual interests of one individual with his own particular leanings, as most of it comes from other collections which were brought in and incorporated in it, like that of Louis de la Gruthuyse and all the books carried off from the collections of the Aragonese kings and the Visconti in Naples and Milan respectively. Most of the Greek manuscripts, for example, as well as the Spanish, come from the library in Naples.¹¹⁵

The library of François I. On his accession to the French throne, François I (1494-1547) inherited a kingdom that was soon to be the richest in Europe, in spite of his involvement in military campaigns in Italy. He came from a family of bibliophiles, for his grandfather, the Count of Angoulême, was the brother of Charles of Orléans,¹¹⁶ while his mother was Louise of Savoy, the sister of Marguerite of Navarre,¹¹⁷ a woman with a taste for literature whose initiatives for the advancement of learning made her a prominent figure in his court; and in that environment had a thoroughly bookish education.

14. *François Pétrarque*, *Des Remèdes de Fortune*, France [Paris], shortly after 6th May, 1503. Copy dedicated to King Louis XII (BN. *Manuscrits, français* 225).



The 1518 catalogue of the Blois library lists 1,626 volumes, and by 1544, a few years before François' death, the figure had risen to 1,896.¹¹⁸ A third of these were books dealing with theological and liturgical matters, and the next biggest category was the history section. The library contained books on law in manuscript and in print and about 230 volumes of scientific treatises. The Greek, Arabic and Hebrew manuscripts came to a total of no more than fifty, and the enlargement of this section was given top priority by the King himself and his courtiers. Printed books were not strongly represented, in spite of the impressive number of incunabula produced by French printing houses, mostly in Paris and Lyon: there were only about 83 in the whole library.¹¹⁹

The court of François I soon established itself as the foremost cultural crossroads in Europe, presided over by writers, poets and scholars. Many of them – like Aleandro and, above all, Ianos Laskaris – had come from Italy and left their own particular humanistic stamp on the scene.¹²⁰ The year 1529 saw the founding of the trilingual college later known as the Collège Royal at Budé's instigation.¹²¹ Thanks to Budé, Lefèvre d'Étaples and other Hellenists, Greek gained prestige as the scholarly language *par excellence*. In this new climate, towards the end of 1520 François decided to establish a new Royal Library which he would install and organize in his château at Fontainebleau.¹²² The responsibility for these literary riches he entrusted to Budé, the foremost Hellenist of his age, in about 1522 or perhaps later.¹²³ Budé worked hand in hand with Laskaris, who was well acquainted with persons and things that would be needed for a systematic search for Greek manuscripts in the West and the East, a course of action he recommended.¹²⁴

In search of Greek manuscripts. The result of the drive to obtain Greek manuscripts, led by Budé until his death in 1540 and then by his successors Pierre Du Chastel and Pierre de Montdoré, was that by 1552, according to a catalogue compiled by Montdoré in that year, the library had a total of 546 of them.¹²⁵ One of the methods employed in reaping this harvest was to instruct the French ambassadors to Venice to act as agents of the enterprise, allowing them a huge budget for the purpose.¹²⁶ Nearly all those envoys were church dignitaries with humanist interests who had substantial libraries of their own: they included Jean de Pins, Bishop of Rieux,¹²⁷ Georges de Selve, Bishop of Lavaur (the future Cardinal Georges d'Armagnac),¹²⁸ and Guillaume Pellicier, Bishop of Montpellier.¹²⁹ Each of them applied himself to the collecting of manuscripts for the Royal Library, buying them wherever possible or, if they were not for sale, having them copied.

De Selve, who arrived in Venice in 1534, bought a number of manuscripts for

the King from a Cretan merchant, including Zonaras's *Compendium of History*, and employed the services of renowned Greek calligraphers like Nikolaos Sophianos and Angelos Vergikios to copy others.¹³⁰ D'Armagnac appears to have shown no great zeal for finding and collecting Greek manuscripts, at least during his years in Venice. In Rome, however, where he lived later, he made up for lost time by collecting a large number of manuscripts with the help of the German copyist Christoph Auer.¹³¹ We are better informed about the part played by Pellicier (ambassador from 1539 to 1542) in this campaign, thanks to his correspondence with du Chastel. It is known, for example, that some valuable manuscripts were bought for the Royal Library from Antonios Eparchos, a bookseller who was also teaching Greek in Venice, and from Demetrios Zenos, who was already supplying the Fontainebleau library with manuscripts through the agency of Girolamo Fondulo.¹³² From this correspondence we also learn that Francesco d'Asola donated to François I no less than eighty Greek manuscripts as well as a number of others in Italian.¹³³ For the record, it is worth mentioning that most of the copyists and calligraphers working on copies of Greek manuscripts, mainly works of history, were Greeks: they included Georgios and Nikolaos Kokolos, Ioannes Katelos and Nikolaos Kolazios, among many others. There were also some Italians who were familiar with the workings of the Greek presses in Venice, such as Bartolomeo Zanetti and Valeriano Albini, Cardinal Domenico Grimani's librarian.¹³⁴

Travellers
in search
of manuscripts

The Italian manuscript-hunting operation was not the only campaign set on foot by the King to expand his library: his envoys began touring the monasteries of Central Europe, where uncatalogued and hitherto unknown book collections had been found in the previous century.¹³⁵ Meanwhile the library was enriched by gifts from high-ranking courtiers which they themselves had commissioned, such as Paolo Emili's *De Rebus gestis Francorum*, printed by Josse Bade with hand-painted ornamentation.¹³⁶ Furthermore, a royal decree was issued confiscating the books of the Bourbon 'Constables of France', among which were valuable tomes that had belonged to Pierre de Beaujeu.¹³⁷

Printed books in the royal collections. There is a curious inconsistency in the fact that, although the King of France took the greatest interest in the world of printing, especially in Paris, and even participated in printing ventures to some extent by founding the Presse Royale, the number of printed books in the Royal Library was disproportionately low.¹³⁸ The situation changed dramatically in 1537, when the King issued the Edict of Montpellier, requiring printers and publishers to deposit one copy of every book printed in France.¹³⁹ The books were to be de-

posited with the library at Blois, not at Fontainebleau, which suggests that the older library was still the most richly-endowed in the country. Unfortunately the law was not strictly enforced: far from it, in fact, with the result that about forty to fifty per cent of the French presses' total output during that period is lost forever.¹⁴⁰

From Blois to Fontainebleau. In 1544 (on 12th June, to be precise), the year in which Robert Estienne printed his first book as King's Printer, the decision was taken to transfer the Blois library to Fontainebleau, making the combined collection one of the biggest and best in Europe. So for the first the two royal collections were together in the same place, which explains why François I is often described as the founder of the Library of the Kings of France. Within a year of the amalgamation of the two collections an itemized catalogue had been compiled, listing 1,886 volumes, of which 105 were printed books and 38 or 39 Greek manuscripts.¹⁴¹ The move from Blois to Fontainebleau was supervised by Matthieu Lavissee, who was appointed the royal librarian. When the eight-hundred-odd manuscripts collected by François I are included, the library's contents came to a total of 2,686 volumes.¹⁴²

It is worth quoting here a passage from the funeral oration for François I delivered by Pierre du Chastel: 'Who could fail to praise the man who championed Greece's achievements in poetry, history and philosophy in the country under his rule, the man who made it his goal to gather together books from the length and breadth of the then known world so as to bring back to life authors and memories that had been forgotten for more than a thousand years?'¹⁴³

Works by Aristotle and his commentators in French libraries and the character of French libraries in the first hundred years of typography. The catalogues compiled in the incunabular period, that is up to 1500, provide enough information for us to follow the links from the manuscript tradition to the printed book and even to work out numerical magnitudes from the number of impressions and the size of the print runs of each edition. In the following pages I shall attempt to follow the progress of printing and publishing in France by reference to the editions of Aristotelian works, measuring the popularity of the translations of Aristotle's own works and commentaries thereon, having regard to both the Scholastic tradition and the new humanistic approach.

15. *Fausti Andrelini*, poem dedicated to King François I, France [Paris], spring of 1515. (BN. Manuscripts, latin 8397).

Publii Fausti Andrelini Foroliuensis poetæ
Laureati: Regiique ad Franciscum inuictissimum:
ac Christianissimum Francorum Regem de pa-
cifica Francorum regum successione deque ipsius Francisci
consecratione coronationeque ac introitu in
urbem Parisiam tumultuariū Carmen.

Vis neget æterno Francos a numine reges.
Tradita pacifica sceptrā tenere manu.



The fifteenth century opened, as far as the French intellectual scene is concerned, with Jean de Gerson (Ioannes Gersonius, 1363-1429) as Chancellor of the University of Paris (1395-1418). Gerson was a celebrated orator and preacher who was determined to purge the university of Scholastic philosophy and theology.¹⁴⁴ In his writings he attacks the Scholastic theologians (*Memorandum*) and the Scotists (*Contra curiositatem studentium*), and although he himself never actually broke ranks with the conservative theologians who opposed Aristotelianism, he was outspoken enough to criticize those who deviated from Aristotelian logic.¹⁴⁵ After accusing the Scotists of leaning towards Platonism, Gerson directed his fire against the 'neo-Albertists', whose spokesmen in Paris at that time were Jean de Maisonneuve (Ioannes de Nova Domo, †1418) and his pupil Heymeric of Camp (Heymericus de Campo), who denounced Thomas Aquinas and claimed Albertus Magnus as the true Peripatetic.¹⁴⁶

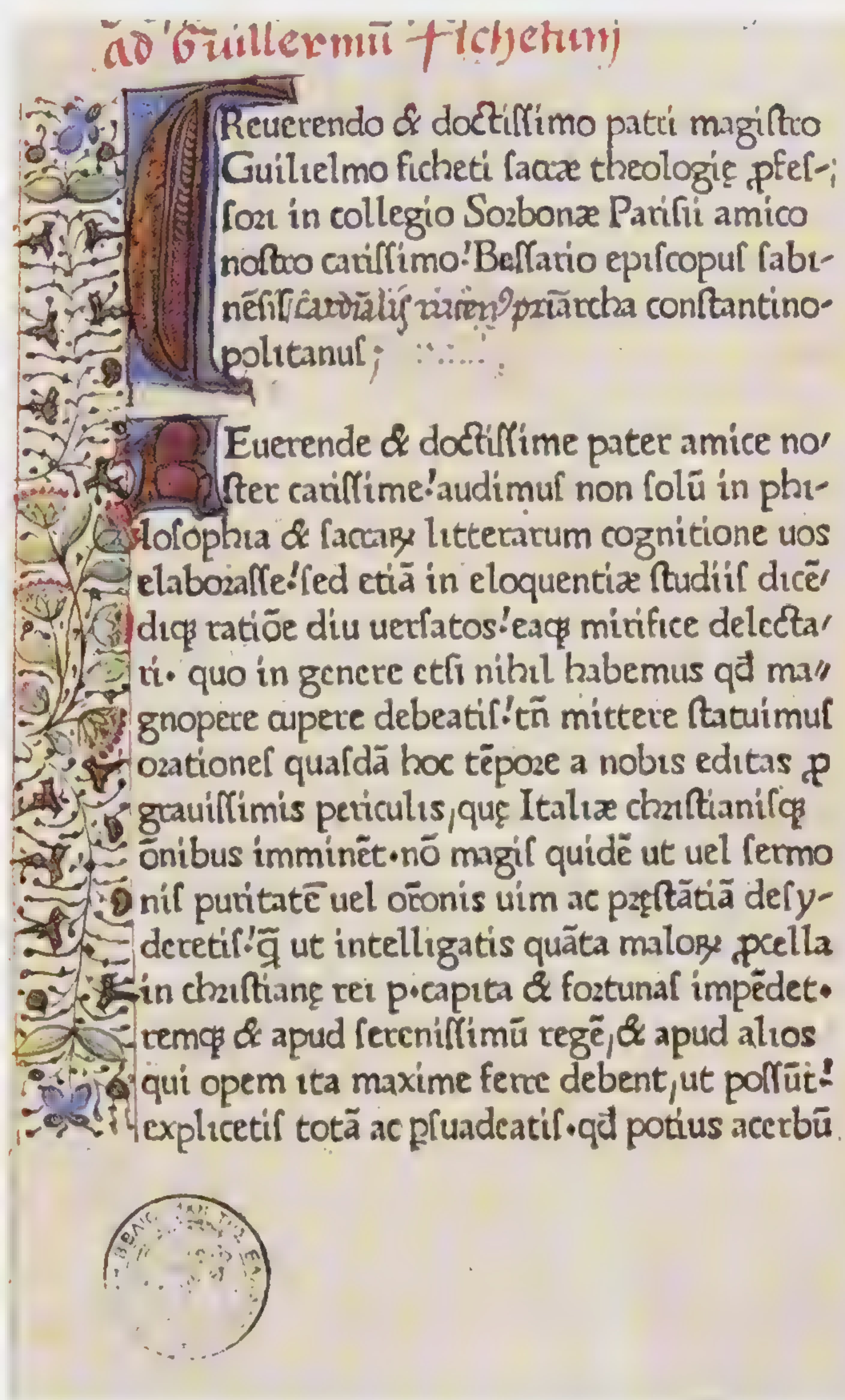
From the early fifteenth century the fundamental principles governing the teaching in university schools of philosophy and theology underwent no material change: they simply went on evolving and being refined. One crucial factor in this process was the revival of the art of rhetoric as famously exemplified in the writings of Cicero, Quintilian and Boethius (*De topicis differentiis*). Logic continued to be taught, using the writings of Albertus Magnus for the most part but also of Thomas Bricot. The followers of Duns Scotus and Albertus were very much to the fore and by 1500 Aquinas's commentaries on Aristotle had already run into at least twenty-two editions. This tradition of Scholasticism, prevalent in the centres of learning north of the Alps, did not reflect the spirit in which the Stagirite philosopher's works were approached in Italy. Lorenzo Valla expressed the thinking of Aristotle's *Logica* more clearly than the Scholastics. In addition, the Italian collections were constantly being expanded by the arrival from the East of new manuscripts written in Aristotle's own language and with commentaries by such illustrious Byzantine scholars as Ioannes Argyropoulos, Theodoros Gazis and George of Trebizond, who put a different slant and a different interpretation on many of Aristotle's works.¹⁴⁷ In Paris, on the other hand, none of Aristotle's works were published in editions prepared by Gazis, Donato Acciaiuoli or Politian, but only by Argyropoulos: the *Ethica ad Nicomachum* in four incunabular editions (1483-1492).¹⁴⁸

16. Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea*, Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1498. Illuminated edition from the library of François I, containing handwritten notes by Konstantinos Palaiokappas (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Rés. *E.3).

The humanists' involvement in university teaching is apparent from the way the liberal arts were taught: lectures were given in the classical languages and the emphasis was laid on Greek and Latin literature. No longer was it a matter of humdrum coursework based on the analysis of set words and phrases, on which the Schoolmen had relied to interpret philosophical and theological problems, but lessons which highlighted the Greek and Latin intellectual tradition in every branch of learning.

As far as Aristotle's writings on logic are concerned, the introductory notes by Peter of Spain (Petrus Hispanus) and Paul of Venice (Paulus de Veneto) were abandoned by European universities

early in the sixteenth century and replaced with *De inventione dialectica* by Rudolphus Agricola and the *Dialectica* by Petrus Ramus.¹⁴⁹ Yet the commentaries by Robert Grosseteste, Albertus Magnus and Averroës were not spurned and eminent scholars in Italy, such as Pietro Pomponazzi (1462-1525), who spent most of his teaching career at Padua, regarded Averroës as a key figure in the interpretation of Aristotle's philosophy.¹⁵⁰ However, there were two predominant factors underlying the change of direction in the philosophical approach to Aristotle. One was the publication of Greek editions and Latin translations of Aristotle's works: the *Ethica ad Nicomachum* edited by Argyropoulos and the *Problemata* edited by Gazis. The other was the introduction of the European



17. Cardinal Bessarion, *Epistolae et orationes* [Venice, Christophorus Valdafer], 1471.

scholarly community to commentaries on Aristotle by authors hitherto unknown in the West, such as Alexander of Aphrodisias, Themistius, John the Grammarian and Ammonius. From 1490 onwards these 'new' works gave a fresh impetus to Aristotelian studies.¹⁵¹

To return to the point, however. The time-honoured Aristotelian tradition characteristic of the Sorbonne from the moment of its foundation prompts two questions: what was the situation on the publishing scene and what was the Stagirite's impact on academics and students – and on book-lovers, too?

Of the corpus of Aristotle's own writings – counting the number of separate editions printed up to 1500, the *Poetica* being the only absentee – France produced a total of 31 editions,¹⁵² while the works of his commentators came to a total of fifty different editions and reissues. Of these eighty-one editions published between 1468 and 1499, most (fifty-five in all) came from presses in Paris and the rest from Lyon, Poitiers and Toulouse.

Aristotle's complete works (*Opera*) were printed just once at Lyon, probably in 1468, and an abridged version of the same edition came out in Paris in 1498.¹⁵³ The *Organon* was first printed by Ulrich Gering, one of the first printers in France; in about 1484, and the *Logica vetus* at Poitiers in 1491.¹⁵⁴ The *Ethica ad Nicomachum* was published and reissued in Paris in about 1488/89 and then again in 1493 and 1500, in the Latin translation by Argyropoulos with notes by Aegidius Delphus.¹⁵⁵ In 1497 the Latin translation by Argyropoulos and Leonardo Bruni was reissued by Argyropoulos's pupil Lefèvre d'Étaples, with Lefèvre's own notes.¹⁵⁶ The *Ethica ad Nicomachum* went through four more editions, all of them probably in the Latin version by Henricus Krosbein (ca. 1476 and ca. 1496-1500).¹⁵⁷ *De virtutibus* was printed only once in Paris in the incunabular period, by Gering in about 1480.¹⁵⁸

The *Politics*, in the translation by Nicolaus de Oresme, who had studied at the Paris university in Buridan's time (1328-1340), was brought out by the famous French printer Antoine Vérard (1486 and 1489).¹⁵⁹ The *Rhetorica*, which one would have expected to be very popular, actually came out only once in France: in Paris, in the Latin translation by George of Trebizond, printed by Petrus Caesaris and Johannes Stol in about 1475.¹⁶⁰ The *Problemata* was not printed even once in



18. Ulrich Gering. Engraving by Boudan after a painting from the Collège de Montaigu.

France in the most reliable translation, that of Theodoros Gazis: the version used in the four Parisian editions, all of which came out near the end of the century, was the work of several translators.¹⁶¹ Six editions of the *Secreta secretorum* appeared in the Latin translation by Philippus Tripolitanus, all printed around 1480 by the Printer of Ockham, as well as five more in French translation.¹⁶²

Of all the commentators on Aristotle, Albertus Magnus had the lion's share in Europe up to 1500 with 34 separate editions, but only one was printed in France, and that was at Toulouse: *Philosophia pauperum* (ca. 1480).¹⁶³ On the other hand, of the thirteen editions (mostly on Aristotelian logic) by Thomas Bricot, the thirteenth-century Professor of Theology and Aristotelian Philosophy at Paris, all except two were printed in France, the two exceptions being at Basel and Salamanca.¹⁶⁴ His two commentaries, entitled *Quaestiones logicales in Aristotelis Analytica posteriora* and *Textus ... in cursum totius logices Aristotelis*, went through a total of eleven editions, all published in Paris (1489-1500).¹⁶⁵ Of the three editions of Bruni's *Isagogicon moralis disciplinae* to appear as a self-contained volume in the incunabular period, two were printed in Paris (1483-1497),¹⁶⁶ while all three incunabular editions of titles by Jean Buridan were printed in Paris: they were *Quaestiones in Aristotelis Ethica Nicomachea* and *Quaestiones ... in Aristotelis Politica* (1489-1500).¹⁶⁷

Of the writings of Lefèvre d'Étaples – the most 'internationalist' scholar in Paris, given that he was the only philosopher who, under the influence of Argyropoulos and Laskaris, relied not on Latin translations of Aristotle but on the original Greek text – a total of nine incunabular editions are known, of which nine were published in Paris, one at Lyon and one at Deventer!¹⁶⁸ All date from the last decade of the fifteenth century, the earliest being a 1492 edition of his *In Aristotelis libros naturales introductiones* printed by Johann Higman. The *Expositio super octo libros Physicorum Aristotelis* by George of Brussels (Georgius Bruxellensis) is represented by three Parisian editions (ca. 1490-1492).¹⁶⁹

Aristotle's logic is again the subject of the *Expositio super textu logices Aristotelis* by Pierre Tartaret (Petrus Tartaretus). Of the thirteen known editions, six were printed in Paris, the first coming from the press of André Bocard in about 1495.¹⁷⁰ Three editions of the *Glossulae in Aristotelis philosophiae naturalis libros* by Jean le Tourneur (Johannes Versor) were printed not in Paris but at Lyon and Toulouse.¹⁷¹

Other Aristotelian publishing centres. The great centres for the printing and publishing of Aristotle's and his commentators' works in Italy were Venice, first and foremost, and secondly Padua; and in the North, Köln and Leipzig. The fifty-

five French editions of Aristotle and his commentators probably came to a total of close on 20,000 copies in two decades (1480-1500). But Aristotle alone does not account for the whole curriculum set for the University of Paris from the early fifteenth century, which was staunchly supported by the printing houses from 1470 onwards.¹⁷² We have to remember that the leading university schools in Paris at that time were those of Law and Medicine, followed by the seven Liberal Arts. In these subjects the lectures were gradually supplemented by the products of the



19. The earliest picture of a printing office. Woodcut from *La grande danse macabre*, Lyon 1499.

printing houses in accordance with the traditional organogram: that is to say, twenty-four bookseller/copyists contracted to supply the students with copies of works by Hippocrates, Galen and also Aristotle and his commentators such as Thomas Aquinas, William of Ockham, Duns Scotus, Jean Buridan and Boethius. Similarly, for theology the standard textbooks were the Bible and Peter Lombard's *Sententiae*; while in this climate those clergymen who mingled in academic circles managed in one way or another to obtain books to add to the nucleus of every churchman's library, which contained works by St. Augustine, St. Bernard and Nicolaus de Lyra, the *Sermones* of Jacques de Voragine and other works.¹⁷³

So who were the readers of all these new books? Who bought them from the bookshops and printing houses springing up in the neighbourhood of the university – in the rue Saint-Jacques and the rue Fromentale – like the establishments of Petrus Caesaris and Johannes Stol.¹⁷⁴ Sales of their books were assured mainly by the demand from three state institutions: the Parlement, the Law Courts and the University. There was a whole world of people working for and associating with



20. Said to be a picture of J. Badius (1494). From P. Renouard, *J. Badius Ascensius*, I, 37.

this 'community', a community in which the Church and the archbishoprics had a say either directly or indirectly. Highly-educated churchmen and the keepers of libraries of Christian literature, professors and schoolteachers, university libraries (general or specialized), lawyers, administrators of justice and members of the Parlement were the biggest customers of the local book centres.¹⁷⁵ And so the acquisition of a library evolved into a social phenomenon with scholarly overtones. It was incumbent on

all who taught students, all who determined the character of the educational system, all who drew up the framework of the law and administered justice and all who practised medicine to have all-round knowledge and to have in their work places the basic works of reference and the relevant commentaries and specialized studies: in other words, to possess private libraries. Libraries that have come to our notice through the numerous surviving catalogues forming codicils to the wills of persons in every kind of occupation and every walk of life: aristocrats, civic dignitaries, lawyers, members of the bourgeoisie and persons who made their lives in the Church.

Thanks to the nine hundred or so catalogues of libraries and book collections (1503-1576) recorded in documents of one kind or another, mainly wills drawn up in Paris and Amiens, it is possible to draw certain conclusions concerning the libraries' owners, their occupations and the contents of their collections.¹⁷⁶ The cat-

alogues, which cover Paris and the rest of France from 1530 to 1600, show no deviation from the pattern giving the legal profession – public prosecutors, clerks of the court, jurists, attorneys at law and even process-servers – the highest percentage of library owners (25 per cent). Next come members of the Parlement and officers of the royal court.¹⁷⁷ The picture we have of the academic world's book transactions is not a true one, as the notaries did not keep precise records of the books owned by students or teachers. Moreover, students' personal libraries were often of an ephemeral nature, as they tended to have only the books they needed for their current work: these they obtained through one of the channels set up by the universities, such as the *peciae* system. Students from the upper class were an exception to this rule, as they could afford to buy manuscripts and printed books without overstressing themselves.¹⁷⁸

The character of these libraries seems to spring from a standard ideology manifested in specific editions with 'classical labels'. In the field of theology we find Bibles, often in

French translation, and abridgements of the scriptures; prominent among the writings of the Western Church Fathers are St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, the *Homilies* of St. Gregory the Great and St. Bernard's *Meditations*, a work which appeared in numerous editions in the fifteenth century. Books by the exponents of mysticism, such as Nider and Gerson, circulated in large numbers, as did *Lives* of saints and moralizing works such as the *Specula*.¹⁷⁹

In addition to the hagiological writings we find various works of Christian literature dealing with St. Paul's Epistles, the Psalter and the New Testament, as well as other texts edited by Lefèvre d'Étaples or Erasmus. Treatises setting out the reformers' views and polemical ripostes against Luther by the Catholic Church had their



21. Presentation of a book to the dedicatee. Engraving from *L'Art de bien mourir*, 1492.

place on library shelves, but there is no record of anything to do with Calvin and the *Cymbalum mundi*, for example, is mentioned only once in these catalogues.¹⁸⁰

Whatever their professions, the known library owners evidently felt – to judge by the inventories of their books – that they ought to have a separate section devoted to the classics (poetry, rhetoric, philosophy and history) and, after 1530, Greek works in the original: mention should be made of Aesop's *Fables* in Guil-

laume Tardif's French translation (Paris, A. Vérard, ca. 1490),¹⁸¹ Aristotle's *Organon* (Paris, U. Gering, ca. 1484),¹⁸² a miscellany of works by Aristotle, Seneca, Boethius, Plato, Empedocles and others published in Paris under the title of *Auctoritates Aristotelis* (Antoine Caillaut, ca. 1485/90) in several of the thirty-eight incunabular editions,¹⁸³ Julius Caesar's *Commentarii de bello Gallico*, in Gaguin's French translation, first printed in Paris by P. Levet not later than 1485,¹⁸⁴ and a number of Cicero's rhetorical treatises dating from the first decade of printing in Paris (1470-1480), including the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (P. Caesaris, ca. 1475) and *In Catilinam orationes* (Louis Simonel et socii, ca. 1475).¹⁸⁵ Virgil's collected works (*Opera*) were printed over and over again in Paris – at least seven times from 1472 – and just once else-



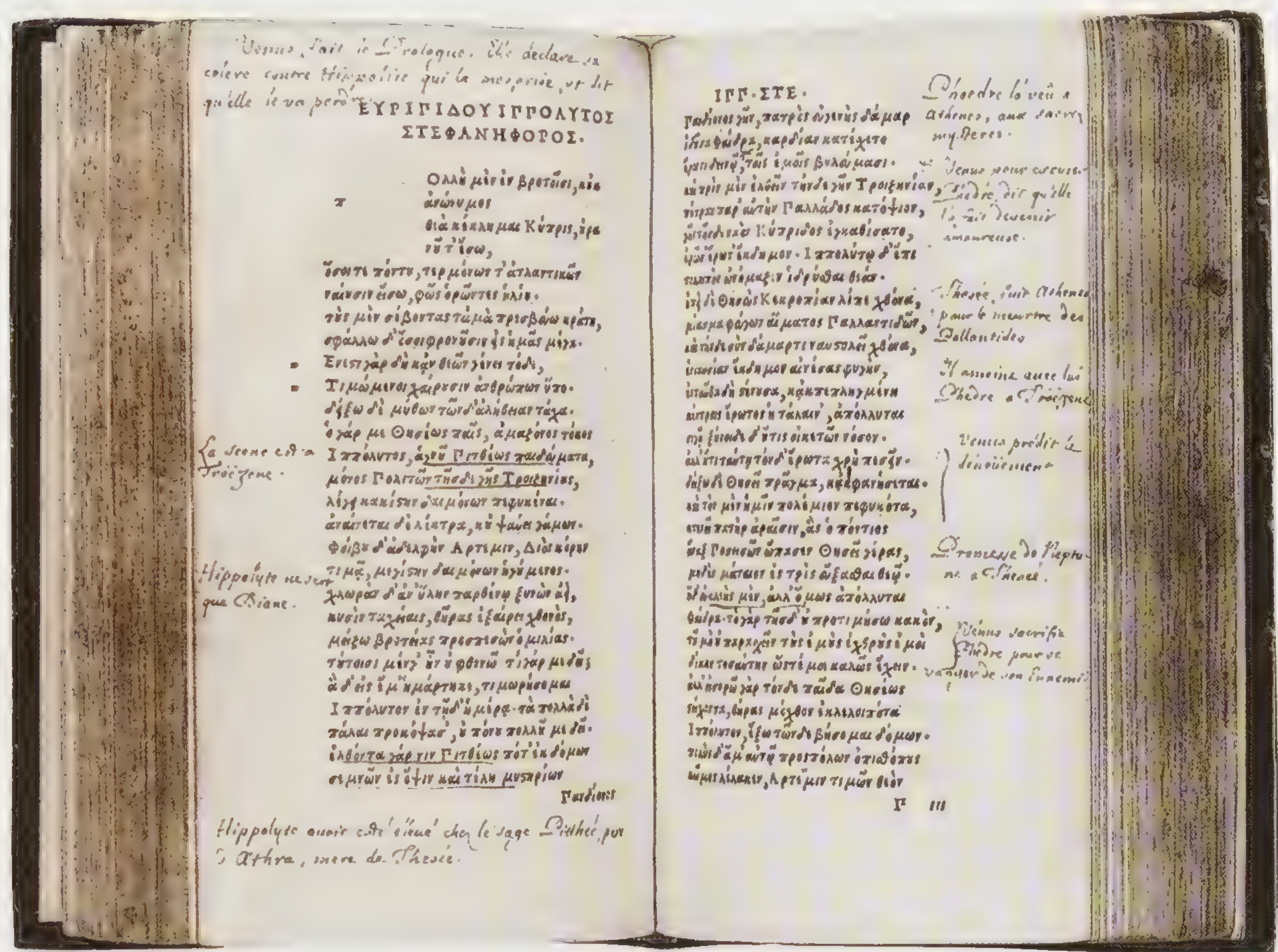
22. Printer's mark of Antoine I^{er} Vérard.

where in France, at Lyon. The French read Virgil only in the Parisian editions: besides the complete works, the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* were printed at Antoine Caillaut's press in a total of thirteen editions.¹⁸⁶

Besides the Greek and Latin classics, the library shelves of the Parisian literati contained books resonant of the humanist movement: Erasmus's *Adagia* and *Enchiridion*,¹⁸⁷ works by Budé (usually including *De Asse*) and, even more often, copies of Petrarch's *Trionfi* and Boccaccio's *Decameron*: the last of these has been found by A.H. Schutz in thirty library inventories. Lorenzo Valla's *Elegantiae linguae latinae* was still considered an essential textbook for lovers of Latin literature, on the evidence of the numerous copies listed in the catalogues. Filling out this humanist scene were books by Poggio (*Facéties*), Pietro Bembo (*Asolani*) and Cas-

tiglione, which appeared first in French translation and later in their original languages.¹⁸⁸ Sebastian Brant's *Ship of Fools* (*Nef des fous*, *Narrenschiff*), which had been an enormous success for its publishers, was present in multiple copies.¹⁸⁹ On the other hand, works by English intellectuals were conspicuous by their absence, with the exception of More's *Utopia*.¹⁹⁰

CHAPTER IV
The Great Centre
of Humanism
in the North



23. Euripides, *Tragoediae septendecim* [in Greek], 2 vols., Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1503, with marginal notes and scholia by Jean Racine (Bibliothèque Nationale, Rés. Yb. 805-806).

The conclusion to be drawn from this survey – the purpose of which has been to shed light on the character of libraries in Paris and other big cities in France from the mid fifteenth century (especially the incunabular period) to about the middle of the sixteenth – is that those libraries are clearly marked by a sense of local chauvinism. It might also be remarked that an element of encyclopaedism, a distinctive characteristic of French intellectualism, makes its appearance in these collections. The Italians at the French court from very early in the sixteenth century, the teaching of Greek, the first printed Greek books, the great publishing firms (especially those of Bade and the Estiennes) with their voluminous output, the French kings' manuscript collections and the emergence of so many men of

letters and poets like Ronsard inspired the French to develop an awareness of the worth of books. This manifested itself in the introduction into French education, first, of the Graeco-Roman tradition (both in the original and in French translation) and secondly of humanist literature: works by Petrarch and Boccaccio became available, followed by Ronsard and Rabelais. Readers also had access to the whole of the French medieval literary tradition – the *Roman de la Rose* and other such works¹⁹¹ – and, of course, to the whole gamut of Christian literature: the Bible and other sacred writings were available in French as well as Latin, all the more so following the advent of Luther and the Reformation, which had the effect of turning France into a bastion of the Catholic Church in the North.

The international spirit of French humanism and the way of thinking underlying the formation of libraries up to the end of the sixteenth century was connected with what has been said in these pages and took no notice of the writings of the Anglo-Saxons, nor of the peoples of the German-speaking lands or the Iberian peninsula. Those exclusions are explained partly by differences of culture and also by the wars fought between them. In other words, what we have here is a humanist spirit that is an extension of the Graeco-Roman secular and Christian tradition, with the writings of Italian and French humanists incorporated into it.

To comprehend the magnitude of the contribution of printing to the growth of libraries in Paris and elsewhere in France in the incunabular period and the first decades of the sixteenth century, as well as the role of printed books in the acquisition of libraries by students and book-lovers, it seems to me that one need only consider the size of the print runs during those years. A tentative estimate has been made in these pages with regard to the output of Sweynheim and Pannartz's printing house and the Aldine editions.¹⁹² We should reckon on an average of 400-500 copies per edition in the first three decades after the invention of printing (up to 1490).¹⁹³ After that, however, the situation was different and some books of particular note were printed in Italy in editions of over a thousand copies: for example, the complete works of Plato in Ficino's translation in 1025 copies and *Souda* in a thousand copies.¹⁹⁴ But it would seem that in the early part of the sixteenth century publishers and printers had enough experience and enough historical data to make a surer estimate of the probable demand for their publications. In 1513 Josse Bade printed 1,025 copies of the *History* of Thucydides,¹⁹⁵ and in 1539 Bonnemère printed Pierre Doré's *Collège de Sapience* in an edition of 1,500 copies.¹⁹⁶

Size of
incunabular
print runs

24. A typical illustrated page from *Le Roman de la Rose*, printed at Lyon by Guillaume Le Roy, ca. 1487.

Mais croy quelle n'estoit pas sage
 Ains estoit toute radotee
 Elle eut d'une chappe fourree
 Se bien de ce ie me recois
 Affuble et vestu son corps
 Bien fut vestue chaudiement
 Car elle eut en froit austrement
 Les vieilles gens ont cost froidure
 Vous sauez que cest leur nature

¶ Papelardye



2

Pres fut d'ne ymage escripte
 Qui bien sebloit estre ypocrite
 Papelardie est appelee
 Cest celle qui en recellee
 Quant nul ne sen peut presdre garde
 De nul mal faire ne se carde
 Et fait dehors le marmiton
 Si a le vis pasle et piteux
 Et semble douce creature
 Mais dessoubz na malice aduete
 Quelle ne pense en son couraige
 Mout la resemble bien limage
 Qui faicte fut a sa semblance
 Qui fut de simple contenance
 Et si fut chauffee et vestue
 Ainsi comme femme rendue

En sa main d'ng psautrier tenoit
 Et se chiez que moult se pnoit
 De faire a dieu prieres saines
 Et appeller et saines et saintes
 Point ne fut gaye ne iolye
 Mais estoit comme ententive
 A toutes bonnes oeuvres faire
 Et au dit vestue la haire

Sachiez quelle n'estoit pas grasse
 Mais estoit descharnee et lasse
 Et auoit couleur pasle et morte
 Aelle et aux siens est la porce
 De nyee de paradis
 Car telles gens si font leurs vis
 Amay, si ce dit leu angile
 Pour auoir loz parmi la fille
 Et pour d'ng peu de gloire d'ayne
 Ont ilz perdu dieu et son regne

¶ Pourrete



Pourrete fut au derrenier
 Pourtraite q' d'ng seul denier
 Neust pas se elle se deust pendre
 Tant sceut elle sa robe rendre
 Et estoit nue comme hers
 Se le temps eust d'ng peu d'iers
 Elle eut endure grant froit

NOTES

IV

The Great Centre of Humanism in the North

NOTES

1. See Staikos IV, 327; P. De Lajarte, *L'Humanisme en France au XVI^e siècle*, Paris, Honoré Champion Éditeur, 2009, 51.
2. See A. Renaudet, *Préréforme et humanisme à Paris pendant les premières guerres d'Italie (1494-1517)*, Paris, Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1916 (= Renaudet, *Préréforme*), 29 ff.
3. See L. Delaruelle, 'L'étude du grec à Paris de 1514 à 1530', *Revue du Seizième Siècle* IX (1922) 51-62, 132-149; Id., 'Une vie d'humaniste au XV^e siècle: Gregorio Tiferinas', *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'École Française de Rome* 19 (1899) 9-33; Jean-Eudes Girot, 'Le grec au XVI^e siècle', in *Histoire de la France littéraire*, 605-621; and more generally see E. Egger, *L'Hellénisme en France. Sur l'influence des Études Grecques dans le développement de la langue et de la littérature française*, 2 vols., Paris 1869.
4. See W.P. Greswell, *A View of the Early Parisian Greek Press*, vol. II (Oxford 1833), repr. Amsterdam (B.R. Gruner), vol. I, 1969, 97-98 (= Greswell, *A View*, I-II); J. Irigoin, *Les Débuts de la typographie grecque en France*, Société des Études néo-helléniques, Conférence Émile Legrand, Paris/Athens, Daedalus, 1992.
5. See Greswell, *A View*, I, 98; H. Omont, 'Georges Hermonyme de Sparte, maître de grec à Paris et copiste de manuscrits (1476)', offprint from *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France* XII (1885); 5-37; *Charta* I, 292-293.
6. See *Charta* I, 170; and on Accorsi see p. 125 herein.
7. See Renaudet, *Préréforme*, 121 ff.
8. See 'Guillaume Fichet', 17, *NBU* 620.
9. See Renaudet, *Préréforme*, 121.
10. *Ibid.*, 121.
11. *Ibid.*, 122.
12. *Ibid.*, 122; see also R. Weiss, 'Andrelini, Fausto', in *DBI* 3 (1961), 138-141.
13. See Renaudet, *Préréforme*, 130-135; and esp. G. Bedouelle, *Lefèvre d'Étaples et l'Intelligence des Écritures*, Geneva, Librairie Droz, 1976.
14. See G. Bedouelle and B. Roussel (eds.), *Le temps des Réformes et la Bible* [= *La Bible de tous les Temps*, vol. 5], Paris, Beauchesne, 1989; J. Chr. Saladin, *La Bataille du Grec à la Renaissance*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 2000, 145-175.
15. See Girot, 'Le grec au XVI^e siècle', 613-615; Saladin, *La Bataille du Grec...*, 177-202.
16. See Girot, 'Le grec au XVI^e siècle', 614.
17. *Ibid.*
18. See the preface to the French edition of Diodorus Siculus, reproduced in P. Renouard, *Imprimeurs et Libraires Parisiens du XVI^e siècle*, vol. II, Paris 1969, 256 (641) (= Renouard, *Imprimeurs*, II) and *BH* I/1, CL VIII, with transcript of the preface.
19. These translations were printed by Josse Bade: for the *History* of Thucydides (1527), for example, see Hoffman III, 559, and Renouard, *Imprimeurs*, II, 238 (579).
20. This phenomenon is a matter of some complexity and in the early decades of the sixteenth century, as far as Greek literature was concerned, it relied mainly on the enthusiasm of Budé and Lazare de Baïf and other Hellenists; but the situation altered once Greek had established its place in the educational curriculum.
21. See J.F. Maillard, Judith Kecskémeti, Catherine Magnien and Monique Portalier, *La*

- France des Humanistes: Hellénistes*, Brepols 1999, XXXIX.
22. This aspect of the matter is well illustrated by Henri Estienne's book *Traité de la conformité du langage français avec le grec* (1565), an unashamed apologia for the French language, whose beauty and excellence he says are due to its close resemblance to Greek. 'the most beautiful language in the world'.
 23. See R. Doucet, *Les Bibliothèques parisiennes au XVI^e siècle*, Paris, Picard, 1956 (= Doucet, *Les Bibliothèques*); A.-H. Schutz, *Vernacular Books in Parisian Private Libraries of the Sixteenth Century*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1955; P. Aquilon, 'Petites et moyennes bibliothèques 1530-1660', in *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises. Les bibliothèques sous l'Ancien Régime 1530-1789*, ed. Claude Jolly, vol. II, Paris, Promodis, Éditions du Cercle de la Librairie, 1988, 180-205 (= HBF II).
 24. See Lajarte, *L'Humanisme...*, 62.
 25. See Renouard, *Imprimeurs*, II, 24-296.
 26. See Renouard, *Imprimeurs*, II, 247 (610).
 27. See Brunet II/1, 794.
 28. See A.A. Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Estiennes* (= Renouard, *Annales*), 2 vols, Paris 1843², 46-47 (4).
 29. See Renouard, *Annales*, 135 (3); Schreiber, 156-159 (181).
 30. See Renouard, *Imprimeurs*, II, 129 (265), 33 (29).
 31. Brunet II/1, 799.
 32. Adams S 574 (*In libros de plantis Aristotelis*); and on Scaliger's unpublished notes on *De animalibus* see P. Tamizey de Larroque (ed.), *Lettres françaises inédites de Joseph Scaliger*, Paris/Agen 1879, 173.
 33. Brunet IV/2, 1098-1099.
 34. Brunet IV/2, 1374.
 35. See J. Jehasse, *La Renaissance de la critique, l'essor de l'Humanisme érudit de 1560 à 1614*, Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 1976.
 36. See Brunet IV/2, 838.
 37. See Brunet III/1, 931.
 38. See Cicero, *Epistolae* 1496: BMC VIII, 311-312 (IB. 42057).
 39. See Greswell, *A View*, I, 16; H. Omont, 'Essai sur les débuts de la typographie grecque à Paris, 1507-1516', *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France* XVIII (1891) 1-72.
 40. See A. Bernard, *Les Estienne et les types grecs de François Ier*, Paris 1856, 62-63.
 41. See Greswell, *A View*, I, 18-19; Omont, 'Essai sur les débuts...', 17-19.
 42. See Greswell, *A View*, I, 18-21; Omont, 'Essai sur les débuts...', 17 ff.
 43. See Greswell, *A View*, I, 23; Omont, 'Essai sur les débuts...', 29.
 44. On Bade see: Renouard, *Imprimeurs*, II, 6-24; P. Renouard, *Bibliographie des impressions et des oeuvres de Josse Badius Ascensius, imprimeur et humaniste, 1462-1535*, vol. I, 1-38.
 45. *Ibid.*, 55-56 (87), 117, 133 (280) and 247-248 (610) respectively.
 46. See Greswell, *A View*, I, 189-283; and esp. Elizabeth Armstrong, *Robert Estienne, Royal Printer: An historical study of the elder Stephanus*, Cambridge 1954 (= Armstrong, *Robert Estienne*).
 47. See Greswell, *A View*, I, 193-194.
 48. See Armstrong, *Robert Estienne*, 27 ff.
 49. *Ibid.*, 29-30.
 50. *Ibid.*, 32.
 51. See Renouard, *Annales*, 25-96.
 52. See Armstrong, *Robert Estienne*, 117-123.
 53. *Ibid.*, 124-125.
 54. See P. Gusman, 'Claude Garamont, graveur des lettres grecques du roi, tailleur des caractères de l'Université (1480-1516)', *Byblos* 4 (1925) 85-95; and on the modelling of the design on Vergikios's handwriting see

- Armstrong, *Robert Estienne*, 127-128, 131; also p. 201 herein. See also Anne Cuneo, *Le maître de Garamond*, Orbe, Bernard Campiche Éditeur, 2002.
55. See Renouard, *Annales*, 59 (11); Armstrong, *Robert Estienne*, 131; D. Pallier, 'Les imprimeurs du roi au XVI^e siècle: la constitution d'un nouvel office dans le métier du livre', in *Le livre et l'art, Études offertes en hommage à Pierre Lelièvre*, réunies par Thérèse Kleindienst, Paris, Sociology Éditions d'Art, 2000, 183-202.
56. See Armstrong, *Robert Estienne*, fig. 10; Schreiber, 263.
57. See Armstrong, *Robert Estienne*, 131.
58. *Ibid.*
59. See Schreiber, 76-78 (77). The *Ecclesiastical History* was not the first book in which Estienne had used Garamont's Greek types: he had already given them a trial run in the *Alphabetum Graecum* of 1543, an edition which Renouard (*Annales*, 60) considers dubious.
60. B.N. Rés. H, 34; A.C. Headlam, 'The editions and MSS. of Eusebius', *Journal of Theological Studies* IV (1902), 93 ff.
61. See H. Omont, 'La messe grecque de Saint-Denys au moyen-âge', in *Études d'histoire du moyen-âge dédiées à Gabriel Monod*, 1896, 181.
62. *Ibid.*, 182-184.
63. The first edition of *Champ Fleury* was published in 1529 (Brunet V/1, 897). It has now been published in a Greek translation by Ismini Kapantai with an introduction by G. Babiniotis, under the title of *Ἀνθὴ τοῦ Λόγου*, Athens, Kotinos, 2005.
64. See Armstrong, *Robert Estienne*, 136-138.
65. The Royal Library contained only two manuscripts of the *Greek New Testament*, one of the thirteenth and one of the fourteenth century: see Armstrong, *Robert Estienne*, 137.
66. See Schreiber, 85-86 (90).
67. See C. Sturge, *Cuthbert Tunstal: Churchman, Scholar, Statesman, Administrator*, New York 1938, 121-136.
68. See Armstrong, *Robert Estienne*, 200 ff.
69. See J. Hilgers, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher, in seiner neuen Fassung dargelegt und rechtlich-historisch gewürdigt*, Freiburg 1904.
70. See N. Weiss, 'La Sorbonne, le Parlement de Paris et les livres hérétiques de 1542 à 1546', *B.S.H.P.F.* 34 (1885) 19-28; Armstrong, *Robert Estienne*, 165-169; Schreiber, 97 (105).
71. See Renouard, *Annales*, 25-96.
72. See Staikos IV, 330, 377; Simone Balayé, *La Bibliothèque Nationale des origines à 1800*, Geneva 1988 (= Balayé, *La Bibliothèque*), 9-10.
73. See L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale. Étude sur la formation de ce dépôt*, vol. I, Paris 1868, 94-97 (= Delisle, *Le Cabinet*); Balayé, *La Bibliothèque*, 16-19; Denise Bloch, 'La formation de la Bibliothèque du Roi', *HBF* II, 312-317 (= Bloch, 'La formation').
74. See Delisle, *Le Cabinet* 98-104; and on Bessarion's library see p. 83 herein.
75. See Bloch, 'La formation', 314 (BN, fr. 728).
76. BN, fr. 14363.
77. On the beginnings of printing in France see: A. Claudin, *The First Paris Press: An Account of the Books Printed for G. Fichet and J. Heynlin in the Sorbonne 1470-1472*, London, Printed for the Bibliographical Society at the Chiswick Press, 1897/1898; J. Veyrin-Forrer, 'Aux origines de l'imprimerie française. L'atelier de la Sorbonne et ses mécènes', *L'Art du livre à l'imprimerie nationale*, Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1973, 30-53; Jeanne-Marie Dureau, 'Les premiers ateliers français', in *Histoire de l'édition française*, eds. R. Chartier and H.J. Martin et al., vol. I, Promodis 1982, 162-175.

78. See J. van Praet, *Catalogue des livres imprimés sur vélin de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, 6 vols., Paris 1822-1828. On Vérard's editions produced for Charles VIII see P. Durrieu, *Un grand enlumineur parisien au XV^e siècle, Jacques de Besançon et son oeuvre*, Paris 1892.
79. See Balayé, *La Bibliothèque*, 16.
80. See Balayé, *La Bibliothèque*, 15, 17, 36; Bloch, 'La formation', 312; F. Avril, 'Un portrait inédit de la reine Charlotte de Savoie', in *Études sur la Bibliothèque Nationale réunies en hommage à Thérèse Klein-dienst*, Paris 1985, 255-262.
81. On the enlargement of Charles VIII's library after the conquest of Naples see Bloch, 'La formation', 314; Balayé, *La Bibliothèque*, 17-18. On the library of the kings of Aragon see T. de Marinis, *La Biblioteca Napoletana dei Re d'Aragona*, 4 vols., Milan, U. Hoepli, 1947-1952 (and *Supplement*, 2 vols., Verona 1969).
82. On this circle of scholars see p. 70-71.
83. See Bloch, 'La formation', 317. Part of this collection (138 manuscripts) was sold off by the last King of Naples, Frederick III, to Cardinal Georges d'Amboise.
84. *Ibid.*
85. See *Byzance et la France médiévale. Manuscrits à peintures du II^e au XVI^e siècle*, exhibition catalogue with an introduction to the Greek collection by J. Cain, J. Porcher, Marie-Louise Concasty and C. Astruc, Paris 1958, nos. 31, 59, 68.
86. BN, lat. 7272.
87. BN, lat. 6317; see also de Marinis, *La Biblioteca Napoletana...*, *Suppl.*, I, 54 and II, pls. 180-181.
88. On Laskaris see p. 66-67.
89. See P. Champion, *La Bibliothèque de Charles d'Orléans*, Paris, H. Champion, 1910.
90. See Delisle, *Le Cabinet*, 98-104; Bloch, 'La formation', 317-323; Balayé, *La Bibliothèque*, 19-25. On Mallet see Staikos IV, 329-330.
91. BN, fr. 312-314.
92. BN, fr. 606.
93. See Champion, *La Bibliothèque...*; Bloch, 'La formation', 319.
94. See Bloch, 'La formation', 319.
95. *Ibid.*; and see esp. Élisabeth Pellegrin, *La Bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza, ducs de Milan, au XV^e siècle*, Paris 1955, and *Supplément*, Paris 1969.
96. See Bloch, 'La formation', 320.
97. See Élisabeth Pellegrin, *Manuscrits de Pétrarque dans les bibliothèques de France*, Padua 1966, 372.
98. BN, lat. 6069 Q.
99. See Bloch, 'La formation', 320.
100. See J. van Praet, *Recherches sur Louis de Bruges, seigneur de la Gruuthuyse*, Paris 1831; see also *Vlaamse kunst op perkament: Handschriften en miniaturen te Brugge van de 12de tot de 16de eeuw* (exhibition catalogue) Brugge, Gruuthusemuseum, 1981.
101. BN, néerlandais 1. See also *Vlaamse kunst...*, no. 107.
102. BN, fr. 403. See also F. Avril and P.D. Stirnemann, *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine insulaire, VII^e-XX^e siècles*, Paris 1987, no. 123.
103. See Bloch, 'La formation', 320.
104. BN, fr. 5089 and 5081-5083. See also *Louis XII: Images d'un roi. De imperator au père du peuple*, exhibition catalogue, ed. P. Thibault, Château de Blois, 1987, 22 (nos. 15-15 bis).
105. BN, fr. 873. See also *Les Manuscrits à peintures en France du XIII^e au XVI^e siècle*, exhibition catalogue, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1955, no. 354.
106. See p. 184.
107. BN, lat. 8134, 8393, 8395.
108. See Bloch, 'La formation', 323.
109. See Delisle, *Le Cabinet*, 122.

110. See Balayé, *La Bibliothèque*, 22.
111. See Delisle, *Le Cabinet*, 98-146.
112. See A. Chastel, *Le Cardinal Louis d'Aragon, un voyageur princier de la Renaissance*, Paris, Fayard, 1986; Bloch, 'La formation', 323.
113. See H. Omont, *Anciens inventaires et catalogues de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, vol. I, Paris 1908, 1-154; Bloch, 'La formation', 323.
114. See Bloch, 'La formation', 323.
115. *Ibid.*, 324-325.
116. See G. Dupont-Ferrier, 'Jean d'Orléans, comte d'Angoulême, d'après sa bibliothèque', in *Mélanges d'Histoire du Moyen Âge*, III, Paris 1897.
117. Seven of Marguerite of Navarre's books passed into the possession of her grandson, King Henri IV, and another 99 found their way into various other collections such as that of the Duke of Aumale at Chantilly: see Delisle, *Le Cabinet*, 186-187.
118. See Omont, *Anciens inventaires...*; *Id.*, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de Fontainebleau sous François I et Henri II*, Paris 1889; S. Balayé, 'La naissance de la Bibliothèque du Roi 1490-1664', *HBF* II, 78-79 (= Balayé, 'La naissance').
119. On the library built up by François I see esp. Balayé, *La Bibliothèque*, 25-43; *Ead.*, 'La naissance', 79-80.
120. See generally 'Le Roi et sa Cour', in R.J. Knecht, *Un Prince de la Renaissance. François I^{er} et son Royaume*, Paris, Fayard, 1994, 115-143; and on Laskaris see p. 194 herein.
121. See A. Lefranc, *Histoire du Collège de France depuis ses origines jusqu'à la fin du 1^{er} Empire*, Paris, Hachette, 1893.
122. See Balayé, 'La naissance', 80.
123. See Balayé, *La Bibliothèque*, 32.
124. On the part played by Laskaris in the expansion of the Medici library see p. 152.
125. See Omont, *Catalogue des manuscrits...*, V-XXII.
126. See J. Irigoin, 'Les ambassadeurs à Venise et le commerce de manuscrits grecs dans les années 1540-1550', in *Venezia, centro di mediazione tra Oriente e Occidente, secoli XV-XVI. Aspetti e problemi*, ed. H.-G. Beck, M. Manoussacas and A. Pertusi, vol. II, Florence, L.S. Olschki, 1977, 399-413 (and pl. I) (= Irigoin, 'Les ambassadeurs').
127. See Balayé, *La Bibliothèque*, 34.
128. *Ibid.* According to Balayé, it was de Selve who persuaded Vergikios to move from Venice to the French court.
129. Pellicier had instructed the King's envoy in Constantinople, Antoine Rinçon, to track down and buy manuscripts for the Royal Library: his letter is reproduced in Delisle, *Le Cabinet*, 156-157. On Pellicier's library see H. Omont, 'Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de Guillaume Pellicier, évêque de Montpellier, ambassadeur de François I^{er} à Venise', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 46 (1885) 46-83, 594-624.
130. See Omont, 'Catalogue des manuscrits...'; V; Irigoin, 'Les ambassadeurs', 400.
131. See C. Samaran and M.-L. Concasty, 'Christophe Auer copiste de grec et de latin au XVI^e siècle', *Scriptorium* 23 (1969) 199-214 and pls. 61-62.
132. Fondulo was born at Cremona and studied Greek with Markos Mousouros at Padua before going on to teach Greek himself in Venice from 1518: see Irigoin, 'Les ambassadeurs', 401-402.
133. Francesco was the son of Aldus's business partner Andrea d'Asola. This information about him is published by Omont ('Catalogue des manuscrits...', Letter VI, 15th Feb. 1542). See also Irigoin, 'Les ambassadeurs', 402; Omont, 'Catalogue des manuscrits...', 45-83, 594-624.
134. See Irigoin, 'Les ambassadeurs', 404.

135. See Balayé, *La Bibliothèque*, 35.
136. Imprimés, Rés. Vélin 734. See also Ursula Baurmeister – Marie-Pierre Laffitte, *Des livres et des Rois. La bibliothèque royale de Blois*, Bibliothèque Nationale 1992, 230-231 (58).
137. See Balayé, *La Bibliothèque*, 36; Delisle, *Le Cabinet*, 171. One of the manuscripts from the Beaujeu collection was a codex of Flavius Josephus with illuminations by Fouquet.
138. See Balayé, 'La naissance', 77.
139. See H. Lemaître, *Histoire du Dépôt légal*, 1^{er} partie, Paris, A. Picard et fils, 1910; R. Estivals, *Le Dépôt légal sous l'Ancien Régime, de 1537 à 1791*, Paris, M. Rivière, 1961.
140. See Balayé, 'La naissance', 80.
141. See Balayé, 'La naissance', 80.
142. See Balayé, *La Bibliothèque*, 33, 41.
143. Funeral oration for François I, in Pierre Galland, *Petri Castellani vita*, 221; see also Delisle, *Le Cabinet*, 179.
144. See I. Gersonius, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. P. Glorieux, 10 vols., Paris 1960-1973; D. Luscombe, 'H Μεσαιωνική Σκέψη' (= *Medieval Thought*, tr. Ch. Gemeliaris), Athens, Polytropon, 2007, 233-237; and generally Ch. H. Lohr, *Latin Aristotle Commentaries. II Renaissance Authors*, Firenze, L.S. Olschki, 1988.
145. See Luscombe, 'H Μεσαιωνική Σκέψη', 233-234.
146. See generally Z. Kaluza, *Les Querelles doctrinales à Paris: Nominalistes et réalistes aux confins du XIV^e et du XV^e siècle*, Bergamo, Pierluigi Lubrina Editore, 1988.
147. On Argyropoulos see A. della Torre, *Storia dell'Accademia Platonica di Firenze*, Firenze 1902, 468-478; C. Frati, 'Le traduzioni Aristoteliche di G. Argyropulo e un'antica legatura Medicea', *La Bibliofilia* 1-3 (1917) 1-25. On George of Trebizond see J. Monfasani, *George of Trebizond: A Biography and a Study of his Rhetoric and Logic*, Leiden 1976.
148. See GW 2359, 2362, 2364, 2366.
149. See Lisa Jardine, 'Humanistic Logic', in *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. C.B. Schmitt et al., Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988, 173-198.
150. See Luscombe, 'H Μεσαιωνική Σκέψη...', 250.
151. See Renaudet, *Préréforme*, 90 ff.
152. Aristotle's *Poetica* was first published in print by Aldus in 1508 in an edition which also contained the *Rhetorica*, which he had not included in his five-volume edition of 1495-1498: see Renouard, 54-45 (4); Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce*, 312-316.
153. See GW II, Sp. 561 (unverified) and Sp. 578 (unverified).
154. See GW 2392, 2396.
155. See GW 2362.
156. See GW 2359.
157. See GW 2375, 2377, 2378, 2381.
158. See GW 2497.
159. See GW II, Sp. 644 (unverified).
160. See GW 2480.
161. See GW 2461, 2475, 2476, 2477.
162. See GW 2486, 2489.
163. See M. Flodr, *Incunabula Classicorum. Wiegendrucke der griechischen und römischen Literatur*, Amsterdam, Verlag Adolf M. Hakkert, 1973, 39-42.
164. See Flodr, *Incunabula...*, 45-47.
165. The first of these editions was printed by Guillermus de Bosco in 1494 (GW 5526) and edited by Ludovicus Bochin.
166. See GW 5618, 5620.
167. See GW 5772, 5773, GW V, Sp. 662; and on Buridan see E. Faral, 'Jean Buridan', in *Histoire littéraire de la France* 38, Paris 1949, 462-605.
168. On Lefèvre see p. 184.

169. See Flodr, *Incunabula...*, 50-51.
170. *Ibid.*, 64-65.
171. *Ibid.*, 68-70.
172. See V. Scholderer, 'General Introduction', in *BMC* VIII, XIV-XV.
173. See L. Febvre – H.J. Martin, *L'Apparition du livre*, Paris, Éditions Albin Michel, 1958, 266-267.
174. *Ibid.*, 270-271.
175. On Parisian libraries in the sixteenth century see Doucet, *Les Bibliothèques*; Schutz, *Vernacular Books...*; H.J. Martin, 'Ce qu'on lisait à Paris au XVI^e siècle', *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et Renaissance* XXI (1959) 222-230; Id., 'Livres et société', in R. Chartier and H.J. Martin et al. (ed.), *Histoire de l'édition française* I, 542-561.
176. See A. Labarre, *Le livre dans la vie aménoise du XVI^e siècle. L'enseignement des inventaires après décès (1503-1576)*, Paris/Louvain 1971.
177. See Doucet, *Les Bibliothèques*; Schutz, *Vernacular Books...*; Aquilon, 'Petites et moyennes...', *HBF* II, 181-205.
178. See F. Lehoux, *Le Cadre de vie des médecins parisiens aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles*, Paris, Picard, 1976, 462-512; Aquilon, 'Petites et moyennes...', *HBF* II, 181.
179. See Martin, 'Livres et société', 543.
180. *Ibid.*, 544.
181. *GW* 345.
182. *GW* 2392.
183. *GW* 2807.
184. *GW* 5876.
185. *GW* 6716, 6779.
186. On the first Parisian edition brought out by Gering, Grantz and Friburger, see *Census* V, 155.
187. See Martin, 'Livres et société', 544.
188. *Ibid.*
189. This was a satirical work by the German poet who specialized in didactic verse. Within a year of its publication, *Ship of Fools* had raised Brant to the status of Germany's 'national poet'. The *editio princeps* came out in 1494.
190. See Martin, 'Livres et société', 544.
191. See Dominique Coq, 'Les incunables: textes anciens, textes nouveaux', in *Histoire de l'édition française* I, 180-183.
192. See pp. 126 and 157 ff.
193. See K. Haebler, 'Schriftguss und Schrifthandel in der Frühdruckzeit', *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 41 (1924) 81-104.
194. See *Charta* I, 229, 344.
195. See Renouard, *Bibliographie...*, vol. 3, New York, Burt Franklin, 1963, 59.
196. See E. Coyecque, *Recueil d'actes notariés relatifs à l'histoire de Paris et de ses environs au XVI^e siècle, 1498-1545*, 2 vols., Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1905-1929, I, no. 1262.

V

AN APOSTLE
OF
HUMANISTIC IDEAS
FROM THE NORTH: ERASMUS



1. Erasmus as depicted in an engraving by Albrecht Dürer.

AN APOSTLE OF HUMANISTIC IDEAS FROM THE NORTH: ERASMUS

*Retracing the map of printing and books
in the context of the Reformation*

Erasmus. Erasmus is considered the foremost exponent of the so-called Christian humanism – he may well be described as the person who above all cultivated the idea of unifying ancient culture with the Bible and Christian piety. Here we will approach him as an apostle of the relationship between Graeco-Roman and Christian books, as exemplified in two of his works: the *Adagia* (*Proverbs*) and the edition of the New Testament in the original Greek.

Erasmus's library has been revealed, i.e. the books in his possession around the time of his death are known, and its contents have been assessed.¹ Therefore, here we will attempt to trace his career as writer and editor through the manuscripts, the printed texts and, in general, the material he had at his disposal to accomplish his authorial vision. This veritable intellectual treasure had come into his possession in various ways: through visits to private, university and monastic libraries, his own autographs, copies he commissioned from copyists, copies of editions he himself had edited and books that he had received as gifts or loans from members of the humanist community all over Europe.

Through this approach we will have the opportunity to become acquainted with the intellectual currents of the era, which contributed to the formulation of his singular humanistic thinking, and we will identify – Erasmus himself will reveal them – the teachers that paved the way he was to tread in attempting to reconcile secular and Christian literature. This bookish peregrination unfolds in Central Europe, its epicentre being Paris; it stretches to the intellectual centres of England, ending up at the Holy See, and crosses through the most important scholarly centres of Italy: Venice and, above all, Padua.²

Erasmus was born in Rotterdam in 1469; he received his basic education in a small school in the city of Gouda and a few years later he continued his studies at the school of Utrecht cathedral.³ In 1475 his parents entrusted him to the College of the Brethren of the Common Life (*Fratres Vitae Communis*) at Deventer, whose members originally attempted to get their intellectual bearings through the Patristic

texts, finally arriving at ancient Greek and Roman literature.⁴ This current was unrelated to the Church and the Scholastic tradition, for it had aligned the existential philosophy of its exponents with a world-view promoting humility, whence their appellation: *devotio moderna*. Erasmus stayed with them for a number of years, suffering under the strict discipline imposed by Geert Groote (1340-1384), the person who had inspired this movement.⁵ Following his experience of Deventer, he came into indirect contact with Italian humanist culture, when he met two members of early humanism of the North returning from the intellectual centres of Italy: Rudolphus Agricola and Alexander de Heek (Hegius).⁶

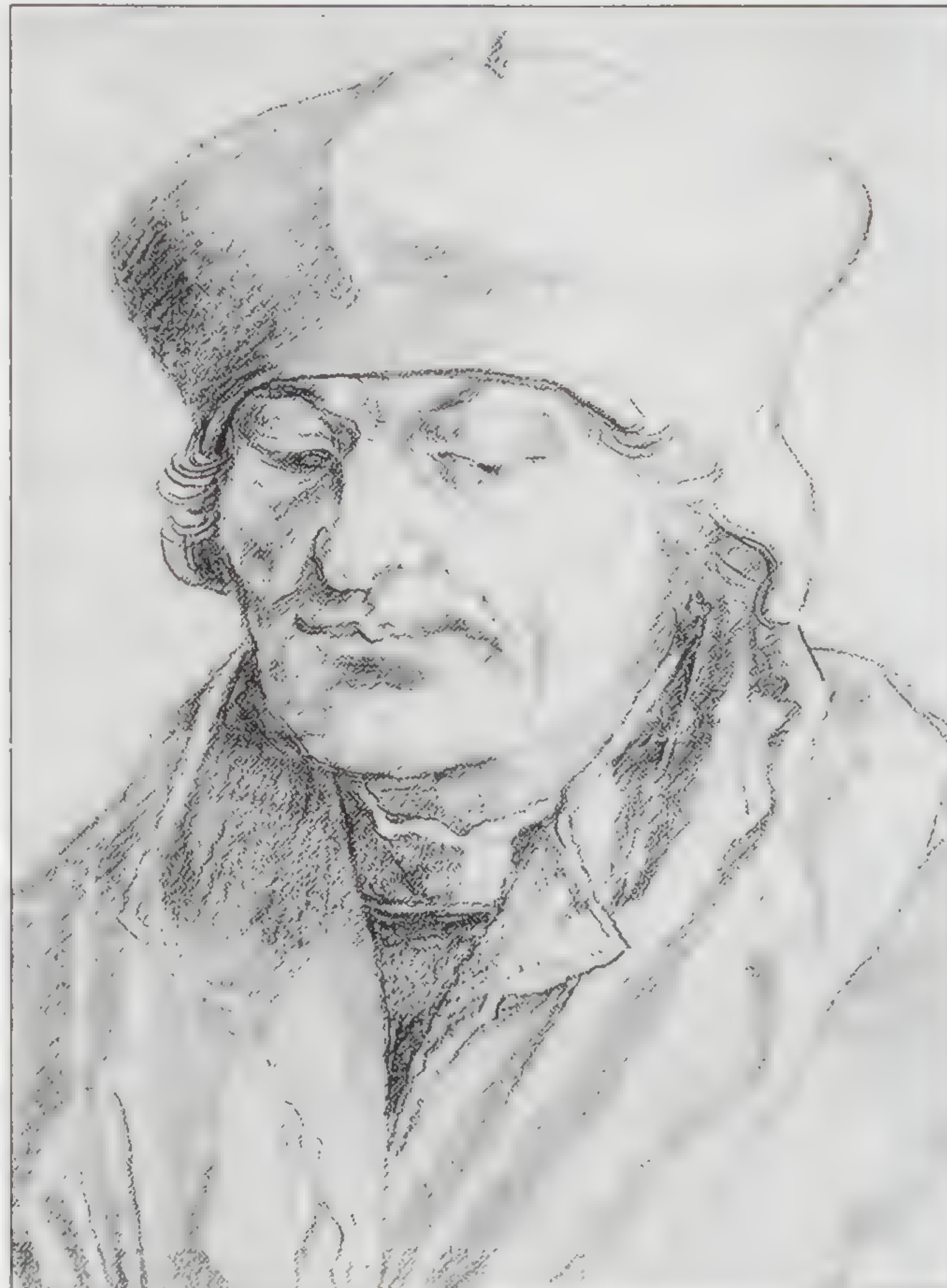
An early reference by Erasmus to the world of books is found in his letter to Petrus Winckel, where he advises him not to sell his manuscripts.⁷ Erasmus's letters to the poet and theologian Corneille Gérard contain extensive references to the books in his possession which supported his studies. These letters reveal his preferences in poetry and prose – Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Juvenal, Statius, Martial, Lucan, Tibullus, Persius and Claudian, as well as Cicero, Sallust, Quintilian and Terence (his comedies circulated in prose form as well) are mentioned. In terms of the grammatical rules that defined Latin style, as Erasmus himself confessed, he considered Lorenzo Valla's *Elegantiae* to be in a class of its own.⁸

Erasmus was not only knowledgeable about the Latin poets and prose writers; the Greek quotations Cicero's works were laced with, like the *Ad familiares*, incited him to study Greek. In a letter he wrote from Steyn to an unnamed friend, possibly in 1489, he mentions Aeschines, Socrates's pupil, which implies that he had in his possession a copy of Diogenes Laertius's *Vitae et sententiae philosophorum*.⁹ By ca. 1472, the Latin translation of the *Vitae* by Ambrogio Traversari had been printed in Rome by Georgius Lauer.¹⁰ Through this work, Erasmus became acquainted with the ancient philosophers and for the first time he read the maxims and adages that defined their views, as well as the titles of the works attributed to them; he was enchanted by the 'divine' Plato, whom he often described as 'the great'.¹¹

It is almost certain that the recipients of his letters, as well as an entire circle of people cultivating humanistic learning, exchanged books, thus creating a *common library*. In one letter (Steyn, early 1494 perhaps) Willem Hermansz lets Gérard know that in response to the latter's request he is sending him a copy of Thucydides and also mentions a further dispatch of a work by George of Trebizond. Perhaps this is Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, translated by George of Trebizond, printed in Paris in 1475.¹² In another of his letters (Steyn, 1494), Hermansz mentions Plato; his library obviously contained Plato's collected works in Ficino's translation (Florence, 1485), or the philosopher's *Letters* in Bruni's translation (Paris, ca. 1474), possibly

even *The Apology of Socrates*, printed in Bologna in *ca.* 1475, translated by Bruni as well, and accompanied by the dialogue *Gorgias*.¹³

In 1495 Erasmus travelled for the first time to Paris, where he soon began frequenting the circles of the humanists that had crossed the Alps in order to cultivate classical learning in the reign of Charles VIII and Louis XII. Girolamo Balbi, Fausto Andrelini, Filippo Beroaldo, Cornelio Vitelli, and others were representatives of this community. Erasmus entered the intellectual circles of the Sorbonne and became connected mainly with Robert Gaguin, who initiated him into Florentine Neoplatonic mysticism which the master himself had had inculcated in him by Ficino and Pico della Mirandola.¹⁴ At the start, Gaguin sought to impose on Parisian intellectuals a new way of approaching theology, based on the spirit of Platonism and the followers of the Alexandrian School.¹⁵ Erasmus chose to have Gaguin evaluate his first original work, which he named *Antibarbari*.¹⁶ The master approved his pupil's work, noting at the same time that it would bring him into conflict with all those wishing to impede the growth of humanist studies. At that time Erasmus was but an undistinguished scholar and poet, originating from the faraway North; his first steps in the world of the printed book involved the publication of small collections of poems he had composed in Holland and Paris.¹⁷ At that time, in *ca.* 1497, he dedicated himself to the study of philosophy, under the guidance of the foremost exponent of French international humanism, J. Lefèvre d'Étaples.¹⁸ Lefèvre's philosophical exhortations, influenced by Neoplatonic thinking (he had for many years associated with Ficino and Pico in Florence) aroused in him an interest in Italy as a country steeped in ancient, primarily Greek, wisdom, but with Christian facets and undertones. To actively follow this calling, however, he had to be equally versed in the two classical languages; thus he turned to the only master who could teach him Greek in Paris, Georgios Hermonymos. This attempt was not particularly successful, as Erasmus himself admits.¹⁹



2. A portrait of Erasmus signed by Albrecht Dürer, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris, Musée du Louvre.

A new chapter in Erasmus's life began in 1497, when he was entrusted with teaching Latin to two members of the English nobility studying in Paris, Thomas Grey and Robert Fisher. For them he wrote two grammar textbooks: *De conscribendis epistolis* and *De ratione studii*.²⁰ Following a short trip to Holland, he returned to Paris in 1499 and prepared to accompany Anna de Veere and her son to Italy. Yet, instead of travelling southwards, he crossed the English Channel accompanying a young English pupil of his, William Blount, a member of the influential Mountjoy family.²¹ In this new environment he received the generous hospitality of the Mountjoys at their prosperous estate in Greenwich, and decided to go up to Oxford University. He entered the College of St. Mary, an establishment for students of the Augustinian order, and attended the lectures of John Colet.²² Under this inspired mentor he became well versed in virtually every aspect of Italian humanistic philosophy; this master-pupil relationship was to prove lifelong.

Following an educational tour of Italy, Colet had returned to England having been taught much by studying ancient poetry under Politian, as well as under Ficino, Pico and Savonarola. He was particularly attracted to Ficino's mysticism and the teaching of Platonic philosophy, as well as to the views of the Neoplatonist School, considering their approach as an ideal starting point for bridging ancient thought with Christian theology. These were the courses Colet taught at Magdalen College, focused on the teachings of St. Paul, which he approached using purely philological criteria.²³

Not content with the little Greek he had been taught by Hermonymos, Erasmus turned to William Grocyn, who had studied in Italy under Demetrios Chalkokondyles, seeking to perfect his grasp of the language.²⁴ Grocyn had been teaching Greek language and literature at Oxford since 1491. Colet's environment included Thomas Linacre, an associate of Aldus in the *editio princeps* of Aristotle's works (1495-1498); he was distinguished for his studies on medical science, and had formed a small nucleus of humanists at Oxford, which proved invaluable in Erasmus's intellectual development.²⁵ During that period Erasmus also met the young Thomas More. The two became close friends and together they helped shape the humanist movement in the North.

He left England and in February of 1500 he spent a short time in Paris, from where he returned full of excitement, with his first original piece of work in his luggage, the *Enchiridion* (modelled on that of St. Augustine) and a commentary on St. Paul's *Epistles*, which was based on Colet's lectures.²⁶ His essay was warmly received by the Oxford scholars; they also suggested that, before becoming involved with the patristic works and holy scriptures in general, he should study

classical literature in greater depth, a piece of advice he took to heart.²⁷ It was then he conceived of the idea of composing a collection of Greek and Roman proverbs, maxims and adages dealing with a broad range of issues relating to the philosophy of life.²⁸ His circle received this publishing initiative with great enthusiasm, and Linacre informed him that Polydorus Virgilius from Urbino had in 1498 already published an anthology of proverbs – of no great pretensions – entitled *Proverbiorum Libellus*. Apparently Linacre was unaware of Benedictus Ricardinus's edition of Zenobius (Florence, 1497), which Erasmus mentions in 1513.²⁹

The Dutch scholar crossed the English Channel again and headed for Paris, where he started working on his project: he studied his favourite authors and consulted his notes; Gaguin entrusted him with codices, a copy of Macrobius as well as texts containing epitomes of works by Italian literary authors and rhetoric textbooks, such as George of Trebizond's *Rhetorica* and Lorenzo Valla's *Disputationes dialecticae*.³⁰ Erasmus calculated that if his publishing project were to be successful he would travel to Bologna to acquire the degree of Doctor of Divinity, a qualification that was essential for the polemic he was preparing to launch against conservative theologians and the religious establishment in general.³¹



3. A variant of J. Froben's classic printer's mark, used in his edition of Erasmus's *Institutio Principis Christiani*, Basel 1519.

The first edition of the *Adagia* was published in 1500, entitled *Adagiorum Collectanea*; it was printed in Paris by Gaspard Philippe and reprinted without additions in 1505.³² Of all the subsequent reissues, none featured a more informative introductory note than the one addressed by Erasmus to William Blount, Lord Mountjoy.³³ There he relates in detail the project's philosophical underpinnings and the preparatory work for the edition. He opens his prologue by describing his troubles to Mountjoy, for he was plagued by ill health and lacked even the strength to hold a book. Nonetheless, he heeded the exhortations of Pliny, who considered any activity other than studying

to be a waste of time;³⁴ he would not allow his illness to get in the way of his plans. 'Accordingly, laying aside all serious labours, and indulging in a more dainty kind of study, I strolled through the gardens provided by various authors, culling as I went the adages most remarkable for their antiquity and excellence, like so many flowers of various sorts, of which I have made a nosegay.'

'I was induced to undertake the work partly by your own wish, which was seconded by Prior [Richard] Charnock; and partly by thoughts of humankind, the Godhead's eternity, humanism and integrity. Similar virtues I descry in a veritable jewel of the English nobility, that is in you, Sir. Therefore I judged that my labour, if not productive of glory to the author, might at any rate be neither unprofitable nor displeasing to readers. Adages hold great power, whether one supports their import or uses them as a means for defence in an oral disputation, or as a springboard for justifying one's opinions. In support of my thinking, please allow me to stress here that persons pre-eminent in humankind's intellectual pantheon sought answers in adages and embellished their works with them. Is there a scholar in this world worthy to compare with Plato's eloquence, a specimen more divine than his philosophy? By heaven, how many proverbs and maxims there are, like little stars, embellishing his dialogues!'

Erasmus then names and extols the major exponents of Roman comedy, mentioning examples he had come across in their works, which are often used as formulaic expressions for people and things. He mentions Plautus, Terence and Varro and, among other things, he notes that many of Horace's verses read like proverbs. He also mentions Martial and Ausonius, as well as Pliny the Elder, whose *Historia Naturalis* abounds in proverbs and maxims. 'You should also consider,' he stresses to Mountjoy, 'the fact that most Greek authors have composed and compiled collections of proverbs to this end, like, for instance, Michael Apostoles,³⁵ Stephanos of Byzantium³⁶ and Diogenianus.³⁷ I am familiar with their works, however, only through references, save a few fragments of the last named, and these mutilated and lacking any indication of authorship and bibliographical references, which renders them almost worthless.

'Of the Latin writers none, to my knowledge, cared to compose a similar work, not because they deemed such an undertaking of no value, but because they knew that proverbs in collections are not enough; their deeper meaning needs to be revealed and commented upon – this can be usually summed up in just two words,

4. Erasmus composing the *Adagia*. H. Holbein's marginal drawing from an edition of Erasmus's *Stultitiae Laus* (In Praise of Folly), Basel 1515.

inccū
s sem/
stultis
mmo-
theum
& pro/
arsum
ntes q/
uū ha/
ū. Sed
Erasmi
ut ad
rem

mundus fecit sapientem esse. Et
e cicutā, quoniā bibens mortuus
m mortuus est. Aeschilo scriben-
ens uua, suffocatus perijt. Canes
Homerū fames confecit. Timo-
omniū fortunā illimus, de q̄ Suii
ζωγράφοι κοιμώμενοι, καὶ τὰς τύ-
χαις αὐτὰς, αἰνιττόμενοι πλὴν ἐνδαι-
μότιμος θεός, ἔφη αὐτὴ εἶναι μάλλον, ἢ
ὄρεμ, νεμεσησάσης αὐτῶν τὴν τύχην. i.
ormientē, & fortunas ferentes ipsi

nes, triste i fere habul
isse exitū, idignatus
scripsit, Σωκράτῳ ὁ
κόσμος πεποίηκε σο-
φὸν εἶναι καὶ κακῶς
ἀνέλετ' ἄρ' Σωκράτῳ ὁ
κόσμος ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ
καὶ κώνειον ὅτι πῶν τέ-
θνηκεν πρὸ λύπης αὐτὸν
γὰρ ὁ διογύνης ὠμὸν
τέθνηκεν Αἰσχύλῳ γὰρ
φροντὶ ἐπιπῶν ἔπλωκε Χε-
λῶν Σοφοκλῆς, ῥάστα
φαγὼν σαφυλῆς πνι-
γείς τέθνηκε Κῶες οἱ
κατὰ Δράκλῳ, εὐριπύ-
δην ἔξω γὰρ τὸν θεῖον

Dum ad hunc locum pui-
niebat Erasmus, se pueri
sic videns exclamavit, Oh
oh, Si Erasmus adhuc ta-
lis esset, duceret profecti-
mox.



otherwise the task is pointless. For instance, sometimes we have a *sardonic grin* on our faces. How many times has this phrase, which one finds in Cicero's *Letters*, been misinterpreted, leading commentators into a maze of errors? And we, as Christians, come across proverbs and adages in many of the works of Jerome, who is pre-eminent for his erudition; in fact these are more numerous than what we find when browsing through Menander's comedies. Allow me, for example, to mention the following: "Send the ox to school", "the Christian Epicurus", "the Aristarchus of our era".

'These adages adorn texts as sayings referring to the Delphic oracle. By word of mouth they passed into oral tradition and were celebrated in popular verse; they were carved on temple pediments; and they can be found all over Greece inscribed on marble and bronze stelae set up as public monuments: "Know thyself", "What transcends us is none of our concern". Even in the Apostolic Epistles and in the Gospels themselves we often find proverbs, such as: "The dog is turned to his own vomit again" (2 Peter, 2:22), "We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced" (Matthew, 11:17). It remains for me, I believe, to record the method I employed in compiling an anthology without precedent.

'The title of the *Adagia* implies that I have followed a mechanical method, collecting the maximum number of proverbs in accordance with lexicographical principles – proverbs like the following: 'Quot homines, tot sententiae'; however, this was not my rationale while compiling my material, for I do not believe that each axiom corresponds to one proverb, just as each proverb is not necessarily an axiom. Secondly, I should add here that I did not allow the sayings, whether assimilated into colloquial speech or borrowed from the world of theatre or extracted from wise people's maxims, to carry me away indiscriminately; on the contrary I heeded the following Greek dictum: 'Not everything, nor everywhere, nor from any source'.

'We have sent out these pages to make a trial, with small expense and risk, what is likely to be the fate of a new work.... My aim was to illustrate to readers the immense importance of the resurgence of a literary tradition of this kind. Allow me here to clarify this: any one that will point out our mistakes, if in kindness, shall receive our thanks, if in malice, shall still be heard; while he who blames what he does not understand, will be met by the Apellean adage, "Let the cobbler stick to his last." There are some, who will not find in it anything to their taste; it is not written for them.'

'You have here, dearest William, an Epistle verbose and proverbious, being all about proverbs. We only fear we have forgotten one time-honoured adage, "Not too much of any thing!"'

The tradition of compiling collections of maxims, dicta and proverbs, the ‘sayings useful in life’, as they are called in the 1523 edition of the *Adagia*, takes us several centuries back and reveals the importance even the most eminent philosophers placed on anthologies of this sort. Aristotle himself composed a collection of proverbs whose fate remains unknown.³⁷ His student, Clearchus of Soli, followed his example,³⁸ as did Theophrastus, his successor in the Peripatetic School, who entitled his work *On Proverbs*.³⁹ The circle of philosophers that compiled such collections is completed with Chrysippus.⁴⁰ In the Alexandrian period, these compilations were collected for literary rather than philosophical reasons, like those that were preserved by Aristophanes of Byzantium, Didymus⁴¹ and Lucillus of Tarrha (Crete).⁴² These collections were very popular during the Second Sophistic, while they were used as examples in literary and rhetorical *gymnasmata* (exercises) by Lucian and Libanius.⁴³ In Erasmus’s time, the first to attempt to revive this literary tradition was Bessarion’s close friend and associate, Michael Apostoles. While visiting Rome, Michael promised the secretary of the Greek cardinal Gaspare Zacchi, Bishop of Osimo, that he would compile a collection of maxims and dicta from the ancient Greek authors.⁴⁴

Apostoles did indeed respond to Zacchi’s wish, and in 1471/72 he completed his compilation, which he entitled *Ionias*. He also sent a copy to Zacchi, expressing his intention of commenting on most of the proverbs, clarifying their authorship.⁴⁵ Apostoles’s death in *ca.* 1480 meant this publishing effort was left unfinished, and the manuscript was bequeathed to his son, Arsenius, who published the work in *ca.* 1519 at the Quirinal Hill printing press, Rome, under the title *Apophthegmata*.⁴⁶

The first printed edition of Greek proverbs dates to 1497; it was printed in Florence by Benedictus Ricardinus on Filippo Giunta’s behalf. This is an epitome of proverbs and maxims collected by Didymus and Lucillus of Tarrha.⁴⁷ Didymus is none other than the so-called ‘Chalcenterus’ (‘Bronze-guts’) and the proverbs he collected were soon to become a textbook for future generations.⁴⁸

In the preface to the *Adagia* Erasmus also launches an attack against scholastic philosophers and theologians, charging them with ignorance, for they are unaware of the wisdom and the moral precepts contained in maxims, apophthegms and dicta. He also stresses that these sayings shaped numerous generations of people brought up in the Graeco-Roman tradition: they were known to the prophets and apostles and to Jesus Christ himself, as attested by his parables. After this publication, Erasmus comes to the fore on the scene of Italian humanism; in the lines of the above-mentioned preface he also discusses his first mentors who instilled the humanist ideals in him, Agricola and de Heek. Ermolao Barbaro, Pico and Politian

*Contemporary
 collections
 of proverbs*

also get a mention and the latter is also praised for his discerning work, *Miscellanea*.⁴⁹ In the same year, 1501, he published Cicero's *De officiis*, thus contributing further to the general tendency to unify ancient wisdom with Christian faith.⁵⁰

Collecting such important and widely-dispersed material for the *Adagia* presupposes the existence of or access to rich and varied libraries, a fact about which Erasmus is not very forthcoming. In his correspondence he implies that his friends, and perhaps his followers, had created a common library of sorts, for they borrowed manuscripts and printed books from each other, while other members of this community of friends acted as intermediaries or 'booksellers', promoting his publications in the various cities where the recipients of his letters lived – Gouda, Steyn, Paris, Oxford, Brussels, Lopsen, Basel, Orléans. For instance, in a letter to Willem Hermansz he asks for the return of a copy of Valla's *Elegantiae*, or at least its third volume, if it has already been copied.⁵¹ In a letter addressed again to a resident of Lübeck, dated 1498, he mentions an Antwerp bookseller who delayed dispatching Erasmus's order.⁵² Erasmus turned to Gaguin to borrow George of Trebizond's *Rhetorica* for a few days⁵³; to Augustin Vincent he sent a manuscript containing passages from Homer's work.⁵⁴ In 1499 he wrote to his friend Jacob Batt from Paris that, together with other manuscript material, he is sending him his essays *De Copia*, *De Amplificationibus*, *De Argumentationibus* and *De Schematis*; as these are school textbooks, Erasmus writes, 'I dedicate these to you and your children.'⁵⁵

He left Paris and headed for Holland, ending up at Louvain, where he continued to widen his knowledge of Greek letters; he studied Euripides and Isocrates, as well as the Greek texts of the Psalms and the New Testament.⁵⁶ During his stay there, from 1502 to 1504, he turned down an offer for the Chair of Literature, believing it would not be wise to become embroiled in feuds in the bastion of scholasticism. He also set about learning Hebrew and studied in depth Origen's original works and the hermeneutical approach to the Bible based on philological principles, but also on the spirituality these texts exude.⁵⁷ In the context of these pursuits he published an essay on the Christian's inward life, written when he was staying near St. Omer and entitled *Enchiridion militis christiani* (*Handbook of the Christian Soldier*), Antwerp, 1504.⁵⁸

In 1504 Erasmus discovered a manuscript containing Lorenzo Valla's *Annotations on the New Testament* in the library of the Premonstratensian Abbaye du Parc near Louvain and, having recently re-read the same author's *Disputationes dialecticae*, he detected erroneous translations of passages from the Gospels, attributable to misinterpretations and copyists' errors.⁵⁹ In this context he taught young schol-

ars the art of emending corrupted passages with the aid of textual scholarship so as to conform to the true spirit of the holy scriptures. From that moment, he became devoted to revealing the inconsistencies and errors contained in the relevant manuscripts, drawing attention to the variant readings and deploring the inability of medieval theologians to read Greek in the original, without sparing even the most prominent of them, including Thomas Aquinas. This activity resulted in the publication of *Laurentii Vallensis... in latinam Novi Testamenti interpretationem ... Annotationes* (Valla's comments on the Latin text of the New Testament) dated 1505,

et interrogate diligenter de puero εἴ ἐστ' ἄσ' αὐτὲ ἀκριβοῦς quod transferri poterat pfecti iuestiga-
 te vel rimamini vel exquirite vt mox facit interpretes. Secundum tempus quod exquisierat a magis
 ἢ ἀκριβοῦς magos nō esse maleficos illos qui a iure dānant cū xenophon platoq; et alii multi osten-
 dunt sed sacrificulos ac religiosos. Tū herodotus gentē quandā Medorū esse tradit & vnū illorū
 occupasse regnū pfarū etiā viuēte Cambyse: quē septē persæ falso se Cābyfis fratrem esse dicentē &
 regno & vita priuauēr. quod etiā hieronym' sup danielē docet iquies. Cōsuetudo at & sermo cōis
 magos p maleficiis accipit qui aliter hñt apud gētē suā eo q; philosophi caldeorū & ad artis huius
 scientiam periti reges quoq; et principes eiusdem gentis hæc omnia faciunt vnde In natiuitate do-
 mini saluatoris ipsi primum ortum eius intellexerunt. Et intrantes domum iuenerunt puerum cū
 maria matre eius. Non est græce intrantes sed venientes in domum quasi venientes ad domum ne
 videantur quod absint intrando irrupisse in domum ε λθόντες εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν cum maria ma-
 tre sua dicendum erat quoniam reciprocum est. Sed græca vox deceptit iterpretem vt aliis quibus-
 dam locis quæ annotabo. Et apertis thesauris suis Thesaurus græcum nomen est non tractum ab
 auro. Ideoq; legim' thesauros niuis i lob et in plauto thesaurum auri q; videlicet possit esse & alia-
 rum quoq; rerum. Infinita sunt apud græcos exempla. q̄q; etiam ex hoc palam est q; si thesauris ma-
 gorum mirra et tus. Nec inficior raro sic apud nos vsurpari. Sed vt paulus iurisconsultus diffinit
 inquiens thesaurum esse veterem quandam depositionem pecuniæ. Et procidentes adorauerunt
 eum μετ' οὗτος græce est cadētes siue lapsi. quemadmodum et apud lucam. et ecce vir nennis lea

5. Excerpt from L. Valla's, *In latinam Novi Testamenti interpretationem*, Paris, J. Bade, 1505.

which he dedicated to Christopher Fisher.⁶⁰ In terms of Erasmus's interventions with respect to the translation of the scriptures, and while the theologians informed him curtly that a mere grammarian was not in a position to emend Church texts, he suggested that ecclesiastical dignitaries should institute the systematic teaching of all three of the Bible's languages in the universities. Thus he conceived the idea of founding a trilingual college; this was initially founded in the Low Countries and then moved to England, ending up in 1530, during the reign of François I of France, as the Collège des Lecteurs Royaux (later Collège de France).⁶¹

After making it clear to the members of the Paris School that he felt himself to be a spiritual scion of Italian humanist philosophy, Erasmus left for England and made his way to the universities and colleges, where the courses on offer and his association with Colet kept opening new horizons for him.⁶² While he was serious-

ly considering a more permanent position at Cambridge, where the King's Mother Margaret had established Christ's College, he was given a good opportunity to visit Italy for the first time. Battista Boerio, a royal physician from Genoa, was in search of a suitable tutor to accompany his sons to the University of Bologna.⁶³ In early June of 1506, Erasmus returned to London and went south by way of Paris, crossing the Alps before the end of the summer. In the short time he spent in London, however, he was not idle: he revised two Latin translations of Euripides's *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia at Aulis* which he had edited at Louvain, and then he set about getting acquainted with Lucian's works. Lucian's ironic style was perfectly attuned to his tastes – he started translating *Toxaris* and (with More) *The Tyrannicide* into Latin.⁶⁴ The *editio princeps* of Euripides's tragedies had been published in Florence in ca. 1495, edited by Ianos Laskaris,⁶⁵ and the translation of *Hecuba* by Erasmus was first printed in 1543 at Paris; the translation of *Iphigenia at Aulis* was printed separately as late as 1618, at Hamburg.⁶⁶ The *editio princeps* of Lucian's *Dialogues of the Dead* was first published in Florence in 1496, again edited by Laskaris.⁶⁷ There had been Latin translations of Lucian in the incunabular period by Poggio, Lilius Castellanus, Rinucius and others,⁶⁸ but the translations of the parodies *Toxaris* and *The Tyrannicide* by Erasmus and More were never published in print.⁶⁹ Erasmus also translated *Timon, or The Misanthrope*, a text that attracted his attention because it underlined human weaknesses and the uncontrollable situations which result from excesses.⁷⁰ While in Paris waiting for the right conditions to travel to Italy, he turned to Lucian once more, translating *On Salaried Posts in Great Houses* and *Alexander, or the False Prophet*.⁷¹ More, meanwhile, also continued translating Lucian – *The Cynic*, *Menippus* and other works – in an attempt to approach ancient ethics.⁷²

No sooner had Erasmus set foot in Piedmont than he made his way to Bologna to receive a doctorate in Theology from the local university, so as to be accepted into the academic community.⁷³ Italy was no longer the hotbed of letters created by Ficino, Pico, Politian, Valla and the other literary scholars and philosophers in the fifteenth century; others now had moved in and cultivated humanist learning, but they were not on a par with the old guard. The Platonist Academy in Florence had begun to decline, and as a result Averroism experienced a revival and continued thriving for another full century in the University of Padua – in fact until Cremonini's death, in 1613. His experience of Italian scholarly works did not alter his basic intellectual bearings, nor did he abandon his plans to publish the New Testament in the original Greek. He was fully aware, however, that the translations of Euripides and Lucian had not given him a firm enough grounding to tackle more

demanding Greek texts, and so during his stay in Italy he decided to delve deeper into the study of Greek. The only person who could teach him Greek, following Filippo Beroaldo's death, was Paolo Bombasio, who taught at the University of Bologna and was considered the most competent of the Italian Hellenists. Erasmus did not attend his lectures as a simple student, but became his friend; together they would avidly study Greek texts; Bombasio reviewed the Latin translations of Euripides and revised the text of the *Anti-barbari*. The revision of these works led to new editions of Euripides (which had been printed with errors by Josse Bade) and of the *Adagia*, which by now had acquired the form of a valuable and voluminous tome in which the whole of Graeco-Roman wisdom was condensed.⁷⁴

Before leaving Italy, he decided to republish these two works at Aldus's print house in Venice; he and Manutius therefore exchanged letters in 1507 and Erasmus sent him samples of his work, i.e. the translations of Euripides's tragedies.⁷⁵ In the letter accompanying the samples he cites the names of the most prominent English humanists who had approved his translation and were members of Aldus's milieu: Grocyn, Linacre, Latimer and Tunstall. He also mentioned to Aldus the republication of the *Adagia*; as his intentions were to present an edition as complete as possible, he made his way to Venice, hoping to draw material from the city's rich and famous libraries. He arrived in Venice in the very month in which the Aldine printing house republished Euripides's works in Greek.

The printing house of Aldus Manutius was the hub of intellectual life in Venice; it was the most important publishing house in Europe, maintaining a dominant place at the Frankfurt Book Fair.⁷⁶ Erasmus immediately joined Aldus's publishing venture and Aldus spared no effort to aid him in adding to the collection of the *Adagia*, even by making his personal library available to Erasmus, a gesture imitated by all his close associates and the major representatives of Greek letters in Italy and the West in general, like Ianos Laskaris, Markos Mousouros, Demetrios Doukas and the Hellenists Battista Egnazio and Fra Urbano Bolzanio,



6. Erasmus. Engraving signed by E. Scriven, after a portrait of the scholar by G. Penn. U.K. Royal Collection, Windsor.

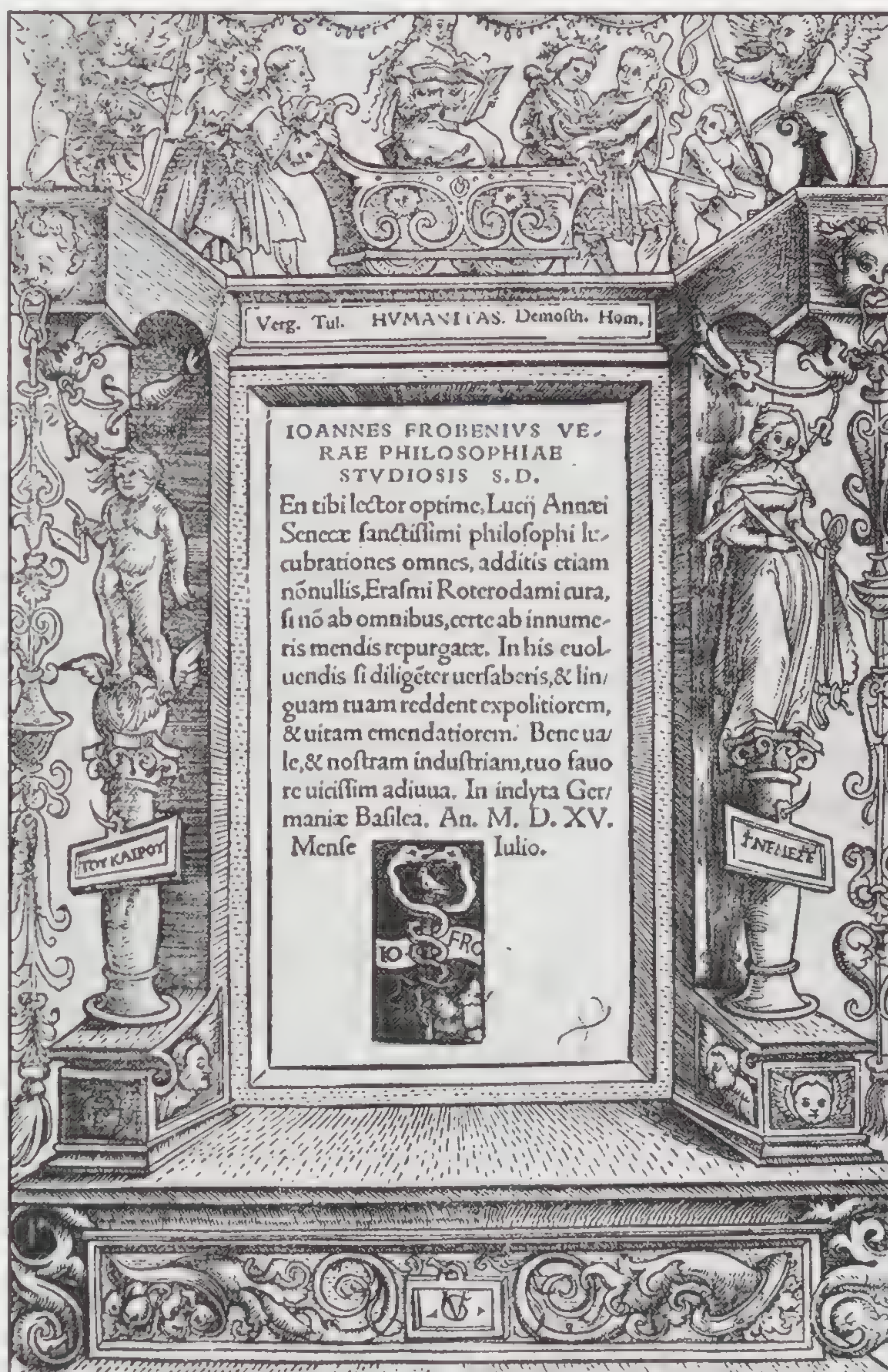
both of whom possessed valuable collections of manuscripts and first editions.⁷⁷ We should not forget that Mousouros had edited for Aldus the *editio princeps* of Aristophanes's comedies and the *Letters of Philosophers...* and was familiar with the background of surviving Greek literature, as was Laskaris.⁷⁸ Erasmus, who had enriched his collection of proverbs with the aid of the notes he kept during his studies in Bologna, speaks of the important role played by the collection of maxims of Michael Apostoles, which was later published in Rome by his son Arsenios, himself a long-time associate of Aldus.⁷⁹ Among the books offered to Erasmus to deepen his knowledge were Plato's collected works, which were only published in the original as late as 1513, Plutarch's *Lives* and *Moralia*, Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (it had been omitted from the 1495-1498 *editio princeps*), Hesiod's epic poems, Pindar's *Odes*, Theocritus's pastoral idylls and Pausanias's *Description of Greece*. The knowledge Erasmus acquired by studying under Europe's scholarly élite, his persistence in delving into an incredibly wide array of knowledge on secular and Christian literature, as well as his ventures into authorship with the publication of the *Enchiridion* and his edition of Valla's *Annotationes*, afforded him the confidence he sought. The entries in the *Adagia* are accompanied by comments and supplemented by his personal notes where he often expounds on philosophical issues. Thus, Erasmus was not content to accompany the maxims and dicta with grammatical and philological observations, but with a steady hand he records his personal views and opinions on the works and days of members of the human society. Writing with zest and no axe to grind, he enjoyed recounting his experiences and impressions which reveal the manifold nature of human thought and behaviour. By now he had become the undisputed international exponent of the humanist spirit, even before the release of his edition of the New Testament. The *Adagia* had become a gospel of wisdom and a forerunner to Montaigne's *Essays*.⁸⁰

Aldus himself withheld nothing of the precious and varied material he had in his library: letters, codices and printed texts which supported his publishing venture. Erasmus acknowledged his debt to him and his associates, who aided him in his editorial work, in the note accompanying the proverb *Festina lente*. He avows that without the help of these persons, the *Adagia* would have been much less complete.⁸¹ He mentions I. Laskaris, Mousouros, Egnazio and Bolzanio.⁸² We know that the Dutch scholar had in his working library codices containing the above-mentioned works by Plato and Plutarch, Athenaeus's *Deipnosophists*, works by Aphthonius, Hermogenes's scholia on Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, Aelius Aristides's speeches, scholia on Hesiod and Theocritus and also on Pindar (which, as Erasmus himself observes, were excellent) and the scholia on Homer by Eustathius of

Thessalonika.⁸³ We should surmise here that the 'Aldine Library' would have contained a number of other texts which were specifically included in Aldus's future publishing programme: that is, editions announced in his dedicatory prefaces which were postponed. For example, in 1513 he gave notice of a forthcoming edition of Pausanias, which was in fact printed posthumously, in 1516.⁸⁴

Erasmus participated actively in Aldus's workshop, correcting proofs, collating manuscripts and generally offering his valuable philological erudition for the purpose of producing trustworthy editions. In 1509, together with Demetrios Doukas, he prepared the *editio princeps* of Plutarch's *Moralia*:⁸⁵ all the incunabular editions published until then were in Latin translations by Campano and Guarino Veronese, and the first separate Latin edition of the *Moralia* was printed as late as 1500.⁸⁶ This new edition was based on a manuscript in the collection of the late Cardinal Bessarion, whose librarian was Sabellico until 1506 and then Andrea Navagero.⁸⁷ At the same time, Erasmus worked on Plautus's and Terence's comedies and Seneca's tragedies; before leaving Venice he delivered his notes to Aldus, which were later used by the Italian printer's successors.⁸⁸

In 1508 Erasmus left Venice and spent a short period in Padua, where he became acquainted with various members of the intellectual community, co-operating mainly with Mousouros and re-reading Pausanias, which was published later (1516) by the Greek scholar; he showed special interest in the commentators on Euripides, Sophocles and Pindar.⁸⁹ It is almost certain that Mousouros informed him about his ongoing great publishing undertaking, the *editio princeps* of Plato, which was



7. Title page of the edition of Seneca edited by Erasmus, Basel 1515.

first released by Aldus in 1513.⁹⁰ After sojourning at Siena and Ferrara, Erasmus reached Rome, probably in March of 1509. The Eternal City did not offer him an intellectual life that could satisfy his interests; he benefited only from the fruitful conversations he had with Cardinal Raffaello Riario, Grimani and Giovanni de' Medici, the future Pope Leo X.⁹¹ He also had the opportunity to browse through codices and printed texts in rich private collections and, of course, in the Vatican Library, an undisputedly unique treasure of Christian literature. The Vatican librarian at that time was Thomas Inghirami, whom Jan Pison mentions in a letter addressed to Erasmus in 1509.⁹²

During his stay at Rome he received news of the death of England's King Henry VII (21st April, 1509) and Henry VIII's accession to the throne, an event initially greeted by many intellectuals as a good omen for the development of humanist learning: More, Colet, Mountjoy, Warham and others wished to enlist Erasmus's stature and learning in the cause of revitalizing humanist studies in England.⁹³ His stay there would only last until 1511, during which time he stayed at the various residences of More and Mountjoy and continued to associate with Colet, then Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral. The only work of his which refers to this period bears the title *Stultitiae Laus (In Praise of Folly)*: this discusses Christian consciousness and the issue of intellectual reform with the aim of elevating moral values.⁹⁴ His writing style was lucid and the work was warmly welcomed and became surprisingly popular. This essay was inspired by Lucian and ancient comedy in general; Erasmus drew material for it while studying the *Dialogues of the Dead* and *Timon*.⁹⁵ Apart from Lucian, Aristophanes's style (as exemplified in the *Frogs* and *Wealth (Plutus)*), material he apparently collected from Mousouros's 1498 edition) informed his penchant for ironic comments.⁹⁶ He often adduces Homer's and Ovid's authority, while he cites anecdotes from Plutarch and the subtle observations of Horace, as well as Plato and Homer. One gets the feeling that *In Praise of Folly* was composed from a memoirist's perspective during his stay in Italy and influenced by his contact with ancient Greek culture there.⁹⁷

In 1511 Erasmus returned to Paris, this time to negotiate with Bade for the republication of the *Adagia* as printed by Aldus in Venice. Meanwhile he planned to publish his essay *In Praise of Folly*, a text critical of the Holy See's propaganda and the decisions of successive popes, who thus led the Church from schism to schism. During this period Erasmus also prepared the edition he was to dedicate to his friend More, *In Praise of Folly*, which had been proofread by his close friend Richard Croke;⁹⁸ this essay was to arouse strong feelings and was criticized by many, while others sang its praises. It was positively received at Cambridge and Al-

calá, while its reception at Louvain and the Sorbonne was rather hostile. Other theologians believed that the opinions expounded there would cause a new schism and accused him of 'laying the egg that Luther hatched'. Ignatius Loyola denounced it and Pope Leo X extolled it. In one of his letters, Budé praises it: 'With that eloquence of yours you have coupled the Sileni with St. Paul, such dissimilar persons, and saucy pantomime with heroic gravitas [...], joining them together with an invisible seam and, what is more, by revealing the inconstancy of mundane things you have revealed new and unheard-of views to our astonished eyes.'⁹⁹

Erasmus had every reason to extend his stay in Paris, as the climate created by intellectual and theological differences excited his spirit, for he held his own views on such issues. He needed, however, to return to England in order to accept the Chair of Theology offered to him at the University of Cambridge. Now at last he would be given the opportunity to express his opinions and objections *ex cathedra* and teach theology in accordance with the evangelical precepts, something he had done so far only through his writing.¹⁰⁰ The Dutch scholar had now become the foremost representative of European humanism, a man who criss-crossed Europe in an effort to effect a rapprochement between classical literature and Christian faith. One could say that he continued working to carry out the vision of Ficino, who believed that Plato constituted the bedrock on which the unification of Ancient Greece and Christianity could be achieved.

In England, in the cloistered world of King's College, Erasmus laboured tirelessly to prepare his lectures for an audience who did not know Greek and were unable to study the Holy Scriptures in the original, but were keenly interested in ancient Greek thought. Responding to Colet's plea, he composed a Latin textbook, *De duplici copia verborum et rerum*, which was distributed to the pupils of a school founded in the shadow of St. Paul's Cathedral. At the same time he was correcting Seneca's tragedies and intended to revise the 1508 edition of the *Adagia*. Mainly, though, he was working on issues concerning the Bible and was eager to publish parts of his translation of the New Testament, a work he had begun back in 1506, with the aid of two manuscripts Colet had made available to him, as mentioned above.¹⁰¹ The conditions were ideal, for Erasmus was able to draw on the rich manuscript collections of biblical and patristic texts in the libraries of Cambridge.¹⁰²

England's college libraries, as well as the university libraries of Cambridge and Oxford, had amassed a number of valuable tomes and important antique manuscripts. The informal tradition of college principals and ecclesiastical officials bequeathing their book collections to their local universities led to an impressive increase in the treasures kept in these libraries, and also secured the fate of these

*Erasmus
 in English
 college libraries*



collections in the long term. For instance, Archbishop Rotherham of York, donated approximately 200 books to the Cambridge University library, while Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester, bequeathed more than 280 codices to Oxford in the 1430s. Erasmus studied the material in these libraries, for instance a codex containing Seneca's works which he discovered in King's College, Cambridge.

For about two years he endeavoured to emend Jerome's *Letters*, revealing at the same time discrepancies observable in the manuscripts of the Gospels, the Epistles and the Acts of the Apostles, as well as in those of the Apocalypse. So, late in 1513 he completed his work on Jerome's correspondence and the edition of the New Testament in the original Greek. In the same year (1513) Pope Julius II passed away; he was succeeded by Leo X, this marking the beginning of a new chapter in the history of the Catholic Church. A humanist now sat on the papal throne, and Luther and the supporters of the Reformation came to the fore.

There was no future in turning to the local presses to print the works Erasmus completed during his stay at Cambridge, and the military operations in progress around Venice prevented him from sending them to Aldus's press. Furthermore, Josse Bade, who had printed Jerome's *Letters* for Erasmus, had no time to undertake new publishing projects. Thus he turned to Basel, the great centre of humanism and printing in the German areas, for he held the quality of Johann Froben's types in high esteem, Froben having also printed the *Adagia*.¹⁰³ The standing of Froben's printing press had been reinforced. Following Johann Amerbach's death (25th December, 1513), his sons took over in cooperation with Froben, thus enhancing the firm's prestige still further. Without hesitation, Erasmus began his journey and, after stopping at various places on the way, reached Basel in mid-August of 1514.¹⁰⁴

This was not the sole reason that led Erasmus to turn to the German hub of humanist letters. In 1514, in one of his letters from Strasbourg, Jacob Wimpfeling lets Erasmus know, expressing the will of the Literary Society (which included such persons as Sebastian Brant, Jacobus Sturmius, Thomas Rappius, Matthias Schurerius, Johann Ruserius and others), that its members were ready to aid him in his work. Wimpfeling also adds, 'Beatus Rhenanus, whose admiration for you is unbounded, will make arrangements to ensure your stay is comfortable.'¹⁰⁵

In his new environment, having earned a reputation as an international luminary, Erasmus was universally accepted by academic circles. As opposed to his

*Working with
 Basel printing
 houses*

8. *Erasmus meets Froben at his press. Reproduction of the frontispiece from C.W. Heckethorn, The Printers of Basle, London 1897.*

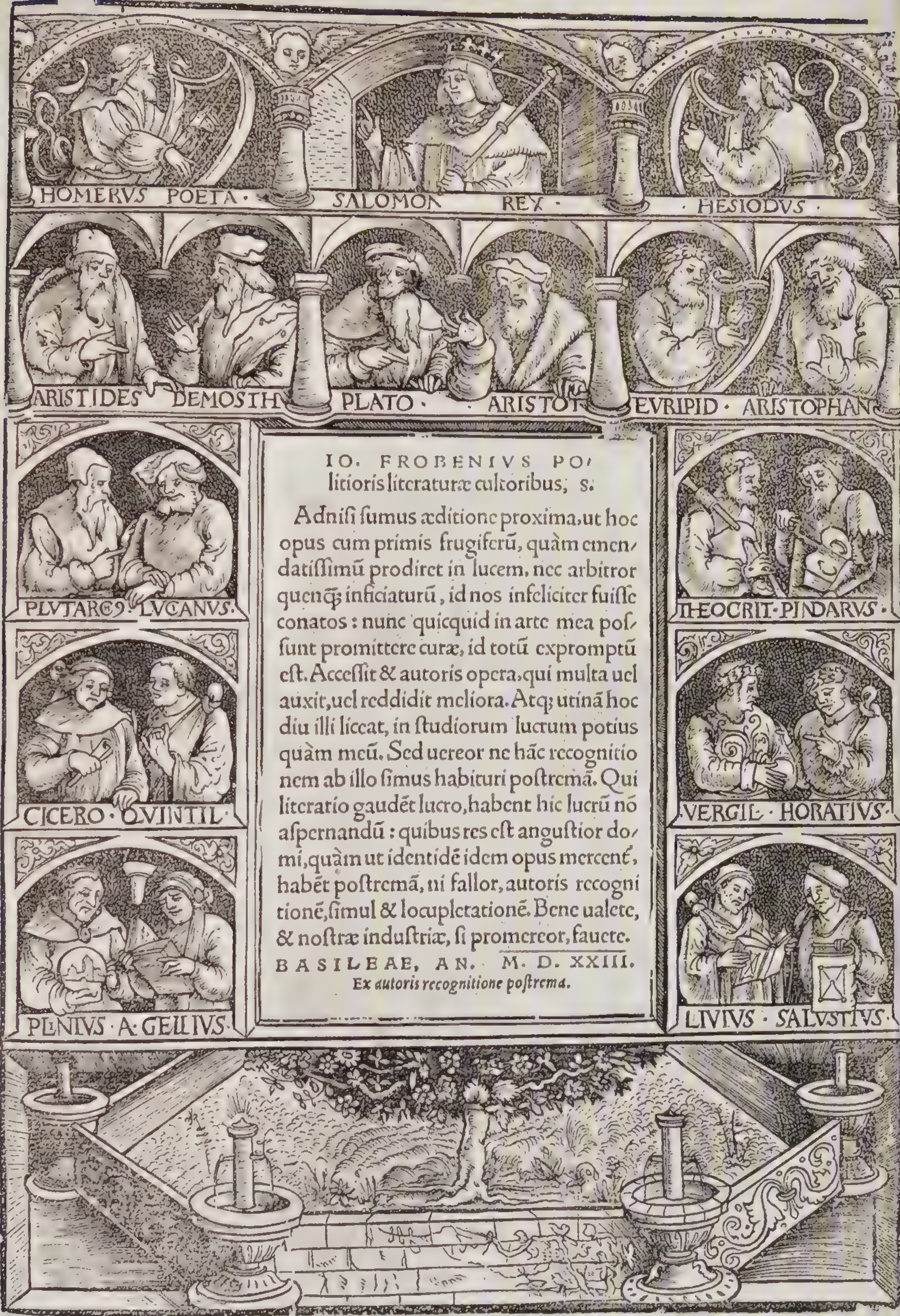
meagre epistolary output during his time in Venice, in 1516 – the year when his edition of the New Testament in the original Greek was published – he received or wrote no less than 151 letters. These epistles were addressed to Nicolaus Gerbellius, Urban Rieger, Johann Sapidus, Ulrich Zwingli, Johann Reuchlin, Johann Froben, Martin van Dorp, Bruno Amerbach and many others. He was accepted with great honours in the School of Theology of the local University – Louis Ber, the Rector there at the time, expressed his unreserved respect for him and became a lifelong close friend.¹⁰⁶

Erasmus's participation in the operation of Froben's renowned printing house and his permanent installation there caused a great stir among the followers of the humanist movement: Ulrich Zasius, Professor of Jurisprudence in the University of Freiburg im Breisgau, and Willibald Pirckheimer from Nürnberg, a serious collector of books printed in Italy (mostly by Aldus), did not conceal their excitement at his presence on German soil.¹⁰⁷ The favourable climate and the reception he received brought back to Erasmus memories of the days he had spent at Aldus's printing press, and he immediately offered Froben a series of Plutarch's essays he had translated into Latin while at Cambridge; these were published early in 1515.¹⁰⁸ Soon another edition of a work by Erasmus appeared: M. Schürer republished *In Praise of Folly* in Strasbourg.¹⁰⁹ Meanwhile Erasmus completed the edition of Seneca's tragedies and made some final corrections to Jerome's *Letters*, and with the help of new Greek manuscripts of the New Testament he moved closer to the final text he was to publish later.

Yet his new environment was not free of theological and philological feuds. This time the theologians of Köln, attempting to discredit the great Hellenist and founder of Hebrew studies, Johann Reuchlin, accused him again of connecting the Christian sacraments with Jewish tradition. Erasmus, who was not well versed in Hebrew but had leafed through the *Rudimenta linguae hebraicae* and had become acquainted with the theory of the Cabbala through Pico's *De verbo mirifico*, deemed he should not leave the field open to the enemies of philology and humanist letters. Colet and, of course, More rallied around him, as well as Froben and Ulrich von Hütten, the most pugnacious opponent of the German monkish mentality. At the same time the Dominicans of Köln pleaded to the Pope for a condemnation of Reuchlin's views and made bonfires of his apologias. These theological disputes created uncertainty for anyone wishing to disagree openly with

9. Title page from the Basel edition of the *Adagia*, Johann Froben, 1523 (phot. N. Panayotopoulos).

Summ. Antigon. Ralbre. m. 1622
 pertinet. H. 1622



IO. FROBENIVS PO/
 litoris literaturæ cultoribus; s.

Adnisi sumus æditione proxima, ut hoc
 opus cum primis frugiferū, quàm emen-
 datissimū prodiret in lucem, nec arbitror
 quenq; inficiaturū, id nos infelicitè fuisse
 conatos: nunc quicquid in arte mea pos-
 sunt promittere curæ, id totū expromptū
 est. Accessit & autoris opera, qui multa uel
 auxit, uel reddidit meliora. Atq; utinā hoc
 diu illi liceat, in studiorum luctum potius
 quàm meū. Sed uereor ne hāc recognitio-
 nem ab illo simus habituri postremā. Qui
 literatio gaudet lucro, habent hic lucrū nō
 aspernandū: quibus res est angustior do-
 mi, quàm ut identidē idem opus mercent,
 habet postremā, ni fallor, autoris recogni-
 tionē, simul & locupletationē. Bene ualete,
 & nostræ industriæ, si promereor, fauete.

BASILEAE, AN. M. D. XXIII.
 Ex autoris recognitione postrema.

Catholic dogma; in this climate Erasmus sought security and returned to the friendly environment of England, to be with Colet.¹¹⁰

Once more he crossed the English Channel heading for Basel in late July of 1514 and revealed to Froben his intention of going ahead with the publication of the New Testament in the original Greek. While Jerome's *Letters* were being printed, a team was put together with the aim of offering a helping hand with the preparation of the New Testament: Beatus Rhenanus corrected the proofs, Oecolampadius checked the

translation of Hebrew passages and Erasmus himself oversaw the entire process, making the necessary corrections. Concord prevailed among the working party, which Erasmus commemorated in the following statement: 'I would say that everyone is of one soul', i.e. in the spirit of the Acts of the Apostles.¹¹¹

In 1516 Froben's press published Erasmus's edition of the New Testament in the original Greek with the Latin translation on the facing page, a monumental event in the intellectual history of humanity.¹¹² The editor sends his salutations to Pope Leo X in the preface, where Erasmus expresses his belief that the surest way for all the faithful to understand Christ's wisdom is by getting to



10. The printer's mark of J. Froben in Erasmus, *Ratio seu Compendium Theologiae* (1520).

know the Holy Scriptures, where his word still lives and breathes. He adds that the method followed in the translation of the text is consistent with history and textual scholarship as practised by the Italian humanists over many generations. Summing up in the style of a sermon, he argues that theologians should be familiar with the entire corpus of classical literature and have studied the works of the philosophers, especially Plato, whose thinking is more closely akin to the Gospels than anybody else's.¹¹³

Froben's edition of Erasmus's New Testament is furthermore interesting in terms of its typographical aesthetics. The first page of St. Paul's Epistle to the Ro-

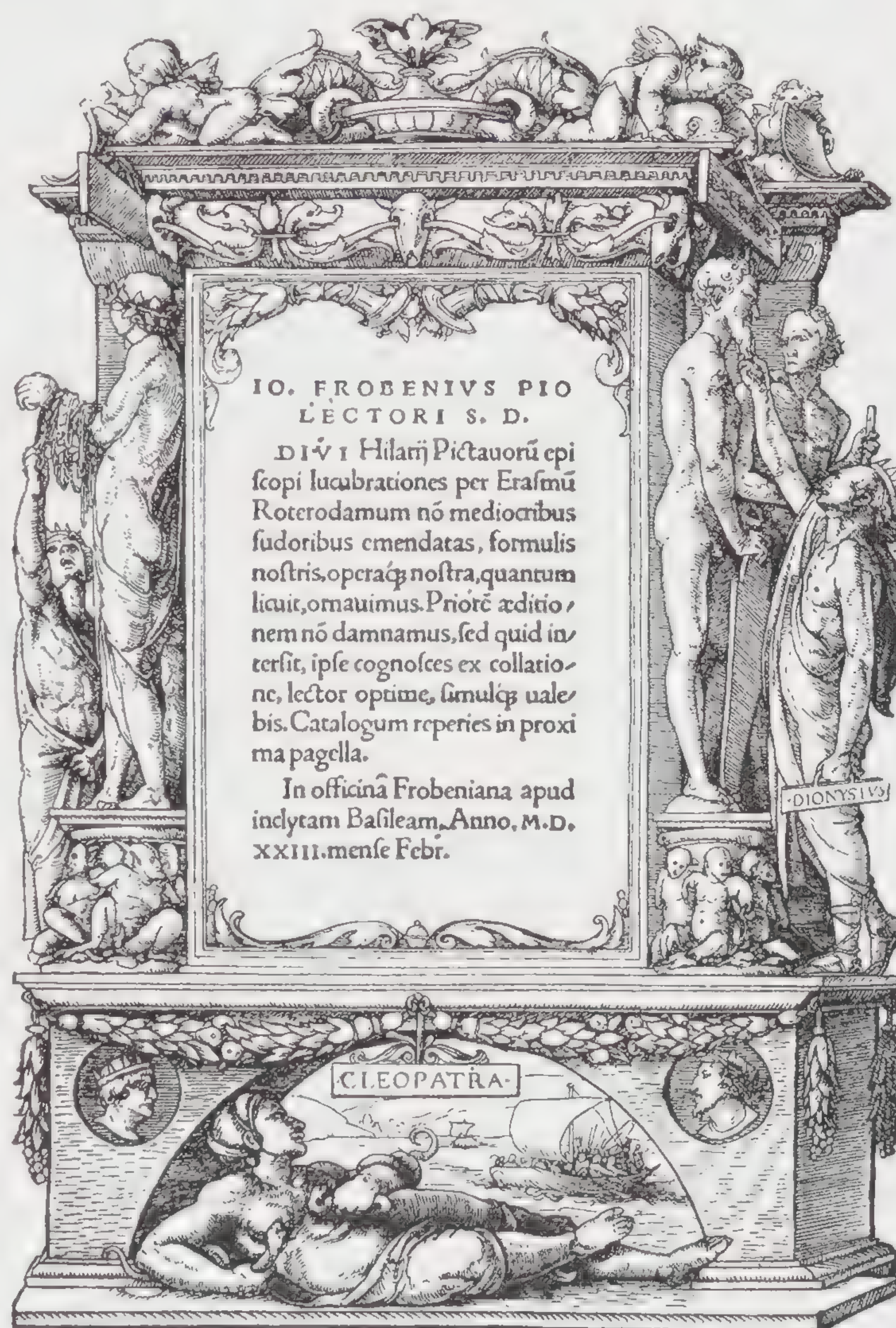
*His edition of the
New Testament*

mans, with facing Latin translation, is crowned by a headpiece printed in red and decorated with two corresponding initials, also in red.¹¹⁴ The typographical style is reminiscent of the publications of Kalliergis and Vlastos (Venice, *Etymologicum Magnum*, 1499) and the headpiece used by the Giunti in their 1520 edition of Hesychius's *Lexicon*. In the two feet of the headpiece the name Nikolaos – Vlastos has been replaced by ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ – ΦΡΟΒΕΝΙ; the initials Ι[ησούς] Χ[ριστός] were also removed from the centre of the composition.¹¹⁵ It is obvious that this aesthetic ap-

proach was dictated by Erasmus himself, for during his stay at Venice he must have leafed through, if not acquired, specimens of the first Greek printing press's output, chiefly the *Etymologicum Magnum*. It is also possible that he met the pioneers of this Greek publishing venture – Kalliergis, for instance, was working in Venice until late in 1509.¹¹⁶

The philological approach adopted for the publication was multifaceted, for Erasmus tried to find a manuscript of the New Testament that was as trustworthy as possible.¹¹⁷ He had already studied codices and kept notes from various sources; he had hoped, however, that in Basel he would be fortunate enough to discover even more reliable sources, such as would allow him to proceed to the final recension further delay.

This did not prove possible, though, and so he took it upon himself to emend the final draft. This publication relied predominantly on a codex written between 1506 and 1509 which contained Erasmus's translation from the Greek (apart from the Acts of the Apostles) together with the Vulgate text, which was copied under Colet's supervision and survives in the Cambridge University library. Another, less meticulously edited manuscript of Erasmus's translation survives in the Corpus Christi



11. Title page of Erasmus, *Divi Hilarii*, printed by Froben (1523) with engravings by Hans Holbein.

library at Oxford, but is undated. It appears that the translation was carried out with Colet as a constant advisor, who provided Erasmus with Latin manuscripts found in the library of St. Paul's, where Colet was the Dean.

Beatus Rhenanus made the arrangements for the book's publication and Erasmus accepted Froben's terms: he added a large number of comments and the book's size increased from the originally estimated thirty quires to more than eighty. Thus a tome of at least a thousand pages was printed within five to six months. Erasmus was not satisfied with his editing of the text and started studying more Greek manuscripts and reworking his first translation; the result was a new edition of the New Testament in 1519, again printed by Froben, which is for the first time entitled *Novum Testamentum*. New editions followed (1522, 1525, 1527, 1535), improved and expanded; in the 1527 edition and the posthumous 1535 edition the Vulgate text was printed facing the Greek original.

The publication of the New Testament and its dedication to the Pope mark the completion of an important chapter in Erasmus's life – he had achieved his goals, as these were set out in the *Enchiridion*. In his *Institutio principis christiani*, dedicated to William Warham, he expounded his views on governance as seen through the prism of a philosophical theory couched in Christian terms: it was similar to the essay *Ekthesis* composed by the deacon Agapetos for Emperor Justinian.¹¹⁸

Soon Erasmus saw how warmly his edition of the New Testament was received: Warham wrote to him that a large number of bishops of the English Church agreed wholly with his rendering of the evangelical word, while even in the stronghold of the Dominicans, Köln, a significant minority referred to it.¹¹⁹ In Louvain, another bastion of scholasticism, Martin van Dorp had modified his lectures on St. Paul's Epistles, at least, to accommodate Erasmus's arguments.¹²⁰ Erasmus made another short voyage to England and then, basing himself at Basel, paid frequent visits to the Low Countries, finally settling down at Brussels, where he enjoyed the general acclaim given to his work: his edition of Jerome's *Letters* was completed, Froben republished *In Praise of Folly* and he considered bringing out an improved edition of the New Testament, based on books and manuscripts that came into his hands.

In the meanwhile, early in the second decade of the sixteenth century a new religious schism appeared to be brewing. Its occasion, not its cause, was the Holy

12. *St. Paul's Epistles and the opening lines of the New Testament with the distinctive subtitles and initials*, Basel, Johann Froben, 1515.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΕ ΠΑΥΛΙ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙ, ΑΔ
GRAECAM VERITATEM ET VE-
TERVM LATINORVM CODI-
CVM FIDEM RECOGNITAE
PER ERASMV M ROTE-
RODAMVM SACRAE
THEOLOGIAE
PROFESSOREM.

ΠΑΥΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ Η
ΠΡΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΥΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ



ΠΑΥΛΟΣ ΔΟΥΛΟΣ ΙΗ-
ΣΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ, ΚΛΗ-
ΤΟΣ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ, ΑΦΩ-
ΓΙΣΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙ-
ΟΝ ΘΕΟΥ, Ο ΠΡΟΕΠΗΓΕΙ-
ΛΑΤ ΔΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΦΗ-
ΤΩΝ ΑΥΤΩ ΕΝ ΓΡΑΦΑΙΣ Α-
ΓΙΑΙΣ, ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ,

ΤΟΥ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΥ ΕΚ ΑΠΕΡΜΑΤΟΣ ΔΑΒΙΔ, ΚΑΤΑ ΣΑΡΚΑ,
ΤΟΥ ΟΡΙΘΕΝΤΟΣ ΥΙΟΥ ΔΕΘ, ΕΝ ΔΥΝΑΜΕΙ, ΚΑΤΑ ΠΝΕΥ-
ΜΑ ΑΓΙΩΣΑΥΟΥ, ΕΞ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΕΩΣ ΝΕΚΡΩΝ, ΙΗΣΟΥ
ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΗΜΩΝ, ΟΙΟΥ ΕΛΑΘΟΜΕΝ ΧΑ-
ΡΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟΣΟΛΩΝ, ΕΙΣ ΥΠΑΚΟΛΗΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕ-
ΡΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΘΝΕΣΙΝ, ΥΠΕΡ ΤΗΣ ΔΟΝΟΜΑΤΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ,
ΕΝ ΟΙΣ ΕΣΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΥΜΕΙΣ, ΚΛΗΡΟΙ ΙΗΣΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ,
ΤΩΝ ΟΙΣ ΤΙΣ ΟΥΣΙΝ ΕΝ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑ, ΑΓΑΠΗΤΗΣ ΔΕΘ, ΚΛΗ-
ΡΟΙΣ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ. ΧΑΡΙΣ ΥΜΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΡΛΩΝ ΑΠΟ ΘΕΟΥ
ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΗΜΩΝ, ΚΑΙ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΙΗΣΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ.

ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΩ ΤΩ ΔΕΘ ΜΕ, ΔΙΑ ΙΗ-
ΣΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ, ΥΠΕΡ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΥΜΩΝ, ΟΤΙ Η ΠΙ-
ΣΤΙΣ ΗΜΩΝ ΚΑΤΑΓΓΕΛΛΕΤΑΙ ΕΝ ΟΛΩ ΤΩ ΚΟΣΜΩ.
ΜΑΡΤΥΣ ΙΔΕΣ ΜΟΥ ΟΣΤΙΝ Ο ΔΕΘ, Ω ΛΑΤΡΕΥΩ ΕΝ ΤΩ
ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙ ΜΕ, ΕΝ ΤΩ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΩ ΤΩ ΥΙΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ,
ΩΣ ΑΔΙΔΕΚΤΩΣ ΜΝΕΑΜ ΥΜΩΝ ΠΙΣΤΕΙ ΠΑΝΤΕ-
ΣΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣΟΝΧΩΝ ΜΕ, ΔΕΘ ΜΕΛΟΣ, ΕΙΠΩΣ ΗΔΗ
ΠΟΤΕ ΕΝΟΘΩΘΗΣΟΜΑΙ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΔΕΛΗΜΑΤΙ ΤΩ ΔΕΘ
ΕΛΘΩ

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑ ΠΑΥΛΙ ΑΠΟ-
ΣΤΟΛΙ ΑΔ ROMANOS.



PAVLVS SERVVS
Iesu Christi, uocat⁹
apls, segregatus in
euāgelii dei, quod
ante promiserat
per pphetas suos,
in scripturis sanctis

de filio suo, q genit⁹ fuit ex semine Da-
uid, secūdu carnē, qui declarat⁹ fuit fili⁹
dei, in potētia, secūdu spiritū sanctifica-
tiōis, ex eo q resurrexit a mortuis Iesus
christus dñs noster, per quē accepim⁹
gratiā & muneris aplci functionē, ut
obediāt fidei inter oēs gentes, sup ipsi
us noīe, quorū de numero estis & uos,
uocati Iesu Christi, omnib⁹ qui Romae
estis, dilectis dei, uocatis factis. Gratia
uobis & pax a deo patre nostro, & dño
Iesu Christo. Primū qdē gratias ago
deo meo, p Iesum Christū, super oibus
uobis, quod fides uestra annunciat⁹ in
toto mundo. Testis eni meus est deus,
cui seruiō in spiritu meo, in euāgelio fi-
lij sui, quod indefinenter mentionē ue-
stri facio, semp in orationibus meis de-
precans, si quo modo tandem aliquā-
do, prosperū iter cōtingat uolente deo,
a ut ueniā

See's practice of issuing indulgences to raise funds to complete the rebuilding of St. Peter's Basilica; many of these offered absolution even for future sins, which prompted Luther's revolutionary reaction: the nailing up, on 31st October, 1517, of the Ninety-Five Theses on the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg.¹²¹ Luther's overt intervention in ecclesiastical matters, however, sparked off a furore that led, through extreme situations, to the Reformation. The war over indulgences continued; J. Tetzel published his Counter-theses and Luther responded with the 'Resolutions'. In this climate, Erasmus worked tirelessly to prepare a second edition of the New Testament with the help of prelates who favoured his work, like Antonio Pucci, Bishop of Pistoia; and Pope Leo X sent him a letter in which he expressed the Holy See's satisfaction with Erasmus's approach and his exegesis of the New Testament.¹²² The Pope considered the first edition faultless and awaited the improved second edition with great interest. At the same time, the supporters of Luther's views deemed it necessary to enlist Erasmus's moral support in their 'crusade'.

Erasmus received many overtures inviting him to join forces with Luther and asking him to declare his position publicly vis-à-vis his Theses; but these produced no decisive and tangible result in terms of a public recognition of Luther's general stance by Erasmus. Now, however, a new threat emerged in this theological battlefield, originating from the publishing centre established by Cardinal Ximenes at Alcalá de Henares, which produced the Complutensian Polyglot Bible.¹²³ The leading figure of this new threat was the Greek and Hebrew scholar Diego Lopez de Zúñiga. As soon as the New Testament was published in Basel in 1515, Zúñiga compiled notes criticizing the interpretations of Erasmus and Lefèvre d'Étaples and published them in his *Annotationes*: this came out after the death of Ximenes, who admired Erasmus. Employing an ironic tone, Lopez attacks Erasmus, stressing that his errors in the interpretation of the New Testament would have been far fewer had he devoted more time to the Gospels and less to the reading of Lucian!

The Church's policy towards the Reformation took a new turn in June of 1520 with the issuance of the bull *Exsurge Domine*, signed by Pope Leo X.¹²⁴ Erasmus's attempt at reconciling North and South on an ecclesiastical level had failed, although he considered the issuance of the bull a fatal mistake on the Holy See's part, as it polarized the debate. In the meanwhile, perturbed by questions and worried about the turn events were taking, the Holy See officially invited Erasmus to make a stand against Luther's opinions. Erasmus adopted a diplomatic approach, making representations and writing letters to churchmen and theologians, trying to avert an open confrontation between the two sides. There was still time to reach an

agreement, provided that the Pope's authority and prestige were preserved. The nameless crowd, the laity of every social class played an important role in this dispute, whereas in the past they had been forced to submit to Rome's demands.

The events had been set in motion, however, and in the same year that the bull was issued, 1520, Luther published two important books expounding his views on which the Reformation was to be founded: *De captivitate babylonica ecclesiae* and *De libertate Christiana*.

From that year on, Girolamo Aleandro, an excellent Hellenist and pioneer of the humanist movement in France, became the leader of the anti-Lutheran campaign.¹²⁵ At the behest of Pope Leo X he explored all avenues to secure Luther's condemnation by the Emperor. Frederick III, Elector of Saxony, was an ardent supporter of Lutheran theology; all he achieved was to have Luther's arguments heard in the presence of the electors, the Pope's envoys and the Emperor himself, before a decision was reached. The Diet of Worms proved disastrous for both Erasmus and Luther. The Dutch scholar's reluctance to take sides on such a major issue resulted in his becoming unpopular with both camps. The edict signed at Worms by Emperor Charles V (26th May, 1521) led to the complete marginalization of Luther and ordered his writings to be burnt, creating a climate of strict censorship that would affect every theologian attempting to interpret issues pertaining to orthodoxy in matters of dogma. Erasmus, who possessed the stature to intervene effectively on Rome's side, was thereafter targeted by the Catholics and especially by the devious Aleandro.¹²⁶

Erasmus was no longer welcome in various Catholic centres, in Louvain for instance, and thus, in 1521, he ended up at Basel; Leo X passed away that same year, and a cardinal from Utrecht succeeded him on the papal throne as Adrian VI (1522).

Notwithstanding pressure from Rome and the new Pope's entourage, Erasmus publicly maintained a stance of non-hostility to Luther, though the friendly relations he had cultivated with German followers of the leader of the Reformation were shaken. Finally, heeding the exhortations of certain parties in England, mainly More's circle, Erasmus succumbed and openly took a stand against Luther. In 1523 he composed a mass, published by Froben, *Virginis Matris ... Liturgia*, which largely won over the Christian flock; in 1525 he brought out a new edition which included the indulgence signed by Archbishop Antoine de Vergy.¹²⁷ By early 1524, Erasmus believed the time had arrived to intervene in the religious dispute; he informed the new pope, Clement VII, of his decision to write a tract on Luther's concept of free will and against his views: *De Libero arbitrio diatribe sive collatio*.¹²⁸ Froben published it without hesitation, and notwithstanding all of Erasmus's ex-

*Erasmus's
 attitude
 to Luther*

hortations to the Christian flock to remain loyal to Rome, the results were mediocre. Luther responded promptly, and his *De libero arbitrio* was published in 1525 in the bastion of the Reformation, the city of Wittenberg.¹²⁹ The year 1525 marks a nodal point in Erasmus's life, for he was so stricken by financial hardship that he was forced to pawn his library in order to secure the money necessary to meet his obligations. For this reason he turned to the young Polish nobleman Jan Łaski (John à Lasco), who stayed with him as his guest for approximately six months.¹³⁰ The



13. Erasmus depicted working with members of his circle. Title page from the edition of Erasmus's *Colloquia*, printed in Amsterdam by H & V. Theodori Boom in 1698.

agreement they signed envisaged that Erasmus would be allowed to keep his collection of books for life, and that his heirs would be obliged to hand it over immediately after his death, as we will be seeing in detail.¹³¹ Erasmus, however, did not wish Luther to be silenced, and in 1526 he published the *Hyperaspistes*, where in his own defence he declared that he had never sold his authorial services to Rome.¹³² Luther did not respond to this apologetic text, having publicly portrayed Erasmus as a 'poorly disguised pagan', and so the Dutch scholar was forced to bring out a second edition of the *Hyperaspistes* (1527).¹³³

And while Erasmus declared that the Reformation, at all levels of the intellectual, spiritual and moral life of the Christian world, called for sustained peace among nations, on 6th May, 1527, the imperial troops and Georg von Frundsberg's soldiers, brandishing the standard of the Reformation, sacked and pillaged

Rome and brutalized its citizens. For the first time one of Christianity's apostolic sees was vandalized by Christians in the West (Constantinople had met a similar fate at the Crusaders' hands in 1204). These events greatly affected Erasmus, and it was then more than ever that the Third Church he preached for in his *Colloques* (1526) seemed to be a prophetic solution for the Church's troubles.¹³⁴

From then until his death in 1536, Erasmus tuned his authorial interests to the

Italian humanist messages. In 1528 he published his disquisition *Ciceronianus*, again at Froben's press; in the following year, however, the Reformers went quite wild, attacking cathedrals and destroying everything that reminded them of the Roman rite. He left Basel and settled in Freiburg im Breisgau, where the local university authorities offered him hospitality, while he worked on editing the last volume of his edition of St. Augustine.

In the final years of his life Erasmus corresponded with Jacopo Sadoleto, enjoying the respect he felt for Erasmus's works, and in gratitude he dedicated to him his edition of St. Basil's *Complete Works* (*Opera*, 1532).¹³⁵ At Milan, a group of Cicero enthusiasts attempted to criticize the views Erasmus expresses in his *Ciceronianus*; Erasmus decided not to pursue the matter and left Freiburg, returning to Basel. He moved in with Froben, started working on an edition of Origen's works and collected all the facts relating to More's trial and the last days of his life: *Expositio fidelis de morte D. Thomae Mori* (1535). His health deteriorated, his hands became so badly paralysed that he was no longer able to write. In June he fell seriously ill and on 6th July, 1536, he passed away.¹³⁶

Here, I think, a digression is in order, necessitated by purely bibliological considerations; it pertains to the relations Erasmus maintained with eminent European intellectuals, i.e. the common library mentioned above. It has to do with Thomas More and his love of books as purveyors of knowledge, which is evidenced not only in his own manifold writings, but also in the books he collected.

The fate of More's library is unknown; no list of the books it contained survives, but we can draw inferences about its riches from the allusions to it in William Roper's biography of his father-in-law. Erasmus, among others, comments that More had a fine collection of old volumes scattered about his house; many of the titles were extremely rare and their subject matter differed greatly from what one would find in common libraries. It was based on reliable old manuscripts, in Greek and Latin, so that he did not have to travel to Italy to gather knowledge from them: if he went, he went simply for his own enjoyment.¹³⁷ In his correspondence, More often mentions the books he received on behalf of Erasmus: in a letter of 1516 he informs him that Petrus Aegidius of Antwerp has sent him a copy of Erasmus's *Apologia*, as well as his commentary on the Psalm *Beatus vir*.¹³⁸ In the same year, in another letter he informs him that he will be among the first to receive his copy of Jerome's *Letters*,¹³⁹ and again in 1516 More writes to Erasmus that Thomas Lupset has entrusted him with the keeping of certain manuscripts, which include essays written by Erasmus during his stay in Italy, such as *De pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis*.¹⁴⁰

In his lectures in the nineteenth century, Sir Anthony Panizzi attempted to reconstruct part of More's library by relying on More's own works, his references to specific authors and his quotations of words, phrases or passages from their writings. He outlined an imaginary library that would have supported More's work, under various thematic headings. He mentions, for instance, the historians that figure in *Utopia*, like Plutarch and Herodotus, as well as Sallust, Livy, Tacitus and Suetonius.¹⁴¹

The aim of this review of the printing and publishing scene is to reveal the ties linking Italian humanism with the emerging centres of learning in the North and the attempts to reconcile Christianity with the ancient world. More than anyone



14. Erasmus in a 1523 engraving.

else, Erasmus did all he could in every way, especially through the medium of the printed book, to highlight the affinities between the two literary traditions. His influence, and the feuds that his stance sparked, can be traced right across the map of Europe: in the strongholds of conservative theologians in Paris and Louvain; among the Neoplatonist circles in the English universities of Oxford and Cambridge; in the centres of Italian humanism, such as Venice and Ferrara; in the humanist outposts of the North, in Basel, for instance (where Froben's printing press was the most significant and most reliable point of reference for Erasmus's ideology).

Books and unhindered access to libraries were necessary tools for the renaissance of European thought in the North, as well as for the religious disputes that broke out within the Church. Erasmus's authorial activities, ranging from South to North, and his editorial work, a result of his ever-enquiring mind and his deep-seated belief in the necessity of the quest for truth, indicate that humanist ideology had indeed created a *common library* shared by the persons that cultivated its values. His correspondence with all the protagonists of Europe's intellectual and religious life, and the impressive positive response to his oeuvre through the medium of the printed book constitute irrefutable evidence of this.

We have repeatedly considered the common practice among humanist circles of lending codices and printed books; we have also mentioned the gifts of books

sent to Erasmus by men of letters and his supporters and we have discussed the books he bought on the open market, the manuscripts he borrowed, his autographs and the notes he took on a great number of texts, as well the copies of his own writings that he had in his library. The most important works of Erasmus were published in Basel, produced at the press of Johann Froben, with whom he became close friends and later established a family connection. Apart from furnishing him with exquisite material – like Holbein’s woodcuts for the title pages – to provide an excellent typographical aesthetic for his editions, Erasmus offered Froben highly reliable texts by enlisting the services of editors and proof-readers of the highest level, like Lachner, Rhenanus and Oecolampadius, working under his supervision. The fact that Erasmus joined Froben’s firm as an author afforded great prestige to his printing house and his publishing projects multiplied: his original four printing presses soon became seven, and 300 publications were produced on them. Erasmus began his publishing career in 1513 with the republication of the *Adagiorum Chiliades*, and between then and Froben’s death, in 1527, 110 new editions and reissues of his works were published. It is telling that the 1515 edition of *In Praise of Folly* was printed in 1,800 copies, 1,720 of which were sold within just one month!



15. Jerome in his scriptorium. Engraving from *Biblia integra*, Basel, Johann Froben, 1495.

Erasmus’s finances, however, suffered greatly because of his costly travels and incessant relocations from one city to another and between countries. Thus he was forced to sell his sole asset, his personal library. However, as we have seen, the arrangement that Erasmus managed to make did not deprive him of his closest friends, his books. On June 20, 1525, he wrote: “Erasmus Roterodamus bibliothecam meam universam vendidi clarissimo Poloniae Baroni Joanni à Lasco trecentis coronatis aureis...”, and received a much needed sum of 300 golden crowns.¹⁴² Pa-

trizia Armandi has made some insightful observations, initially on the rather limited number of titles composing the library according to the catalogue published by Hunser, i.e. the 431 volumes of manuscripts and printed books.¹⁴³ Furthermore, the printed books were limited to 54 titles, a number clearly incompatible with the breadth of his European editing and publishing activities.¹⁴⁴

Our attempt to retrace Erasmus's life and works reveals the wide range of his writing and editing; it also largely highlights the works and writers that dominated his interests and decidedly affected the formation of his personality. The two large 'Encyclopaedias' in his library were the *Adagia* and the edition of the New Testament in the original Greek. Faced with the task of compiling a list of the books that Erasmus must certainly have had in his possession, i.e. his working library, one can turn to his huge correspondence (it comprises more than 3,100 letters received and sent, some of which are very long) and make a note of the titles mentioned there. The procedure he followed when preparing his edition of the New Testament is indicative of Erasmus's work ethic, i.e. his endeavour to publish editions that would be as reliable as he could possibly make them: initially he had in his possession certain Greek manuscripts, while he discovered some more during his stay at Cambridge; contrary to his expectations, he found none at Basel, so he delivered to the printer a fifteenth-century codex; then he gave his proof-reader (Beatus Rhenanus) a twelfth-century manuscript lent by Reuchlin; and finally, when the book was in press, he employed two even earlier codices, dating from the tenth century. For the subsequent editions of the New Testament (1519-1535) he studied other manuscripts as well, which his students read aloud to him as he delivered a running commentary!

Although the edition of the New Testament printed by Robert Estienne in 1550 became the *textus receptus*, a further three centuries were to pass before it emerged that Erasmus's Greek text was in need of further emendation! This realization, however, does not reduce the importance of Erasmus's work on the New Testament – indeed we could say it was the greatest of his humanistic works and one of the supreme achievements of the Renaissance.

16. *The beginning of the New Testament, Basel, Johann Froben, 1519.*



NOVVM TESTAMEN

TVM, AD GRAECAM VERITATEM, AC VETVSTISSIMO
RVM SIMVL ET EMENDATISSIMORVM EKEMPLA
RVM LATINORVM FIDEM, TVM AD ORTHO
DOXORVM INTERPRETATIONEM AC CI
TATIONEM DENVØ DILIGENTISSIME
RECOGNITVM, AB ERASMO RO
TERODAMO, SACRAE THEO
LOGIAE PROFESSORE.

(ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ
ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΝ.

(EVANGELIVM SECVN
DVM MATTHAEVM.



Ιβλος
γενέσε
ως Ιη
σὺ γὰρ
σὺ ἰσ
Δαβίδ
ἰσὺ ἁ
βρα
ἁμ, ἁ

βραῆμ ἐγέννησε τὸ ἰσαάκ, ἰσαάκ δὲ ἐγέννη
σε τὸ ἰακώβ. ἰακώβ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸ ἰσάκ, καὶ
τὸν ἰσάκ ἀδελφούς αὐτοῦ. ἰσάκ δὲ ἐγέννη
σε τὸ φαρί, καὶ τὸν ζαρά, καὶ τὴν θάμαρ. φαρί
δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν ἰσῶμ, ἰσῶμ δὲ ἐγέννησε
τὸν ἄράμ. ἄράμ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν ἀμινάδαβ.
ἀμινάδαβ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν ναασόμ. να
ασόμ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν σαλμών. σαλμών
δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν βοόζ, καὶ τὸν ραχάβ. βο
όζ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν ὠβεδ, καὶ τὴν ρούθ. ὠβ
εδ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν ἰεσσαί, ἰεσσαί δὲ ἐγέν
νησε τὸν



Iber ge
neratio/
nis Iesu
Christi
filij Da
uid, filij
Abra
hā. Ab
raham

genuit Isaac. Isaac autem, genuit Ia
cob. Iacob autem, genuit Iudā, & fra
tres eius. Iudas autem, genuit Phares,
& Zarā ē Thamar. Phares autem, ge
nuit Elsom. Elsom autem, genuit Arā.
Aram autem, genuit Aminadab.
Aminadab autem, genuit Naasson.
Naasson autem, genuit Salmon. Sal
mon autem, genuit Booz, ē Rhachab.
Booz autem, genuit Obed, ē Ruth.
Obed autem, genuit Iesse. Iesse autem ge
a nuit



IO. FRÖB.
TYPIS EX
CVDEBAT.
ΜΟΜΗΖΕΤΑΙ
ΤΙΣ ΘΑΥΣΟΝ
Η ΜΙΜΗΣ
ΤΑΙ.

7b 49

ΘΗΣΑΥΡΟΣ ΤΗΣ
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΓΛΩΣΣΗΣ,

THESAVRVS
GRAECAE LINGVAE,

Ab Henrico Stephano constructus.

IN QVO PRÆTER ALIA PLVRIMA
quæ primus præstitit, (paternæ in Thesauro Latino dili-
gentiæ æmulus) vocabula in certas classes distribuit, mul-
tiplici deriuatorum serie ad primigenia, tanquam ad radi-
ces vnde pullulant, reuocata.

THESAVRVS LECTORI,

Nunc alii intrepidè vestigia nostra sequantur:
Me duce plana via est quæ salebrosa fuit.



ANNO M. D. LXXII,
excudebat Henr. Stephanus.

CVM PRIVILEGIO CÆS. MAIESTA-
TIS, ET CHRISTIANISS. GAL-
LIARVM REGIS.

From Paris to Geneva. A book centre that was a bastion of the Reformation and heir to the classical tradition. Right in the middle of the sixteenth century, in 1550, driven from Paris by the scholasticism of the Sorbonne theologians, Robert Estienne arrived at Geneva; his luggage contained copies of his famous Greek types and his books.¹⁴⁵ At the same time, but arriving from a different direction, from Arras, another family of printers, the Crespins, would also make their presence felt in Geneva.¹⁴⁶ Thus the adherents of the Reformation, headed since 1541 by John Calvin, found in these printers some of their most loyal allies: through their publications they provided essential assistance to the Reformers' aspirations for a new 'true Church', a Church that would reflect the 'true' word of God. Other theologians from the North left home to take refuge with Calvin, and eminent literary scholars and Hellenists as well: Théodore de Bèze, Guillaume Farel, Gaspar de Coligny and many others.¹⁴⁷ In the firm belief that the aim of disseminating the word of Jesus Christ is best served by the Greek New Testament,¹⁴⁸ a new literature was born under the auspices of the Reformation, leading naturally to a spate of book-writing that nurtured the 'Reformation Library'. In the context of this movement the teaching of Greek became established in Calvin's college¹⁴⁹ and the Greek publications of the Estiennes and Jean Crespin were warmly received by all European Hellenists, as well as by Luther's followers, in spite of the truly unprecedented 'blockade' imposed by the Catholics and enforced by the House of Savoy, which hampered the movement of goods in and out of Geneva.

The college established by Calvin and the printing houses that were founded later had a formative influence on the education of the inhabitants of Geneva and the refugees that flocked to the city from Scotland, Belgium, France, England and even Italy. Upon his arrival at Geneva, Calvin prioritized the creation of an educational centre at the elementary level. The increase in the local population because of the influx of refugees necessitated a different educational approach. Further-



18. Guillaume Farel. Engraving by an anonymous artist.



19. Cardinal Jacopo Sadoleto. Engraving by E.V.W. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

17. The title page of the *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, [Geneva], Henri Estienne, 1572.

more, in 1559 the printing press of Robert Estienne published the statutes of the college in French and Latin, drawn up by Calvin in cooperation with de Bèze: *Leges Academiae Geneuensis* or *L'Ordre du Collège*.¹⁵⁰ This text also discusses the establishment of an Academy, in which courses at the university level would also be offered. The elementary education was clearly Hellenocentric – it included the teaching of Isocrates' works on rhetoric and education in general, Xenophon and Polybius on history, while the works of Homer were taught and commented on as a matter of course, as he was considered the poet *par excellence*. Finally, every Saturday students were required to study the Gospel in Greek.¹⁵¹



20. The Geneva College. Engraving by Pierre Escuyer.

The Academy featured four chairs: Theology, Greek, Hebrew and the Arts (the sciences of the seven Liberal Arts – the Trivium and the Quadrivium). The main concern of the professors was the teaching of philosophy: Aristotle and Plato, Plutarch and the works of certain Christian philosophers. The poems of Homer and not the Bible or the Gospels formed the cornerstone of this educational system; the supreme bard owes this pride of place to Calvin.¹⁵² In this perspective, the philosophy of the Reformation elevates Greek to the status of a *lingua sacra*, for the Greek New Testament represents the true Word of God. Thus Greek was to become a stable and enduring bridge between Christian religion and Plato, Aristotle and, naturally, Homer.

The chair of Greek which had been established was left vacant following François Bérauld's resignation,¹⁵³ for want of a suitable teacher of the calibre of Robert Estienne or Théodore de Bèze. Frangiskos Portos, a Greek also persecuted by the followers of Roman Catholicism, arrived at Geneva in 1561. By *ca.* 1545, Portos, who was probably born in Candia, Crete, had been teaching Greek in Modena and other Italian cities. No sooner had he openly sided with the Reformation, however, he became a target for the Catholics; he was arrested and condemned by the Venetian Inquisition. After spending some time in jail he was released, having 'renounced' his former convictions.¹⁵⁴ He landed up at Geneva where Calvin, recognizing his erudition and piety, entrusted him with the

Chair of Greek at the Academy. Portos's co-operation with Calvin was harmonious, and he also became friends with his successor, Théodore de Bèze.¹⁵⁵

Apart from his noteworthy teaching activities, being intimately versed in ancient and modern Greek he began composing works and providing editorial services for other publications.¹⁵⁶ He

translated and annotated a large number of texts, most of which were left unpublished during his lifetime; his son, Aimilios, later saw to their publication.¹⁵⁷ Frangiskos, however, managed to see his Latin translations of Synesios's *Hymns* and some of Gregory of Nazianzos's odes published.¹⁵⁸ He also published the sole theological text he

authored: it was a libel in Latin against his former colleague and now opponent of Calvinism, Pierre Charpentier.¹⁵⁹ Finally he composed moving epigrams on the death of Calvin's son: 'Who will be the shepherd of the nations now?'¹⁶⁰

Frangiskos Portos passed away in 1581 and bequeathed his very substantial library to his son, also a scholar and teacher; this contained a large number of his own unpublished works as well as manuscripts and printed books of his time. Among his most significant scholarly accomplishments was his work on emending the texts of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, which were released in instalments by Jean Crespin and his successors (1559-1570).¹⁶¹



21. Calvin. Woodcut from Théodore de Bèze, *Icones*, Geneva, 1580.

Libraries at the service of printing houses. Contrary to the other European book centres of international repute, most of which were in cities with a long intellectual tradition and well-stocked university, ecclesiastical and private libraries, Geneva lacked such credentials. Although local printing houses operated there as early as in 1478, their publishing output was restricted (only about a hundred titles in all) and its thematic orientation was unrelated to the humanistic concerns that were emerging in the West.¹⁶² There was no public library, and only in 1559 did the Council of Geneva force local publishers to deposit three copies ('for the creation of a library') of each new publication together with the requisite publication permit.¹⁶³ Thus the private libraries of scholars, printing houses and humanists became tools necessary for any publishing activity. To the best of our knowledge, there are no testimonies on private or other Genevan libraries for that era, or on those of Robert and Henri Estienne or of Crespin; thus any attempt to reconstruct these libraries necessarily relies on the local publishing output or on scattered pieces of information gleaned from their correspondence and the dedicatory prefaces in their books. It would be extremely interesting to know, for instance, the library Robert Estienne bequeathed to his son Henri, as well as its contents when the latter produced his important works, the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* and the editions of Plato.

Robert
Estienne's
library

Here we should mention some events and draw conclusions concerning the publishing venture of Henri Estienne, taking into consideration the manuscripts and printed material he had at his disposal to carry out his publishing programme. We know that between 1547 and 1555 he continuously travelled between the Italian cities, the Netherlands and England in search of Greek codices.¹⁶⁴ The first Parisian edition of Anacreon's *Odes* was actually based on one of his finds. This manuscript was acquired at Louvain; it formerly belonged to the collection of the Englishman John Clement, a friend of More's.¹⁶⁵ Estienne's library probably contained Athenagoras's *Apology*, an edition that had been edited by him in 1557.¹⁶⁶ It is also possible that this first edition was based on a codex belonging to the collection of the famous Swiss humanist Conrad Gesner, who commissioned Estienne, adding some of his own comments to the Greek text.¹⁶⁷ Athenagoras's work proved extremely timely in this period of ecclesiastical feuds, for it contained a coalescence of ancient Greek philosophical thinking with tools of the Christian faith.

22. Title page of Frangiskos Portos's *Commentarii on Pindar's Odes*, I. Sylvius [Geneva], 1583.

FRANCISCI

PORTI CRETENSIS,

COMMENTARIUM IN

PINDARI

*Olympia, Pythia, Nemea,
Isthmia.*



Apud Ioannem Syluium.

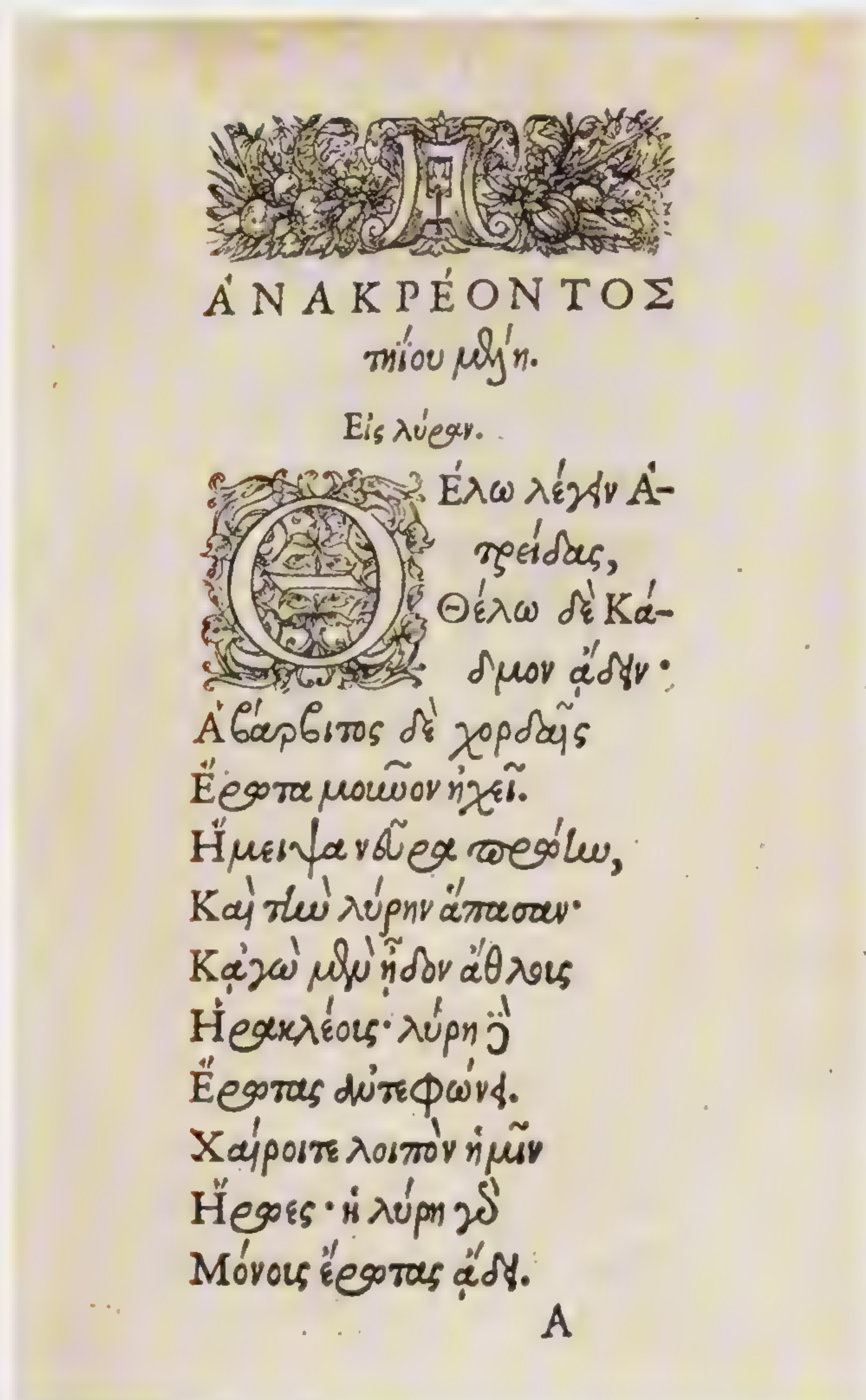
M. D. LXXXIII.

H. 1513

Another manuscript, discovered and bought by Estienne in Italy, contained two essays by Appian, the *Iberica* and *De gestis Annibalis*, which had been omitted from the edition of Charles Estienne, printed in Paris in 1551. These works of Appian were included in a volume containing miscellaneous works: it opened with Ctesias of Cnidus, also a first edition (Geneva 1557).¹⁶⁸ The first edition of Sextus

Empiricus's *Outlines of Pyrrhonism* in a Latin translation by Henri Estienne is fascinating in all respects.¹⁶⁹ This is the book that above all introduced French intellectuals to Scepticism, and Estienne's translation greatly influenced Montaigne's *Essays*¹⁷⁰; Montaigne kept a copy in his library.¹⁷¹ In 1566 Henri Estienne released his monumental publication *Poetae Graeci Principes Heroici Carminis* in two volumes, with the first dedicated to Homeric poetry. He informs us that in order to arrive at the final text he collated eighteen previous editions and one *vetustissimum exemplar*, and with these he managed to produce what was to prove the most authoritative text of the Homeric epics until the late nineteenth century.¹⁷²

Estienne's most popular work in French bore the title *L'Introduction au traité ... ou Traité préparatif à l'Apologie pour Hérodote* (Geneva, 1566).¹⁷³ This



23. A page from Anacreon's Odes, Paris, Henri Estienne, 1554.

was a defence of Herodotus's veracity, an undertaking which offered him the chance to launch a vehement attack on the Roman Catholic Church and censure the mores of sixteenth-century society. By examining the narrative of the 'Father of History' and cross-checking many of his facts, he concludes there is no compelling reason to discredit the testimony of the great Greek historian. He uses comparative material from stories, myths and tales drawn from Boccaccio, Froissart, Sleidanus, Commines, Erasmus and many others. This edition included the first printed critique of Rabelais's oeuvre. The popularity of his *Apologie pour Hérodote* is uncontested: it saw twelve editions from 1566 to 1598. Anticipating the wide cir-

culatation of educational textbooks, Estienne released the *editio princeps* of the rhetorical compositions (*Declamationes*) of Polemon of Laodicea (he was a friend to Trajan and Hadrian) and Himerius, an orator who could boast that he had taught prominent persons such as Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzos.¹⁷⁴ Although the provenance of the original is not specified, he probably acquired the manuscript while in Italy. Another manuscript Estienne had discovered and kept in his library contained Diogenes Laertius's *Vitae* (Geneva, 1570); the text contained the original Greek and a Latin translation with passages not found in previous versions.¹⁷⁵ Using old manuscripts he had in his possession or had access to, Estienne published Plutarch's complete works (Geneva, 1572), in translations by Erasmus, Xylander, Budé, Turnèbe, Pirckheimer and many others.¹⁷⁶ In 1573, Estienne published an autonomous edition, which often accompanies the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (1572) and served as a linguistic tool for the composition of the *Thesaurus*. This comprised the *editiones principes* of two of the most ancient Byzantine lexica: the *Glossaries* of pseudo-Philoxenus and pseudo-Cyrillus.¹⁷⁷ Estienne marks the beginning of a new chapter in dialectology through his extensive comments on the Greek dialects; his work became the model for similar endeavours.

Another major step in the direction of linking European intellectual life with ancient philosophy was the *editio princeps* of the fragments of the Presocratic philosophers (Geneva, 1573), which contained texts by Empedocles, Parmenides, Xenophanes, Cleanthes, Pythagoras, Heraclitus and others.¹⁷⁸ The four pages accompanying the edition as an appendix contained notes on Empedocles, signed by Joseph Justus Scaliger.

This publication of Henri Estienne's (*Poesis philosophica*) was a composite work containing material drawn from various sources found in his library, Diogenes Laer-



24. Title page of *Institutio Christianae Religionis*, [Geneva], Robert Estienne, 1551.

tius and Sextus Empiricus, as well as many other works of secular and Christian authors who quoted passages from their metrical compositions.¹⁷⁹ Estienne released his edition of Plato's works in 1578; in the prologue the editor discusses the standards set for this undertaking: it was intended as an edition worthy of the great philosopher and the printing house – *Platonis Opera*.¹⁸⁰ For the Greek text Estienne collated the first edition prepared by Markos Mousouros for Aldus (1513), as well as the Basel editions (1534-1566); for the *Laws* he also used the Louvain



25. Engraving depicting Paul Loosli's printing press at Geneva and Versoix.

edition (1531), as well as various manuscripts that had come into his possession.¹⁸¹ For the Latin text he did not rely on the standard translation of Ficino, but commissioned Jean de Serres to produce a new one, which he supplemented and corrected himself.¹⁸² In the Greek-Latin edition of Herodian's *Historiarum libri* (Geneva, 1581), Estienne included a passage of Roman history covering the period A.D. 395-410, composed in Greek by Zosimus (*editio princeps* of the work), of which he had a copy in his library.¹⁸³

Henri Estienne also published the first Graeco-Latin edition of Dicaearchus's *Geography* (Geneva, 1589), a work also known under the title *Life of Greece*.¹⁸⁴ A disciple

of Aristotle, Dicaearchus was the first author to attempt to compile a world history of civilization. In his prologue, Estienne informs Nicolas Brullard, the French ambassador to Switzerland, that Dicaearchus's text had been printed years ago, based on a manuscript obtained by Matthieu Budé, son of Guillaume, on his exploratory trip to Italy. However, he had postponed the publication of the book in the hope that he would be able to track down Scylax's *Periplous*, in which he was unsuccessful.¹⁸⁵ From the Italian market Estienne also acquired two works by Appian, the *Iberica* and the *Hannibalica*; these proved useful in republishing the complete corpus of Appian's writings (Geneva, 1592).¹⁸⁶

These few references to Henri Estienne's publishing achievements allow us, without straying from the known facts, to outline the two sections of his library (manuscripts and printed texts): this sheds some light on the book collections of all the members of the Estienne family. Apparently, the Estiennes acquired at the Frankfurt Book Fair any books that would widen their intellectual horizons, and all editions of Graeco-Roman literature that they had on their publishing programme. We should not forget that Estienne also wrote and published his book about the Frankfurt Fair (*Francofordiense Emporium*) in 1574.¹⁸⁷ Various other editions found their way into his book collection, as gifts either from Genevan printers or from the wider circle of printers in Northern Europe, as well as works by contemporary scholars and supporters of the Reformation.

Then again, the success of the Estienne publishing house relied on the publication of new and authoritative editions, not reissues of works by Italian printing houses, many of which – in light of the discovery of more ancient manuscripts closer to the original texts – were in need of new recensions. We should also mention here the first illustrated Bible published by Robert Estienne (Paris, 1540); this was a reissue of the 1527 edition, but with a text revised with the help of sixteen manuscripts and three printed editions.¹⁸⁸ The following anecdote is revealing for his publishing practices: during a voyage, he made a short stop at Vienna, where he came upon the famous codex containing Dioscorides's *De Materia Medica*, commissioned by the Byzantine princess Juliana Anicia in the sixth century.¹⁸⁹ He ordered a copy of the codex to be prepared for him and commissioned Ioannes Sambucus who promised to edit the work's Latin translation.¹⁹⁰

The long travels of Henri Estienne in Southern and Northern Europe, the remnants of the library he inherited from his father, Robert, and the fine library of Ulrich Fugger, which he had access to and had helped enrich (he was known as Fugger's printer, *Huldrici Fuggeri typographus*), resulted in the creation by the Estienne firm at Geneva of a truly enviable 'library', a fact which is also attested by their total publishing output.¹⁹¹

Calvin signals the birth of Greek printing at Geneva, for in his first Greek printed text he expounds his views on the Reformation in terms of the language of the Gospels: this was a catechism book, the *Institutio Christianae Religionis*, translated into Attic Greek (Robert Estienne, 1551).¹⁹²

The great printing houses of Geneva: Crespin and Estienne. Jean Crespin holds pride of place as the first printer of Greek works at Geneva. Having studied at Louvain and spent time in Paris, he was accused of heresy and moved to Geneva in 1548. After giving up his studies in Jurisprudence, and in co-operation with Conrad Badius, he turned to the art of printing with metal types.¹⁹³ Having enriched his typesets with Greek and Latin characters, in 1551 he published Louis Enoch's *Partitiones grammaticae*, a Greek grammar, intended as a textbook for the College and the Academy.¹⁹⁴ Crespin's 1554 edition of the *Lexicon Graecolatinum* is a veritable feat of publishing.¹⁹⁵ The story of this edition reflects the philological adventures of the era: Charlotte Guillard, the widow of Jacques Toussain (who had been Professor of Greek at the Royal College), edited her husband's manuscript material and with the help of the printer Federic Morel published in 1552 the *Lexicon Graecolatinum*, which, however, by no means came up to the expectations of the Hellenists of the time.¹⁹⁶ Jean Budé, though, the eldest son of Guillaume, also found his way to Geneva bringing with him, among other things, his father's notebooks, which he handed over to Crespin. Relying on Toussain's dictionary and Budé's notes, Crespin published the *Lexicon Graecolatinum seu Thesaurus linguae Graecae...* (1554), an aid for studying Greek and Latin, in folio, of no less than 1,500 pages.¹⁹⁷ It would be safe to assume there was a great need for such works, for the *Lexicon* was soon sold out, leading Crespin to print a second edition in 1562, which incorporated the valuable notes compiled by the French physician Robert Constantin, a student of Julius Caesar Scaliger.¹⁹⁸ Due to the increased demand this edition was soon sold out as well, and in 1566 another edition of the *Lexicon* appeared, this one in a more practical two-volume format, with important additions and improvements contributed by Frangiskos Portos.¹⁹⁹ Crespin's costly publishing project was carried on by his successor, Eustache Vignon and his assignees, with a fourth edition (1572), to be followed by a further two, in 1592 and 1598.²⁰⁰ Apparently the authority of the *Lexicon* was by now recognized de facto, especially following the publication of Estienne's *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* in 1572.²⁰¹ The universal acclaim earned by these lexicographical works, products of the labour of many linguists, philologists and printers, reflects the appreciation of the methods employed in emending and translating the texts – mostly ancient Greek.

Robert Estienne criticizes the dictionaries of the Crespin publishing house as the products of an outdated lexicographical approach, derived from the first diglot lexica of Crastoni, dating to the 1470s.²⁰² Estienne could offer instead a dictionary that in every respect laid the foundations of modern lexicography, the *Dictionarium seu Latinae linguae Thesaurus...* (Paris, 1543); in that work Estienne included

entire passages drawn from rhetorical, historical, poetical and other works.²⁰³ Robert envisioned that printing would help disseminate and make prominent even most ‘arcane’ works of the Graeco-Roman tradition. His aim was to illustrate the heavy reliance of Latin literature on Greek works by composing an original dictionary, a precursor to his *magnum opus*, the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, on which he was already working. This is the *Ciceronianum lexicum Graecolatinum*, printed at Geneva in 1557²⁰⁴; in it he collected and arranged in facing columns the original Greek words and phrases and their Latin translations by Cicero. All this lexico-



26. Jacques Toussain. Engraving from *T. de Bèze, Icones*, Geneva, 1580.



27. Portrait of Joseph Justus Scaliger published by J. Meursius in *Athenae Batavae*, Leiden, 1613.

graphical and etymological material edited by the Geneva printers reveals what was the pre-eminent workshop of textual scholarship in Europe: only here could one find works comparable in quality to Politian’s *Miscellanea*, only in Geneva were the ancient texts emended with the painstaking care previously exhibited only by the Aldine printing house.

Like Aldus’ generous patron Alberto Pio, Raimond Fugger²⁰⁵, an influential European banker and a great collector and bibliophile, supported the publishing vision of the Estiennes at Geneva. Fugger’s son, Ulrich, grew up to be an avid bib-

liophile himself, and his collection acquired historical significance because of the great number and rarity of the books it contained. In publishing terms, the vision of a thesaurus of the Greek language was not flawed, for Estienne knew that Greek studies in continental Europe had become the province of the Reformers, i.e. the followers of Luther and Calvin; therefore he possessed the requisite credentials to publish his valuable work for the use of those scholars and their students. From



28. The printer's mark used by Henri Estienne at Geneva from 1554 to 1598.



29. One of Jean Crespin's printer's marks, attested from 1550 to 1571.

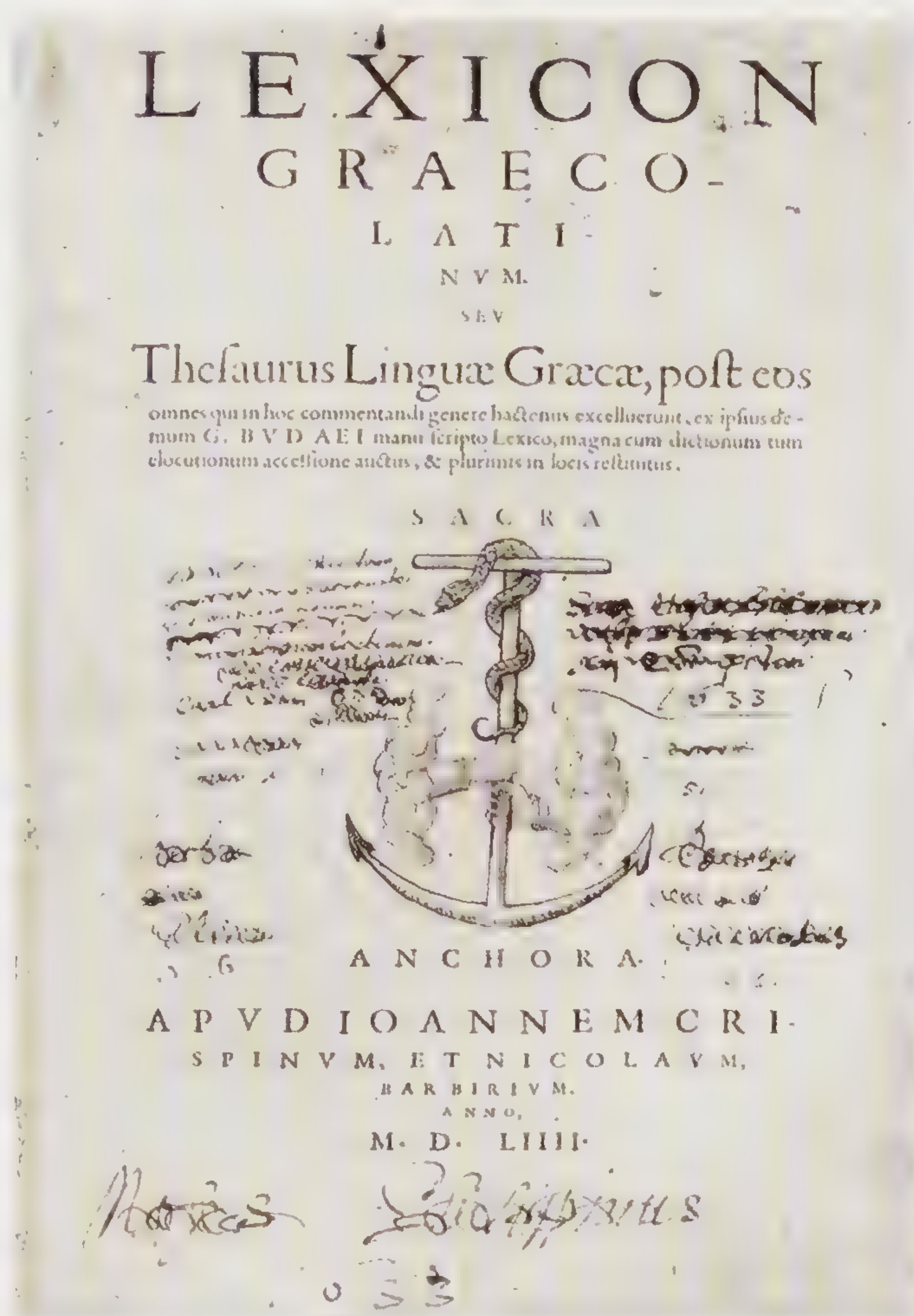
an early time, when Robert Estienne was still in Paris, he had started compiling a card index that later provided him with the nucleus of his *Thesaurus*; while at Geneva he continued this work, and in 1555 he enlisted the help of his son Henri, who wrote up the index cards (*schedae*). It would take another ten years for the completion of this undertaking. In fact, preparations for its printing began even before the entire material had been finalized. The result of this time-consuming and, in printing terms, challenging project is an exemplar of a teaching aid, a remarkable work that in many respects remains unsurpassed. As a reference work, however, it proved impractical, for the words were not arranged in alphabetical order, but organized side by side with the etyma from which they derive, while the notes were also disorderly.²⁰⁶ Notwithstanding these practical defects, it inspired

the composition of handier dictionaries, suitable for the basic, everyday needs of those studying and translating classical Greek works, such as the *Lexicon Graecolatinum* by Estienne's assistant Jean Scapula, published at Basel in 1580.²⁰⁷

The five-volume edition of the *Thesaurus*, which ran to more than 2,400 pages, came out in 2,901 copies: it earned Robert and Henri Estienne great fame; unfortunately it also brought about their financial ruin.²⁰⁸ Crespin and the Estiennes in particular, as well as a wider circle of lexicographers like Scapula, whose dictionary was printed by Guillaume Laimarius, continued preparing and publishing abridgements and flooded the European market with their products, but at great cost to themselves.²⁰⁹ Every ecclesiastical, college and university library was enriched by these books, and bibliophiles and scholars everywhere would proudly show off such copies on the shelves of their libraries.

The Catholic Church's polemic against book production. At various times, manuscripts and printed books were targeted by the Church for their heretical content and were usually consigned to the pyre. Never before, however, had the entire publishing and printing output of a whole city been targeted by the Catholic Church solely because its authors were dissidents. The city of Geneva was blockaded and the troops of the

House of Savoy controlled the trade routes in all directions; thus the only channel through which these printers could come into contact with other European centres of learning and bastions of the Reformation was Lake Geneva. The remarkably large print runs of the humanistic works printed at Geneva obviously means that these books were not destined solely for the city's meagre market of students and other readers, but were aimed at a much wider clientele. In the early sixteenth century, the main sales outlet for the European printing presses was the Frankfurt



30. Title page of Toussain's *Lexicon Graecolatinum*, featuring G. Budé's notes and printed at Geneva by J. Crespin and N. Barbier in 1554.

Book Fair, held twice a year in spring and autumn.²¹⁰ For the Genevan printing presses, however, the roads to Frankfurt were by no means strewn with roses. Virtually all books with 'Geneva' given as their place of publication were burned in the Catholic centres. Furthermore, at Lyon, apart from the fact that the local authorities were loyal to the Roman Catholic Church, books from Geneva were 'persecuted' for reasons of commercial antagonism – Lyon was a great publishing centre in France, second only to Paris. The Genevan printing houses therefore refrained from mentioning the place of publication on the title pages of their products. At first glance their prefaces were vague about the location of the press they came from, and so readers were left with the impression that they were printed at Frankfurt, Heidelberg or even Paris. Instead of a place of publication, one finds different indications at different periods, or even complete silence on the subject; sometimes these books give *Coloniae Allobrogum*, i.e. Köln, as their place of origin.

Apart from the need to disguise the place of publication, there were further difficulties in marketing these books abroad, difficulties that were unique in book history in terms of the vehemence of the opposition to the free movement of ideas and knowledge in general. The printed books from Geneva's publishing houses failed to reach the Frankfurt Book Fair and other markets in the form one finds them on library shelves nowadays. After printing, the sheets of paper were wrapped up, packed into barrels and transported to ports like Mollat. From there, barges crossed the lake to the town of Morges, which belonged to the Republic of Berne. Thence a long river journey began: from Yverdon, via Lake Neuchâtel, the River Thielle, Lake Bienne and the rivers Aar and Rhine, the barrels were carried to Frankfurt. There, local workshops bound the books and forwarded them to stands at the Book Fair and to bookshops in Germany, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, Scotland and England. But Genevan publications did not appear in Italian, French or Spanish bookshops, thus depriving readers of high-quality, reliable recensions of the old standard editions of the classics under the imprint of the Estiennes. Oddly enough, the philhellenic France of François I turned its back on these developments in Greek studies and focused on cultivating Latin studies. It is obviously a sign of the times that this official stance of French intellectuals led to their becoming ignorant of Greek – this was true even for the great national authors of France during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with the exception of Racine and Chenier, whose mother was Greek. Jesuit involvement in this affair is obvious, for they could compare works by Horace, Quintilian, Seneca and Virgil vis-à-vis major works of Greek literature and philosophy, in particular.

Book fairs as a means for the enrichment of libraries. During the fifteenth century, in the countries where the art of printing was practised there were no bookshops as we understand them today. Given that the products of the printing presses had flooded the great European intellectual centres, one cannot help wondering how printed books reached their prospective buyers. In order to get an idea of the problem, we should mention that in Paris alone the sixteenth century saw the publication of 25,000 books that corresponded to bibliographical standards, giving us a figure of approximately 12 million copies; and Paris was not the overwhelmingly dominant publishing centre in France – Lyon could boast that its printing presses produced no fewer than 15,000 titles.²¹¹

In a previous chapter we have noted that some printers and publishing houses worried, even despaired, at the prospect of not eliciting the sort of response from the book-reading public that would allow them to stay in business.²¹² We have also seen the birth of the practice of releasing catalogues and advertising pamphlets that stirred the interest of bibliophiles and encouraged book orders and the creation of pre-order lists.²¹³ By the 1490s the book trade started becoming commercially systematized and printers and publishers created outlets in many European cities, thus rendering their publishing output more accessible. Anton Koberger, for instance, a printer from Nürnberg and the publisher of the celebrated Nürnberg Chronicle, maintained bookshops in France (Paris, Toulouse and Lyon). Similarly, from 1489, Hans Rix, a printer at Valencia, sold books produced by Venetian printers in various cities in Spain.²¹⁴



31. Engraving depicting Alain Chartier teaching, from *Les Faictz et dietz*, Paris 1526.



C Ces presentes heures a l'insai-
ge de Paris toutes au long sans
rien requir/ avec plusieurs belles
hystoires: nouvellemēt imprimees

These activities of individual printers and the various means they employed soon led to the creation of book fairs, initially serving only local markets; soon, however, these evolved into meeting-points for printers, publishers, book merchants and even authors from all over Europe. One of the earliest and most important was Lyon²¹⁵ – the city was famous for its early and industrious printing presses, dating back to the fifteenth century. What is more, the city was the seat of great international exhibitions for a variety of commodities, and the wars between France and the Italian states strengthened its international commercial business even further. Local markets and rulers alike recognized the value of the Book Fair and granted privileges to the merchants, which gave even greater impetus to their activities.

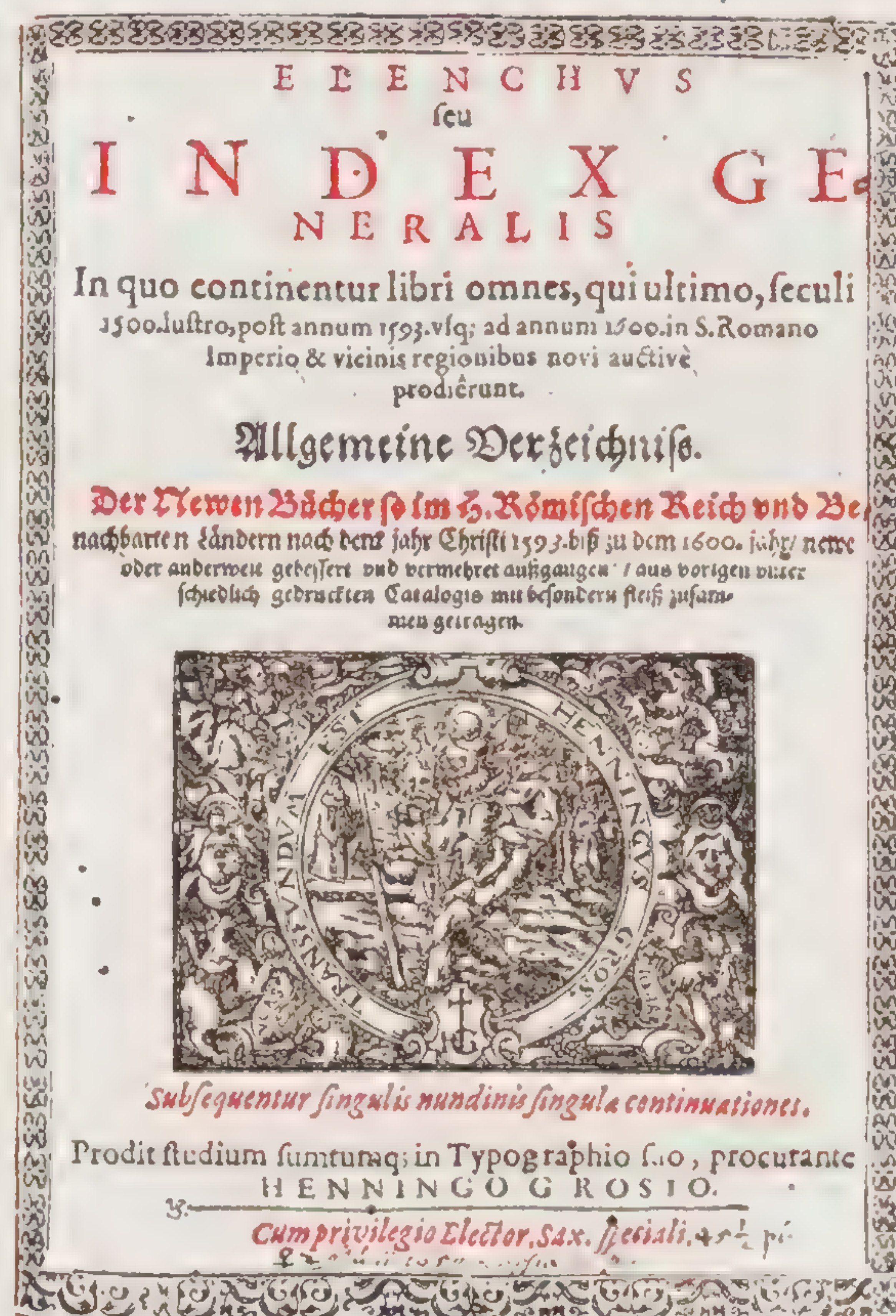
The importance of the successful establishment of an international book fair at Lyon is evident from the fact that printing houses did not hesitate to create outlets there, seeking a piece of the everyday book trade and thus strengthening their ties with local authorities and the commercial world in general. The Giunti, for instance, originating from faraway Florence, founded a printing press at Lyon with excellent results.²¹⁶ Thus Lyon became a nodal point for books, and its market distributed printed publications not only to the rest of France, but to nearby Spain, as well as to Italy and Germany.

In the early sixteenth century more book fairs opened, with the Frankfurt Fair in the ascendant, emerging as the point of reference for contemporary book production, as well as for earlier European books.²¹⁷ The Frankfurt Fair became the meeting place for merchants and printers from Vienna, Venice, Antwerp, Amsterdam and Lyon, as well as Strasbourg, Basel, Nürnberg and Ulm. Over the years, the Frankfurt Fair attracted more and more new booksellers and printing houses and greater numbers of the book-buying public, resulting in the participation there of smaller book centres like Wittenberg and Tübingen, for instance. The interests of the people involved in the Frankfurt Fair were not confined to the production and marketing of books, but gradually extended to include printing equipment as well: presses and, above all, founts of type and ornaments used in books, like initials and headpieces. Together with these people, authors attempting to promote their works, translators and editors, and all those generally interested in the publishing process were present at the Frankfurt Book Fair. Such was the wealth of this fair, that Henri Estienne went so far as to dub the Frankfurt Book Fair a ‘new Athens’, a place reminiscent of Plato’s Academy.²¹⁸

32. *Thielman Kerver’s printer’s mark, bordered by a Renaissance-style frame, from the Book of Hours, Paris, T. Kerver, 1522.*

One of the innovations introduced at this fair was the publication of a yearly catalogue listing new releases, which provided all interested parties with a complete overview of all recent books. The catalogues of the publishing houses were not, of course, an exclusive innovation of the organizers of the Frankfurt Book Fair; they date back to the first half of the sixteenth century and were often released by various French and Italian printing presses, listing recent and older editions, together with unsold copies from other printing presses.²¹⁹ These catalogues

changed hands at Frankfurt, yet these pamphlets and brochures were unable to accurately capture the true dimensions of the immense yearly output of European books. This being the case, the compilation of a catalogue that would reflect the entire book production exhibited at the fair seemed inevitable. In 1564 a bookseller from Augsburg, Georg Willer, decided to publish an annual catalogue containing all of the publications offered in the fair, which was gradually systematized by 1568.²²⁰ Other printers followed his example, like Johann Sauer and Peter Schmidt, and in 1598 the local city council took over and started releasing an official catalogue, which was published without interruption until the late eighteenth century. This valuable



33. Catalogue of books from the Frankfurt Book Fair, containing publications dated from 1593 to 1600. Published by H. Grossius, *Index Generalis*, Leipzig, 1600.

catalogue became the principal tool of bibliophiles, for in it they could track down rare and unique printed editions, many of which are no longer extant. It is telling that the catalogues for the period between 1564 and 1600 contained more than 20,000 titles, 14,724 of which represent German publications from 117 printing houses operating in 61 different cities.²²¹

Censorship: the bane of books. The Catholic Church, that ‘upholder of orthodoxy’ in matters of Christian dogma, had already provided ample evidence of the way it treated deviations from the correct way of interpreting the holy texts: this

applied to sermons and any written texts expressing 'heretical' views. Such texts faced the prospect of being consigned to the flames, as in the case of Pierre Abelard's *Sic et Non*.²²²

Although ecclesiastical circles initially welcomed the diffusion of typography, seeing that the Christians of Europe exhibited a clear preference for the Bible and patristic works, printed books soon became a headache, especially when there was talk of reformation. As early as 1475, Pope Sixtus IV granted the authorities of the Cologne University the privilege of censoring printers, publishers, authors and even readers of books with heretical tendencies.²²³ In 1486, Archbishop Berthold of Mainz, consumed by zealous righteousness and brandishing Innocent VII's papal bull, commissioned two clergymen of the cathedral and two theologians to examine the books that had been printed, and in 1496 declared that no book was to be released without prior approval, on pain of excommunication.²²⁴ Over the years more printing centres were targeted by local Church officials imposing censorship, like Niccolò Franco, Archbishop of Treviso and papal legate at Venice. Franco issued a decree that no book dealing with matters of faith or the doctrine of papal primacy would be allowed to leave the printing press without the approval of the local Church.²²⁵ The sentences passed against Antonio Roselli and Pico della Mirandola vividly illustrate the attitudes of the upholders of religious orthodoxy.²²⁶

By the early sixteenth century the interventions of the Catholic Church had multiplied, and in 1501 Pope Alexander VI, with the bull *Inter multiplices*, appointed a commission in Germany for the purpose of censoring any book to be released. Indeed, he assigned censoring responsibilities to three Elector Archbishops,



34. A court in session. Woodcut from Guillaume Le Rouillé, *Justice atque injusticie descriptionum compendium*. Paris 1520.

among them the Archbishop of Magdeburg(!). Notwithstanding all the penalties, however, the proscribed texts that managed to get into print multiplied to the point that it was deemed necessary to record these in an *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, a list of proscribed books, to facilitate the censors' work.²²⁷

During the deliberations of the Fifth Lateran Council (4th May, 1515), Pope Leo X issued the bull (*Super impressione librorum*) which concerned the fate of books – this was the third and last papal encyclical before the Reformation. In that bull, the pope hailed the invention of typography, describing it as a 'divine gift', for it afforded even the weakest strata of society access to reading. The Church's main concern, however, was to safeguard orthodoxy; thus, on pain of excommunication, the Pope forbade the release of any book without the prior approval of the local bishop and censor; books printed at Rome also had to be approved by the Cardinal Vicar and the Camerlengo. Any books not conforming to these rules were to be consigned to the pyre.²²⁸

In France, during the first decades of the sixteenth century, the responsibility for censoring books lay with the local Parliaments, and the Sorbonne theologians had almost absolute control over book-publishing policies.²²⁹ It is telling that all of Estienne's Latin publications that discussed biblical texts were condemned and included in the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*.²³⁰ In 1563, however, the king himself decided to promulgate a provision according to which no publication could be released without the so-called *Privilège du Roi*.²³¹ The obligatory issuance of privileges proliferated and became common practice in all German states and elsewhere; the authorities established publishing procedures, which turned the production of books into a state 'monopoly'.

The character of Renaissance libraries: from manuscripts to printed books. Between 1500 and the middle of the sixteenth century, typography achieved complete prevalence over the practice of manuscript-writing: manuscripts were replaced by printed books on the shelves of libraries and were now used only as primary sources for reference and editing by literary scholars and historians. They were also valued as examples of the handwriting of famous men of letters, containing calligraphic editions of texts featuring lavish illuminations and ornaments. The Renaissance had achieved its goal of disseminating knowledge and libraries ceased to be the exclusive privilege of the rich who tended to 'bury' their books there.²³²

In order to comprehend the importance of typography in Europe during the sixteenth century, one need only consider its output: Germany's printing presses

produced 45,000 publications; Venice alone 15,000; Paris more than 20,000, and Lyons almost as many as Venice, perhaps 13,000; England 10,000 and the Netherlands more than 12,000. These figures suggest that European publishers produced nearly 200,000 publications in all, corresponding to at least 200 million copies on the basis of the estimated print runs.²³³

The 'Reformation Library'. The ever-increasing cultivation of humanist learning, both privately and in European universities and colleges, did nothing to lessen scholarly interest in theological and didactic books of previous eras. At any rate, printing houses did not stop publishing titles such as the *Imitation of Christ*, lives of saints, the *Miroir de la Rédemption* or essays on the life of the Antichrist. Suso, Gerson and Nider were widely read, as well as the mystics, so popular in the preceding century. Of the Fathers of the Western Church, St. Augustine and St. Bernard continued to attract the interest of the faithful, while the pre-eminent philosophers of Scholasticism continued to be regarded as undisputed authorities: Ockham, Duns Scotus, Bricot, Buridan and others, the editions of whose works from the Parisian printing presses were much sought after.²³⁴

By the second decade of the sixteenth century, the religious arguments and tensions around the practices of the Roman Catholic Church were leading to an outbreak of the – until then – silent discontent with fiery sermons calling for a fundamental reformation of the Church. It should be considered almost certain that without the contribution of typography's efficient innovations, which evolved into a catalyst for the Reformation, the historical turn of events might have been very different. Using printing houses as their springboard, Luther and Calvin launched attacks against Rome, circulating their proclamations in print, and in the local vernaculars at that – not in Latin, which could be understood only by a small, privileged circle of ecclesiastics, theologians and classical scholars. As it transpired, typography served the cause of the Reformation in two ways: as a direct weapon in the hands of the Reformers, but also indirectly, for the Counter-Reformation provisions of the Catholics were printed and posted in churches, providing information on the tenets of the Reformation. By 31st October, 1517, when Luther posted a leaflet on the door of the Augustinian church at Wittenberg unequivocally condemning the issuing of indulgences, this theological dispute had become a war of pamphlets (*Flugschriften*).²³⁵ The text of Luther's leaflet, originally written in Latin, was translated into German and within two weeks his theses had been disseminated all over Germany. In 1521, he was summoned to appear before the members of the Diet at the city of Worms; as he journeyed through Germany, he

The war
of pamphlets

could not help but notice that imperial edicts ordering the burning of his works had been posted in all churches. In this way, however, congregations learnt about the basic texts of the Reformation, and many decided to study them in order to form a personal opinion.

Luther himself was astounded to discover the Christians of Germany had embraced his views against the validity of indulgences so passionately, and realized there was a public consensus that was only awaiting the signal for a rising against the sanctimonious attitude of the Roman Catholic Church. Erasmus's 'demolition' in 1516 of the Vulgate and his installation of the New Testament's original Greek text in its place as the authentic carrier of the Word of Christ, coupled with a new theological approach to the Scriptures formulated by Luther, formed an ideal hotbed for the emergence of a novel theological literature.²³⁶ Ulrich von Hütten, the architect of Protestantism's ascendancy, released in German the dialogues *Febris prima* and *Febris secunda* (1519-1520)²³⁷; Luther responded to the theologians' attacks in Latin, but they, to address a wider audience, published their riposte in German: *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation* (*To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation*) (1520). The printing presses of Wittenberg, the city that provided the spark for the Reformation, began producing practical booklets, written in a lucid and readable style, without any indication about their place and time of publication and, naturally, not identifying the printer. The sole clue was a headpiece, a portrait of Luther, pointing to the leader of the Reformation as the author of these texts.

This move by the Reformers had an unexpected impact on the reading habits of Luther's followers, who became avid consumers of pamphlets and booklets deriding the Pope and the Holy See's practices. In the 1520s, one could enumerate 630 such *Flugschriften*, discounting the numerous copies of various woodcuts that denounced the Pope and his milieu: the Pope-Ass, the Monk-Calf. At the same time, the products of German printing presses multiplied, with Luther's works accounting for the lion's share of the total publishing output: one third between 1518 and 1525. His *Sermon von dem Ablass und Gnade* alone saw more than twenty editions in almost seven years (1518-1525) and the same number of editions is reported for the *Sermon von der Betrachtung des heiligen Leidens Christi*. His great work *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation*, mentioned above, was reprinted in 1525 and in just three weeks more than 4,000 copies had been distributed; fourteen subsequent impressions are reported over a period of two years. Any printed material bearing Luther's signature played an emblematic role for his followers; his works

Luther's
published works

35. Luther in a contemporary engraving, mid 16th cent.

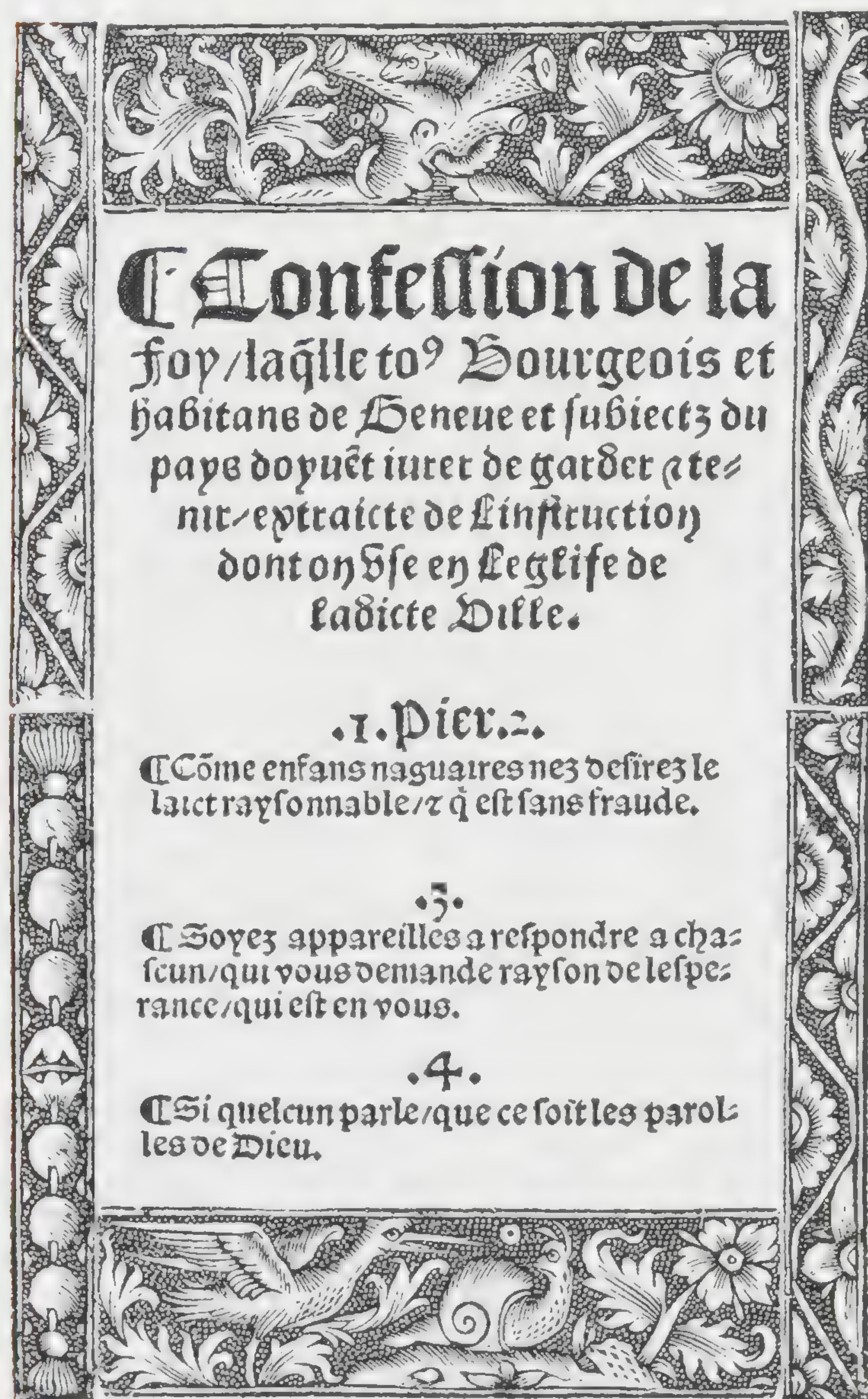


constituted the cornerstones of the Protestant moral outlook and stocked their libraries as well.²³⁸

Luther enjoyed an almost universal acclaim among German Christians, and he also enlisted the aid of German printers, who in this cultural setting can be described as powerful opinion-formers. They often refused to promote Catholic books and

wholeheartedly supported the works of Hütten, Melanchthon and, of course, Luther. The attacks launched against the pioneers of the Reformation with the aid of the printing press were ineffectual; copies of Thomas Murner's *Von dem grossen Lutherischen Narren* piled up unsold; even the demand for books by Erasmus, who never categorically denounced the Reformation, began to wane.²³⁹

It is telling that out of the seventy German printers examined in Goetze's study, forty-five at least openly sided with Luther: as one would expect, this was true of all the printers at Wittenberg, while only two out of eight at Strasbourg and three out of nine at Augsburg supported Catholicism. The overall picture for the German cities is somewhat more complicated, with local authorities exhibiting divided allegiances: some sided with the cause of the Reformation, and others, by and



36. *Confession de la foy*, a book addressed to the citizens of Geneva, which requires them to follow its precepts. Title page, printed in Geneva by Wigand Köln, 1537.

large politically motivated, joined the witch-hunt against it: Hans Guldenrund in Nürnberg was persecuted in 1527 for his anti-papal publications, while the Leipzig printers abandoned the city, for the censors only allowed publications in support of the Catholic Church.²⁴⁰

While the war between the Reformers and Catholics raged, with theologians striving to win over the Christian flock with theoretical arguments, Luther completed his German translation of the Bible. In September 1522 he released the New Testament at Wittenberg, and within about two years (1522-1524) all copies had been sold; fourteen reissues by Wittenberg printing presses are attested and sixty-six by printing presses at Basel, Strasbourg, Leipzig and Augsburg.²⁴¹ The German translation of the Old Testament was similarly successful, with its first edition appearing in 1523. Thus all members of German Reformist congregations (for even the illiterate could ask their literate friends to read aloud for them) gained access to the Scriptures: During the Peasants' War in Germany, each farmhouse became a school where the Old and New Testaments were read and studied, as reported by Zwingli himself.²⁴²

The success of Luther's publishing crusade was not confined to what has already been mentioned: the 'Lutheran library' swelled effusively like a river, multiplying its bibliographical output. Following his close collaboration with friends of the Reformation, Melanchthon for instance, new editions of the Old Testament appeared in various German dialects (87 in High German). These translations were also very well received, and it is attested that some of them were printed in no less than 3,000 copies. Apparently Hans Lufft's claim that between 1537 and 1574 he had sold over 100,000 copies should not be seen as an instance of empty boasting.²⁴³

While it is obviously right to explore this ecclesiastical dispute from the perspective of the developments in Biblical exegesis, or by examining Catholic policy and the issue of the privileges claimed by the officials of the Holy See and the Pope himself, such approaches should be supplemented by an assessment of the modes in which knowledge in general was disseminated. Luther's texts and, above all, his German translations of the Bible, became educational tools for Christians all over Europe, many of whom were completely illiterate; brandishing his books, all those who embraced Luther's message turned their cities into open schools. Reading does not satiate the thirst for knowledge, and the pursuit of truth only intensifies this yearning; this is the foundation which the entire philosophy of creating a home library is based on.

*German
translation
of the Bible*

NOTES

V

An Apostle
of Humanistic Ideas
from the North: Erasmus

NOTES

1. See F. Husner, 'Die Bibliothek des Erasmus', in *Gedenkschrift zum 400. Todestage des Erasmus von Rotterdam*, ed. von der Historischen und Antiquarischen Gesellschaft zu Basel, Basel, Verlag Braus-Riggenbach, 1936, 228-259; Patrizia Armandi, 'Erasmus da Rotterdam ei libri. Storia di una biblioteca', in *Bibliothecae Selectae. Da Cusano a Leopardi*, ed. E. Canone, Florence, Leo. S. Olschki, 1993, 13-72.
2. See A. Renaudet, *Préréforme et humanisme à Paris pendant les premières guerres d'Italie (1494-1517)*, Paris, Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1916 (= Renaudet, *Préréforme*); Id., *Érasme et l'Italie*, preface by Silvana Seidel Menchi, Geneva, Librairie Droz, 1998 (= Renaudet, *Érasme*).
3. The secondary literature on the life and works of Erasmus is immense; see mainly: R. Drummond, *Erasmus: His Life and Character as Shown in his Correspondence and Works*, London 1873; J. Mangan, *Life, Character and Influence of Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam*, 2 vols., New York 1927; J. Huizinga, *Erasmus of Rotterdam*, London 1952.
4. Deventer was the place of publication of the sole Greek book outside Italy in the incunabular period; this was the *Conjugationes verborum graecae*, printed before 18th December, 1488 (*BMC* IX, 50: IA 47796). It was published by R. Pafraet's printing house and the composition of the work, i.e. the Greek conjugations, are based on Chrysoloras's *Erotemata*; see L.A. Sheppard, 'Printing at Deventer in the Fifteenth Century', *The Library*, 4th ser., XXIV (1943-1944) 101-119.
5. The movement started by Groote later spread to northern Germany and up the River Vistula; his followers established a great number of schools, mainly attached to monasteries and equipped with printing presses. On the Devotio Moderna see R.R. Post, *Modern Devotion: Confrontation with Reformation and Humanism*, Leiden 1968.
6. See mainly P. Mestwerdt, *Die Anfänge des Erasmus, Humanismus und Devotio Moderna*, Leipzig 1917. On Agricola, see also p. 18 herein.
7. See Allen, I, 51 (epist. 1). This letter was sent from Gouda late in 1484. In the letters that followed, mailed from Gouda and Steyn, addressed to his close friend Servais Roger, he often quotes verses, mostly from Virgil's *Aeneid*, but also from Terence and Juvenal. In a later letter (*ca.* 1488) addressed to the same person, he cites phrases and maxims for the first time, some by 'Aesop', but predominantly from 'Pythagoras's' aphorisms: [*friends are*] *a single soul dwelling in two bodies* [Allen, I, 66-68 (epist. 15)]. In the Dutch book market, Aesop's fables were published by local printing houses: Jacobus de Breda had printed the *Fables* in L. Valla's Latin translation at Deventer, *ca.* 1486 (GW 319), and by 1500 it had been reprinted five times. At Gouda, the *Life and Fables* in a Dutch translation had been printed by Gerard Leeu, *ca.* 1485 (GW I, Sp. 169). Pythagoras's maxim was probably gleaned from Hierocles of Alexandria's work. *In aureos versus Pythagorae*, which had seen two editions, at Padua and Rome, in 1474 and 1475 respectively (*Indice* 4726 and 4727). Agricola probably had a copy in his collection, as well as other Platonic works.

- for he had also translated the spurious dialogue *Axiochus* (Deventer, ca. 1480).
8. See Allen, I, 76 (epist. 20). Another letter of his indicates that Corneille also possessed a noteworthy library, containing works not particularly well-known in Central Europe at the time, like Strabo, who is mentioned in a letter to Erasmus (Allen, I, 88 [epist. 25]). He probably owned a copy of the Latin translation by Guarino Veronese and Gregorius Tiphernas, first printed at Rome by Sweynheim and Pannartz in 1469 (*Census* S 793), or a copy of one of the three reprints that had come out by the date the letter was sent, possibly 1489.
 9. See Allen, I, 99-102 (epist. 31).
 10. GW 8378.
 11. See Allen, I, 106 (epist. 33).
 12. See Allen, I, 108 (epist. 36) and, on the *Rhetoric*, GW 2480.
 13. See Allen, I, 110 (epist. 38). On the Platonic works see *Census* P 771; *Census* P 773 and *Census* P 775 respectively.
 14. On the members of the humanist community of his time, see p. 181 ff.
 15. Erasmus exchanged frequent letters with Gaguin from 1495; see Allen, I, 117 ff. (epist. 43).
 16. See Renaudet, *Préréforme*, 266; Id., *Érasme*, 57-58.
 17. See Allen, I, 104-106 (epist. 33). This is a letter addressed to him by Hermansz (1466-1510), who was probably a fellow-student of Erasmus's at Gouda and then at Deventer. He became a teacher and made a prose translation of 'Aesop's' and Avianus's fables.
 18. See Renaudet, *Érasme*, 58, 60; on Lefèvre d'Étaples see also p. 14-15 herein.
 19. See Allen, I, 6; on Hermonymos see also p. 181 herein.
 20. See Renaudet, *Érasme*, 61. He exchanged letters with Grey from 1497 (Allen, I, 146 ff); on Fisher see Allen, I, 160 ff. In another letter to Grey he Hellenized his name, addressing him as Λευκόφαιος ('light grey') and informing him that he has composed a textbook entitled *De ratione studii...* for him (Allen, I, 166). Robert Fisher was a relative of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester (†1535), who also possessed an important library, the biggest and best of his time. After he was beheaded, however, his books were confiscated together with all of his possessions. See William Younger Fletcher, F.S.A., *English Book Collectors*, London 1902, 14-17.
 21. See Renaudet, *Érasme*, 63.
 22. *Ibid.*, 64. On Colet see p. 23.
 23. See F. Seebohm, *The Oxford Reformers: John Colet, Erasmus and Thomas More: being a history of their fellow-work*, London 1911, 1-5, 29-42; Renaudet, *Érasme*, 71.
 24. See Renaudet, *Érasme*, 71; on Grocyn see p. 22 herein.
 25. On Linacre, see p. 22.
 26. See Renaudet, *Érasme*, 74; Allen, I, 259 (epist. 123). In a letter addressed to Jacob Batt, he announces the publication of the *Enchiridion* and further mentions Greek literature, explaining that he cannot devote as much time as he would have liked to the study of it, while his meagre finances do not allow him to hire a tutor, which deeply saddens him.
 27. See Renaudet, *Érasme*, 74-75.
 28. See his letter to Batt (Allen, I, 260-262 [epist. 124]), in which he informs him he has given himself wholly to assembling passages for the *Adagia*, hoping to publish the anthology immediately after Easter: 'I have already collected over 800 Greek and Latin adages.'
 29. The book was printed at Venice by Christophorus de Pensis: BMC V, 471 (IA. 23500). Before its publication, another collection

- had come out at Gouda under the title *Proverbia Communia* (in Latin and Dutch), *Census* P 1024, reprint. *Census* P 1025 (Cologne, c. 1485). On Ricardinus's edition see *BMC* VI (IB. 28061a); on Erasmus's letter see Allen, I, 494-498 (epist. 269).
30. See Allen, I, 258 (epist. 121 and 122).
31. See Renaudet, *Érasme*, 75.
32. See *GW* 9374; *Census* E 104.
33. Erasmus's salutation to Mountjoy is published in Allen, I, 264-271 (epist. 126) and is dated June, 1500.
34. See Pliny *Epist.* III, 5.16.
35. On Michael Apostoles and his collaboration with Bessarion, see p. 84, 86, 88.
36. This was a bulky geographical lexicon composed by Stephanos of Byzantium in the sixth century which survives in an epitome compiled by the grammarian Hermolaus; it was dedicated to Emperor Justinian. The book was printed under the title *De Urbibus, editio princeps* Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1502 (Renouard, 38-39 [15]). The lexicon is strewn with various pieces of information, ranging from oracles to proverbs and fabulous tales.
37. See Diog. Laert., 5, 26.
38. Clearchus's work bears the title *On Riddles*: it is a compilation which treats the themes of piety and friendship.
39. See Diog. Laert., 3, 15.
40. In his work *On the Gods*, Chrysippus discusses the allegorical interpretation of myths; in various other works he deals with the explanation of dreams, etymology and adages.
41. See *Charta* I, 282.
42. See *Charta* I, 276.
43. See generally *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum*, ed. E.L. Leutsch and F.G. Schneidewin, 2 vols., Hildesheim 1958, and *Supplementum*, 1961.
44. See D.J. Geanakoplos, *Ἑλληνες λόγιοι εἰς τὴν Βενετίαν. Μελέται ἐπὶ τῆς διαδόσεως τῶν ἑλληνικῶν γραμμάτων ἀπὸ τοῦ Βυζαντίου εἰς τὴν Δυτικὴν Εὐρώπην* (= *Greek Scholars in Venice...*, tr. Ch.G. Patrinelis), Athens 1965, 75-101.
45. See H. Noiret, *Lettres inédites de Michel Apostolis*, Paris 1889, 126-127.
46. See *BH* I/1, 169-172 (62).
47. See *BMC* VI, 690 (IB. 2606α).
48. The book of adages compiled by Didymus Chalcenterus bears the title *On Proverbs* [*Πρὸς τοὺς περὶ παροιμιῶν συντεταχότας*].
49. Erasmus mentions Politian in the prologue of his *Adagia*, placing him, together with Ermolao Barbaro and Pico della Mirandola, in the pantheon of the great savants of his time; see Allen, I, 268 (epist. 126). He also notes that Politian's *Miscellanea* includes marvellous, near perfect, texts and expresses the view that the only reason Politian did not embellish his collection with adages is that he considered this to be the concern of grammarians principally. Again, the book was published by J. Philippi's printing press: see P. Renouard, *Inventaire chronologique des éditions parisiennes du XVI^e siècle (1501-1510)*, ed. Brigitte Moreau, vol. I, Paris 1977, 49 (24) (= Renouard, *Inventaire*).
50. See Renaudet, *Érasme*, 77.
51. See Allen, I, 185 (epist. 81).
52. *Ibid.*, 187 (epist. 8).
53. *Ibid.*, 258 (epist. 122).
54. *Ibid.*, 280 (epist. 131).
55. *Ibid.*, 206 (epist. 95).
56. See Renaudet, *Érasme*, 77.
57. *Ibid.*, 78.
58. *Ibid.*, 82; Brunet II/2, 1042.
59. See Allen, I, 381 (epist. 182); Renaudet, *Pré-réforme*, 478.
60. See Renouard, *Inventaire*, 179 (188); Allen, I, 381-387 (epist. 182). Erasmus characteristically notes, addressing conservative the-

- ologians, that in as much as they do not accept Valla's caustic remarks they remain *barbaroi*. Then, following Epictetus's admirable rule, he encourages them to not judge others by their shortcomings, as Virgil did for Ennius, Cyprian for Tertullian, Jerome for Origen and, above all, Augustine for Tychon; see Renouard, *Inventaire*, 179 (188).
61. See Renaudet, *Préréforme*, 478-479.
 62. See Renaudet, *Érasme*, 85.
 63. See Renaudet, *Préréforme*, 488-489.
 64. See Allen, I, 391-392 (epist. 187), 398-400 (epist. 191) and, on Euripides's tragedies, 394-397 (epist. 188).
 65. This edition included the tragedies *Media*, *Hippolytus*, *Alcestis* and *Andromache*: *Census* E 115.
 66. See Hoffmann II, 75 and 88 respectively.
 67. See *Census* L 320 and *BMC* VI, 667 (IB, 28025).
 68. There are 29 incunabular editions containing Latin translations of works by Lucian; the earliest was printed at Rome by Georgius Lauer, ca. 1470-1472, with translations by: Rinucius, Franciscus Aretinus and Giovanni Aurispa (*H* 10269).
 69. *Toxaris* was first printed on its own in 1537 at a Parisian printing press by Christian Wechel (Hoffmann II, 545); *The Tyrrannicide* was published in 1534, at Louvain by Rutgerius Rescius (Hoffmann II, 546). On the translation of *Toxaris*, see letter no. 187, addressed to R. Foye (Allen, I, 331-392).
 70. See Allen, I, 400-402 (epist. 192-193).
 71. See Allen, I, 406-407 (epist. 199).
 72. See Renaudet, *Préréforme*, 49.
 73. See Renaudet, *Érasme*, 91.
 74. See P. Renouard, *Bibliographie des impressions et des oeuvres de Josse Badius Ascensius, imprimeur et humaniste, 1462-1535*, II, Paris 1908, 415-416 (1).
 75. See Allen, I, 413-415 (epist. 207); Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce*, 293-296.
 76. On Aldus's printing house and the team of editors who made his publishing feat possible, see p. 157 ff.; see also Geanakoplos, *Ἑλληνας λόγιοι...*, 225-239; J.-Cl. Margolin, 'Érasme et Venise', *L'Eredità Greca e L'Ellenismo Veneziano*, ed. G. Benzoni, Leo S. Olschki, 2002, 189-213.
 77. In his letters, Erasmus is not particularly forthcoming about the relationships he established in Aldus's printing press with the Venetian printer's Greek and Italian associates.
 78. See Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce*, 105-111.
 79. See p. 237.
 80. See Renaudet, *Érasme*, 161. On the library see L. Desgraves, 'La librairie de Montaigne', in *HBF*, II, [94-95].
 81. See the 1526 edition of the *Adagia* (Basel, J. Froben), 339-340; P. Smith, *Erasmus*, New York 1923, 42.
 82. See F. Nichols, *Epistles of Erasmus*, vol. I, London 1901, 447.
 83. See *Adagia* (1526), 340.
 84. See Renaudet, *Érasme*, 163, 76 (3).
 85. See Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce*, 317-321.
 86. Antonio Campano's translation was published in Rome by U. Han in 1470/71 (*Census* P 830).
 87. See Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce*, 317.
 88. See Renaudet, *Érasme*, 160.
 89. *Ibid.*, 163.
 90. On the edition of Plato's works see Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce*, 342-354.
 91. See Renaudet, *Érasme*, 172.
 92. On the Vatican Library and its contents at that time (the early sixteenth century), see p. 93-101.
 93. See Renaudet, *Érasme*, 181.
 94. See Brunet II/2, 1038. The first edition was printed at Paris in 1520 by Pierre Vidoue and according to Erasmus's letter to An-

toine de Berghues, dated December 1517, Georges d'Haloin (d'Halluin) translated the work into French.

95. See Érasme, *Éloge de la Folie*, text and new translation by Pierre de Nolhac, under the supervision of Erasmus at Dorpius (College, Paris, Garnier, 1936, 4).
96. See p. 159.
97. See Renaudet, *Érasme*, 184.
98. The text was first printed – undated – by Gilles de Gourmont, before the first dated edition (M. Schürer, 1511); see Brunet II/2, 1037.
99. See Allen, I, 520 (epist. 493).
100. See Renaudet, *Érasme*, 199-200.
101. *Ibid.*, 200.
102. See generally R. Lovatt, 'College and university book collections and libraries', in *LBI* I, 152-177; C.B.L. Barr and D. Selwyn, 'Major Ecclesiastical Libraries: From Reformation to Civil War', in *LBI* I, 363-399. On the disintegration of monastic libraries see p. 326 ff herein.
103. See C.W. Heckethorn, *The Printers of Basle in the XV and XVI Centuries*, London 1897 (= Heckethorn, *The Printers*), 95; F. Bierlaire, 'Érasme, les imprimeurs et les "Colloques"', *GJ* (1978) 106-114.
104. On Amerbach, see Heckethorn, *The Printers*, 26-47.
105. See Allen, II, 14-16 (epist. 302).
106. See Renaudet, *Érasme*, 205.
107. On Willibald Pirckheimer's library see p. 364.
108. See Heckethorn, *The Printers*, 96 (34).
109. See Brunet II/2, 1037.
110. See Renaudet, *Érasme*, 208-209.
111. See Renaudet, *Préréforme*, 212.
112. See Heckethorn, *The Printers*, 97-98 (47).
113. The preface to this edition is also published in Allen, II, 274-275 (epist. 384).
114. See V. Scholderer, *Greek Printing Types 1465-1927. Facsimiles from an Exhibition*

of Books Illustrating the Development of Greek Printing Shown in the British Museum 1927, London, by Order of the Trustees, 1927, 23.

115. See *Charta* I, 399, 401.
116. *Ibid.*, 406-412.
117. See Allen, II, 274-279 (epist. 384).
118. See Heckethorn, *The Printers*, 98 (50); on the *Ekthesis* of Deacon Agapetos (Venice, 1509) see *Charta* I, 408-410.
119. See Allen, II, 361-362 (epist. 425).
120. See Renaudet, *Érasme*, 225.
121. See *Theses de indulgentiis* (Brunet III/2, 1241). The story of Luther's nailing the *Theses* on the church door is now believed to be apocryphal: it derives from Melanchthon, who apparently gave his account of the event after Luther's death.
122. See Allen, III, 410-413 (epist. 860).
123. See Renaudet, *Érasme*, 249; also, generally, M. Bataillon, *Érasme et l'Espagne. Recherches sur l'histoire spirituelle du XVI^e siècle*, Paris 1937.
124. On this see p. 192. Erasmus refers to this papal bull for the first time in a letter to Gerard Geldenhauer, (see Allen, III, 391-393, epist. 1141), where he says that this was the bull whereby the Pope excommunicated Luther.
125. On Girolamo Aleandro and his contribution to letters and the spread of humanism in Venice and Paris see p. 188; see also J. Paquier, *Lettres familières de Jérôme Aléandre (1510-1514)*, Paris, A. Picard, 1909.
126. See Renaudet, *Érasme*, 259-272.
127. See Heckethorn, *The Printers*, 107 (192).
128. *Ibid.*, 108 (202).
129. The first reference to *De libero arbitrio* is found in one of Erasmus's letters to Pope Clement VII; see Allen, V, 502-504 (epist. 1418).
130. Łaski's family was prominent in the ef-

CHAPTER V
An Apostle of
Humanistic Ideas
from the North:
Erasmus

- forts to win over Poland to the Reformation; see G. Pascal, 'La famille de Jean de Lasco, Reformateur Polonais', *Bulletin historique et littéraire de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français*, XLIV, 4 n.s. (1895) 225-250, 281-305, 575-593; on Erasmus's friendship with Łaski see K. Zantuan, 'Erasmus and the Cracow Humanists: The purchase of his library by Łaski', *The Polish Review* X, n. 2 (1965), 3-36; O. Bartel, 'Johannes a Lasko und Erasmus von Rotterdam', *Luther-Jahrbuch*, XXXII (1965) 48-66.
131. See p. 259-260.
132. See Heckethorn, *The Printers*, 110 (237).
133. *Ibid.*, 110 (252).
134. See Bierlaire, 'Érasme, les imprimeurs...', 106-114; Renaudet, *Érasme*, 287.
135. See Allen, IX, 581-588 (epist. 2611). Jacopo Sadoletto was a famous Italian humanist (1477-1547) who studied philosophy at Ferrara under Leonicensio. He served as Pope Leo X's mediator with Erasmus in matters of anti-Lutheran policy. He composed a series of essays and philosophical treatises (including *Hortensius*) and his works were great publishing successes; see, for example, 'Jacopo Sadolet', in *NBU* 42, 1005-1009; Renaudet, *Érasme*, 397 ff.
136. See Renaudet, *Érasme*, 409.
137. See W. Roper, *The Lyfe of Sir Thomas Moore, knight*, ed. E.V. Hitchcock, London 1935; Charles and Mary Elton, *The Great Book-Collectors*, London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1893, 98.
138. See Allen, II, 289 (epist. 388).
139. See Allen, II, 468 (epist. 474).
140. See Allen, II, 544 (epist. 502).
141. Panizzi's lectures were published by J.B. Trapp: *The Panizzi Lectures 1990. Erasmus, Colet and More: The Early Tudor Humanists and their Books*, The British Library, 1991, 48 ff.
142. See J.L. Burigny, *Vie d'Erasmus*, 2 vols., Paris, 1757, 422-423.
143. See Armandi, 'Erasmus da Rotterdam...', 13.
144. *Ibid.* A brief survey of the publication and reissues of Erasmus's works in print.
145. See p. 189 ff.
146. On Crespin (ca. 1520-1572), see J.-F. Gilmont, *Jean Crespin. Un éditeur réformé du XVI^e siècle*, Geneva, Librairie Droz, 1981 (= Gilmont, *Jean Crespin*); O. Reverdin, 'Figures de l'hellénisme à Genève', in *Homère chez Calvin, Mélanges Olivier Reverdin*, Geneva, Librairie Droz, 2000 (= *Homère chez Calvin*), 41-42.
147. See M. Campagnolo, 'Jean Calvin και οι περι αυτόν. Choix de médailles et de quelques portraits à l'huile et gravés', in *Homère chez Calvin*, 103-113. On Calvin see Yves Krumenacker, *Calvin. Au-delà des légendes*, Bayard 2009; B. Gagnebin, *A la rencontre de Jean Calvin*, Geneva, Georg, 1964.
148. See p. 250 ff.
149. See *Histoire du Collège de Genève. Des Origines à 1896*, Précédée d'une introduction sur l'instruction publique au Moyen Âge, par Louis-J. Thévenaz, Geneva, Éditions Slatkine, 2009; C. Borgeaud, *Histoire de l'Université de Genève. L'Académie de Calvin 1559-1798*, Geneva 1900; O. Reverdin, «'Η Γενεύη, ή 'Ελλάδα και ή 'Ελληνική Παιδεία», in *Οί 'Ελληνικές Σπουδές στην 'Ελβετία του Καλβίνου*, Athens, NBCF, 1995, 9-52. See also Lilian Mottu-Weber, 'Le Collège et l'Académie', in *Vivre à Genève autour de 1600. Ordre et désordres*, Geneva, Éditions Slatkine, 2006, 231-273.
150. See P. Chaix, A. Dufour and G. Moeckli, *Les livres imprimés à Genève de 1500 à 1600*, Geneva, Librairie Droz, 1966² (= Moeckli), 40; *Histoire du Collège...*, 42-60.

151. See Reverdin, 'Figures de l'hellénisme...', in *Homère chez Calvin*, 33-34.
152. See *Histoire du Collège...*, 170-173.
153. *Ibid.*, 40; N.M. Panayiotakis, «Φραγκίσκος Πόρτος: Ένας Έλληνας στὴ Γενεύη τοῦ Καλβίνου», in *Οἱ Ἑλληνικὲς Σπουδὲς...*, 79-80.
154. On Frangiskos Portos see M.I. Manousakas and N.M. Panayiotakis, «Ἡ φιλομεταρρυθμιστικὴ δράση τοῦ Φραγκίσκου Πόρτου στὴ Μόδενα καὶ στὴ Φερράρα καὶ ἡ δίκη του ἀπὸ τὴν Ἱερὰ Ἐξέταση τῆς Βενετίας (1536-1559)», *Θησαυρίσματα* 18 (1981) 7-118.
155. See Panayiotakis, «Φραγκίσκος Πόρτος...», 78-79.
156. On Portos as an author and literary scholar see N.M. Panayiotakis, «Φραγκίσκου Πόρτου ἐπιγράμματα», in *Ἀντίχαρη. Ἀφιέρωμα στὸν καθηγητὴ Σταμάτη Καρατζᾶ*, Ἀθήνα 1984, 335-354; *Id.*, «Φραγκίσκου Πόρτου ἐπιγράμματα», 95-135.
157. On his work as a textual scholar see Monique Mund-Dopchie, *La survie d'Eschyle à la Renaissance: éditions, traductions, commentaires et imitations*, Louvain, Aedibus Peeters, 1984, 217-238.
158. On Portos's oeuvre see M. Manoussakas and K. Sp. Staikos, avec la collaboration de B. Bouvier. *L'activité éditoriale des Grecs pendant la Renaissance. De l'Italie à Genève, XV^e-XVI^e siècle*, Athens 1988, 177-181; I. Kallergis, «Παρατηρήσεις καὶ συμπληρώσεις στὴν ἐργογραφία τοῦ Φραγκίσκου Πόρτου», *Παρνασσός* 33 (1991) 174-187; on the publication of Synesios see Moeckli, 69.
159. See Moeckli, 79: *Ad Petri Carpentarii Causidici...*, Geneva, E. Vignon, 1573.
160. See L. Politis, *Ποιητικὴ Ἀνθολογία. Μετὰ τὴν Ἀλωση*, vol. II, Athens, Galaxias, 1967, 148; and Panayiotakis, «Φραγκίσκος Πόρτος...», 82.
161. See Gilmont, *Jean Crespin*, 253 (59/7), 258 (70/7 a-b).
162. The first text to come out of the printing presses of Geneva bore the imprint of Adam Steinschaber, 28th March, 1478 (*Census X*, 9); on the total output of incunabula see A. Lökkös, *Catalogue des incunables imprimés à Genève 1478-1500*, Geneva, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Genève, 1978 (= Lökkös).
163. This is the so-called *Genevensia* collection, representing a record of publishing activities and books printed in Geneva.
164. Henri Estienne championed the creation of the Fugger family library: see P. Lehmann, *Eine Geschichte der alten Fuggerbibliotheken*, 2 vols., Tübingen 1956-1960, 31 ff.
165. John Clement (†1572) originally studied at St. Paul's School in London. He joined More's household and became so adept in the classical languages that he eventually helped Colet with his Greek. Later, he entered the service of Wolsey, who appointed him to a readership at Oxford. Subsequently he studied medicine at Louvain and participated in the publication of Galen's complete works by Aldus's printing press in 1525. He is mentioned in Erasmus's correspondence with More: Allen, II, 29 (epist. 388). See also Renouard, *Annales*, 161 (1); R. Pfeiffer, *Ἱστορία τῆς Κλασσικῆς Φιλολογίας. Ἀπὸ τὸ 1300 μέχρι τὸ 1850* (= *History of Classical Scholarship: From 1300 to 1850*, with preface by Ch.S. Floratos, tr. P. Xenos and V. Moskovis), 121, 124, 127; Schreiber, 129-131 (139).
166. Renouard, *Annales*, 115 (1); Moeckli, 30; Schreiber, 131 (140).
167. Conrad Gesner (1516-1565) earned the general admiration of contemporary humanists and was distinguished for his

- studies in textual scholarship, literature, the natural sciences and medicine, and also as an alpinist. His first publication was the *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum*, Basel 1537. On his library see C. Gesner and J. Simler, *Bibliotheca instituta et collecta primum a C. Gesnero, deinde in epitomen redacta et locupletata per I. Simlerum*, Zurich 1574.
168. See Renouard, *Annales*, 117 (6); Moeckli, 31; Schreiber, 134 (146).
169. See Renouard, *Annales*, 120 (5); Moeckli, 54; Schreiber, 136-137 (149).
170. See A. Tilley, *The Literature of the French Renaissance*, 2 vols., Cambridge 1904, 167.
171. On Montaigne's library see p. 413.
172. See Renouard, *Annales*, 126 (5); Moeckli, 65; Schreiber, 143-145 (160). We should also mention that this was the edition Chapman used to make his famous English translation of Homer (1611 and 1614). The manuscript Estienne describes as *vetustissimus codex* includes the *Iliad* and has been identified as the codex kept in the Geneva Library, dated to the thirteenth century and containing interesting scholia published by J. Nicole in the nineteenth century, see *Homère chez Calvin*, 58.
173. See Renouard, *Annales*, 126 (7); Moeckli, 64; Schreiber, 145-146 (161); Tilley, *The Literature...*, vol. I, 292-294.
174. See Renouard, *Annales*, 130 (4); Moeckli, 67; Schreiber, 151 (168).
175. See Renouard, *Annales*, 134 (6); Moeckli, 74; Schreiber, 155 (178).
176. See Renouard, *Annales*, (2); Moeckli, 77; Schreiber, 155-156 (179).
177. See Renouard, *Annales*, 135 (4); Moeckli, 78; Schreiber, 159-160 (182).
178. See *Poesis philosophica, vel saltem, Reliquae poesis philosophicae*: Renouard, *Annales*, 140 (8); Moeckli, 79; Schreiber, 161 (187).
179. See G.S. Kirk, J.E. Raven and M. Schofield, *Oi Προσωκρατικοί Φιλόσοφοι* (= *The Presocratic Philosophers*, 2nd edn., Cambridge 1983, tr. D. Kurtovik), Athens, NBCF, 1988 and *Homère chez Calvin*, 72.
180. See Renouard, *Annales*, 145-146; Moeckli, 93; Schreiber, 167-170 (201).
181. See also O. Reverdin, 'Le Platon d'Henri Estienne'. *Museum Helveticum* 13 (1956) 239-250; and in *Homère chez Calvin*, 72-75.
182. Jean de Serres (*Serranus*) was born ca. 1548 and died at Geneva in 1598. An historian and theologian with a rich authorial output, he taught in various French cities, served as Rector of the Academy of Nîmes and finally fled to Geneva in the period of Luther's clash with the Catholic Church. His translation was severely criticised, yet his supporters, like P. Lami, argued that de Serres did not betray Plato's spirit: see M. Nicola, 'Jean de Serres', in *NBU* 43, 795-797.
183. See Renouard, *Annales*, 149 (7); Moeckli, 101; Schreiber, 173 (209).
184. See Renouard, *Annales*, 153 (3); Moeckli, 125; Schreiber, 178-179 (219).
185. The edition of the *Periplous* of Scylax was published in 1600: see Hoffmann III, 392.
186. See Renouard, *Annales*, 155 (4); Moeckli, 132; Schreiber, 180-181 (223).
187. Having spent all his savings, Henri Estienne realized it would be best to work on marketing his unsold copies instead of continuing to publish new editions at a fast pace. Thus he started attending the Frankfurt Book Fair on a regular basis and even published a booklet containing his impressions, which was republished three centuries later: see Renouard, *Annales* 141 (2); A.L. Simon, *Bibliotheca Bachica. Bibliographie raisonnée des ouvrages imprimés avant 1600 et illustrant la soif humaine sous tous ses aspects, chez tous les peuples et dans tous les temps*, 2 vols.,

- London 1927, n. 235; Schreiber, 162-163 (189). On this publication see R. Rang, 'La Foire de Francfort telle que la vit Henri Estienne', *GJ* (1958) 175-177.
188. See Renouard, *Annales*, 48-49 (1); Elizabeth Armstrong, *Robert Estienne, Royal Printer: An historical study of the elder Stephanus*, Cambridge 1954 (= Armstrong, *Robert Estienne*), 72-75; Schreiber, 64-67 (59).
189. See O. Reverdin, 'Le Dioscoride de Jean-Antoine Sarasin', *Entretiens sur l'Antiquité classique de la Fondation Hardt*, XLII, Vandoeuvres/Geneva 1997, 368-381; Reverdin, 'Figures de l'hellénisme...', in *Homère chez Calvin*, 80-81. On the codex see Staikos III, 100.
190. On Sambucus, who by 1557 had entered the royal court, see H. Gerstinger, 'Johannes Sambucus als Handschriftensammler', in *Festschrift der Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, Vienna 1926, 251-400.
191. In his will, Ulrich Fugger bequeathed his library to Heidelberg University to provide for the tuition expenses of impecunious students. When Tilly captured the city in 1622, the most valuable part of the collection was presented to the Pope; the transport and delivery of the books to the Vatican Library was supervised by its Keeper, Leo Allatius: see J. Schunke, *Die Einbände der Palatina in der Vatikanischen Bibliothek*, 2 vols., Città del Vaticano, 1962 (Studi e Testi pp. 216-218). See also the catalogue: *Bibliotheca Palatina. Ausstellung der Universität Heidelberg in Zusammenarbeit mit der Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana*. Im Auftrage des Rector magnificus Prof. Dr. Gisbert Freiherr zu Putlitz durchgeführt von Elmar Mittler unter Mitwirkung von Karl Heinrich Hall, Ronald M. Schmidt, Vera Trost, Markus Weis, 2 vols., Edition Braus Heidelberg, 1986.
192. See Moeckli, 18.
193. See Gilmont, *Jean Crespin*.
194. See Moeckli, 18; on Enoch, see p. 96, 118 herein.
195. See Moeckli, 24.
196. See Reverdin, 'Figures de l'hellénisme...', in *Homère chez Calvin*, 41-42.
197. See O. Reverdin, 'Ελληνικὲς Ἐκδόσεις στὴν Ἑλβετία τὸν 16ο καὶ 17ο αἰῶνα – Impressions grecques en Suisse aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles, exhibition catalogue, Athens, National Gallery of Greece/Alexandros Soutzos Museum, 1991, 61-62.
198. See Moeckli, 54.
199. See Moeckli, 65.
200. See Moeckli, 133, 153 respectively, see also Gilmont, *Jean Crespin*, 158 ff.
201. On the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* see p. 274.
202. Henri Estienne, in an open letter entitled *Epistola de suae typographiae statu*, 1569, does not name the compilers of the lexica, but refers to them as *consarcinatores lexicorum* ('patchers-up of dictionaries').
203. See Renouard, *Annales*, 55-57 (7); Schreiber, 70 (68).
204. See Renouard, *Annales*, 116 (4); Schreiber, 132-133 (143).
205. On the Fuggers see p. 271, 299.
206. See Moeckli, 77; Schreiber, 156-159 (181).
207. See Brunet V/1, 181. Jean Scapula was a German literary scholar who worked at Geneva and co-operated with Robert Estienne in compiling the *Thesaurus*. The work's popularity is attested by its successive editions, at least eight, maybe even ten.
208. The last reference to Fugger in the publications of Henri Estienne is dated 1568 (in *Apophlegmata Graeca*): Renouard, *Annales*, 131 (5), Moeckli, 68; Schreiber, 152-153 (172). This implies that from that date on funding ceased.
209. See Reverdin, 'Ελληνικὲς Ἐκδόσεις...', 66; Moeckli, 153.

210. See L. Febvre and H.J. Martin, *L'Apparition du livre*. Paris, Éditions Albin Michel, 1958 (= Febvre and Martin, *L'Apparition*), 285.
211. See p. 276.
212. See herein p. 192.
213. See Febvre and Martin, *L'Apparition*, 344.
214. See H. Brésard, *Les foires de Lyon au XV^e et au XVI^e siècle*, Paris 1914.
215. See H. Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise: Recherches sur les imprimeurs, libraires, relieurs et fondeurs des lettres à Lyon au XVI^e siècle...*, 12 vols., Lyon/Paris 1895-1921, repr. Paris, F. de Nobele, 1964 (Tables, Paris 1965 and Suppléments provisoire, Lyon 1967).
216. See W. Pettas, *The Giunti and the Book Trade in Lyon*, Florence, L.S. Olschki, 1997.
217. See F. Kapp, *Geschichte des deutschen Büchhandels*, vol. I, Leipzig 1886, 448-521; A. Dietz, *Zur Geschichte der Frankfurter Büchermesse, 1462/1792*, Frankfurt/Main 1921; A. Puppel, 'Die Bücherwelt des 16. Jahrhunderts und die Frankfurter-Büchermessen', *Gedenkboek der Plantin-dagen 1555-1955*, Anvers 1956, 20-39.
218. See H. Estienne, *The Frankfort Book Fair*, introd. J.W. Thompson, Chicago 1911.
219. Aldus published his first *Catalogue* in 1498 and the next in 1503, while Simon de Colines printed his first one in 1545; see generally p. 338. On Aldus and Colines, see F. Schreiber, *Simon de Colines: An annotated catalogue of 230 examples of his press, 1520-1546*, introd. J. Veyrin-Forrer, Provo, Utah, 1955; G. Pollard and A. Ehrman, *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue*, Cambridge 1865.
220. A collection of these catalogues has been compiled and reprinted: *Die Messekataloge Georg Willers, I: Herbstmesse 1564 bis Herbstmesse 1573*, Hildesheim 1972, in *Die Messekataloge des 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. B. Fabian.
221. See Kapp, *Geschichte...*; Febvre and Martin, *L'Apparition*, 352-353.
222. See Staikos IV, 303.
223. See G.H. Putnam, *Books and their makers during the Middle Ages: A study of the conditions of the production and distribution of literature from the fall of the Roman Empire to the close of the seventeenth century...*, 2 vols., New York/London, G.P. Putnam's sons, 1896-1897; Febvre and Martin, *L'Apparition*, 371-375.
224. See Febvre and Martin, *L'Apparition*, 372. German bishops had been issuing imprimaturs for books published in their dioceses since 1479; see J. Hilgers, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher, in seiner neuen Fassung dargelegt und rechtlich-historisch gewürdigt*, Freiburg 1904; on the privileges, see H. Volz, 'Wittenberger Bibel-druckprivilegien des 16. und Beginnenden 17. Jahrhunderts', *GJ* (1955) 133-139; on the German areas, see K. Schottenloher, 'Die Druckprivilegien des 16. Jahrhunderts', *GJ* (1933) 89-110.
225. See Febvre and Martin, *L'Apparition*, 372.
226. See p. 73 on the thirteen (out of 900) of Pico's theses that were deemed heretical by the theologians of Pope Innocent VIII.
227. See R. Hirsch's article, 'Bulla super impressione librorum, 1515', *GJ* (1973) 248-250, which gives the relevant bibliography to date.
228. On the lists of banned books see p. 192.
229. The monitoring and censorship of new publications were originally introduced for books intended for students: see H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, ed. F.M. Powicke and A.B. Emden, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1936, I, 404-405; and generally N. Weiss, 'La Sorbonne, le Parlement de Paris et les livres hérétiques de 1542 à 1546', *BSHPF* 34 (1885) 19-28.

230. See F.H. Reusch, *Die Indices Librorum Prohibitorum des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts, gesammelt und herausgegeben*, Tübingen 1886.
231. On the *Privilège du Roi* see H. Falk, *Les Privilèges de librairie sous l'Ancien Régime: Étude historique du conflit de droits sur l'oeuvre littéraire*, Paris 1906 (repr. Geneva, Slatkine, 1970).
232. On the term *bibliotaphos* ('burier of books'), which Markos Mousouros introduced into the book world, see Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce*, 221.
233. See Febvre and Martin, *L'Apparition*, 396-397.
234. See the chapter 'Le Livre et la Reforme' in Febvre and Martin, *L'Apparition*, 432-437.
235. See L. Febvre, *Un destin: Martin Luther*, Paris 1928.
236. On Erasmus's edition of the New Testament see p. 250 ff.
237. See J. Benzing, *Ulrich von Hütten und seine Drucker*, Wiesbaden 1956.
238. See generally M. Gravier, *Luther et l'opinion publique, essai sur la littérature satirique et polémique en langue allemande pendant les années décisives de la réforme (1520-1530)*, Paris, Aubier, Éditions Montaigne, 1942.
239. See Brunet III/2, 1954.
240. See A. Goetze, *Die hochdeutschen Drucker der Reformationzeit*, Strasbourg 1905.
241. In general see O. Clemen, *Die Lutherische Reformation und der Buchdruck*, Leipzig 1939.
242. Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531) was a follower of Erasmus and disagreed with Luther. His most important work was dedicated to King François I of France and bears the title *Commentaria de vera et falsa religione*, Zurich 1525 (Brunet V/2, 1544).
243. See Febvre and Martin, *L'Apparition*, 442-443; and generally Clemen, *Die Lutherische...*

VI

LIBRARIES

FOR A

NEW CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

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Cap. 17. V. 1-8

1. A passage from the Gospels in St. Jerome's translation, written in the first half of the fifth century, annotated probably by Jerome himself (Saint Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 1395).

LIBRARIES FOR A NEW CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

*Translations of the Bible, the Dissolution
of Monastic Libraries in England,
and Libraries belonging to Men of Letters*

Towards a new Christian literature: humanist involvement in the emendation and translation of the Old and New Testaments. The overriding characteristic of humanist philosophy is to be found in its adherents' interest in emending and promoting Graeco-Roman literature. But the followers of this ideology, active mainly in the North, started studying the Bible afresh too, in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Syriac, even Aramaic. Their aim was to evaluate its sources and restore the sacred texts according to the originals, thus producing accurate translations. Melanchthon, who taught Greek at Wittenberg University, characteristically proclaimed: 'When we shall have redirected our minds to the sources, we shall begin to taste Christ. His command will become clear to us, and we shall become suffused with that blessed nectar of divine wisdom.' In any case, a new reading of the Vulgate had been demanded by the followers of the Reformation as well, while the theological disputes and diverse hermeneutical approaches to the Scriptures, hatched in the bosom of the Church, finally led to the Schism.

The consensus among humanist circles that ancient literature was in need of emendation by employing techniques derived from Eratosthenes's methods of textual editing was not opposed. It would hardly be an exaggeration to claim that, through its printing presses, Europe in its entirety became a publishing workshop, and this led to the release of numerous editions and reissues of almost every extant piece of Graeco-Roman literature, supplemented with commentaries and notes. This editing process involved the search for older and more reliable manuscripts of each text; through their restoration a bibliography on the manuscript tradition came into being, and this, over time, was incorporated into printed editions. Unfortunately, the same was not true in the case of the Bible, for the Hebrew tradition was anything but well received in the Christian world, where entire libraries of Hebrew texts were burned at the pyre, for religious as well as political reasons. But here we are interested in the events unfolding in the publishing world and pertaining to the publication of the Bible, which led to the formation of a new Chris-

tian literature, examples of which can be seen both in ecclesiastical circles and in the private libraries of clergymen and laymen alike.

The activities surrounding the publication of the Bible, its translation into national languages (German, English, French), the questioning of the Vulgate's validity, the championing of the Greek New Testament by followers of the Reformation, together with Luther's blazing sermons against the Holy See's practices – all these provided impetus to this new Christian literature and helped to shape it. Editions and new impressions of the Bible and excerpts taken from it (mainly of the New Testament), either officially sanctioned or persecuted by the Inquisition, contributed to the creation of Christian literature libraries, which until the late sixteenth century also expressed the official views of each local Church. The theological objections and differences vis-à-vis the Roman Catholic Church's outlook and symbols grew into political feuds and are reflected in every detail in the 'war of the books', which broke out within the Church.

Hundreds of new publications and reissues were deployed in this war of words, which raged for an entire century (the sixteenth) and revolved around the re-evaluation of the Vulgate and its translations into the national languages. The spread of humanist ideas in the European countries and the fact that the pioneers of this movement decided to express their thoughts in the local vernaculars led inevitably to a questioning of the Holy See's demands for a single version of the Bible, i.e. the Vulgate, for all Christians. Thus, disparate and scattered objections and calls for change formed a climate which necessitated reforms consonant with the spirit of the new age that was dawning, including every Christian's right to be able to study the holy texts in a language he could easily understand. These elements shaped the new Christian literature, which 'sought refuge' in various libraries built around the Bible, the exegetical works of its commentators and its renditions in all the European languages.

The Hebrew Bible. Any attempt at providing an account of Hebrew incunabula would be extremely daunting, for very few such books are still extant and, furthermore, some are only known through fragments. The manuscript tradition of the Bible was based on Hebrew codices, originating from synagogues and Jewish centres in the Iberian Peninsula and not particularly notable for their antiquity: these were used as a basis for the printed editions. Overall, Hebrew incunabula amount

2. *The Old Testament in Hebrew, with rich illumination depicting the Temple's holy symbols and vessels, dates from the 14th century (Modena, Biblioteca Estense, cod. Or. 26, cc 25 v.).*

to approximately 200 titles in total, and it is certain that an unknown number of editions were completely destroyed in the recurring persecutions by ecclesiastical authorities bent on burning these books, as in the aftermath of the 1553 papal bull.¹

The first section of the Hebrew Bible to be published in print was the Book of Psalms, which came out in 1477 with a commentary by David Kimchi, probably at Bologna.² The first complete edition of the Bible was published in 1488 by the Soncino publishing house, again at Bologna, in 1488.³ The Torah, the first of the three



3. *The Pentateuch (Megillôt-Haftarôt) from the Hebrew Bible, Constantinople, Samuel ben Hayyim, Halicz, 1551/52 (Paris, National Library of France, Rés. A. 2490).*

books constituting of the Tanach (the Hebrew Bible), first appeared in Bologna in 1482.⁴ The most important printing centres for Hebrew books were located in Italy (Rome, Naples, Bologna, Brescia, and Soncino mainly), Spain and Portugal.⁵ Following the expulsion of the Jews by Ferdinand and Isabella, these publishing activities did not come to an abrupt end, for new publishing houses sprang up and some of the existing ones even managed to relocate outside the Iberian Peninsula – for example, a printing press was transplanted to Constantinople in 1493.⁶

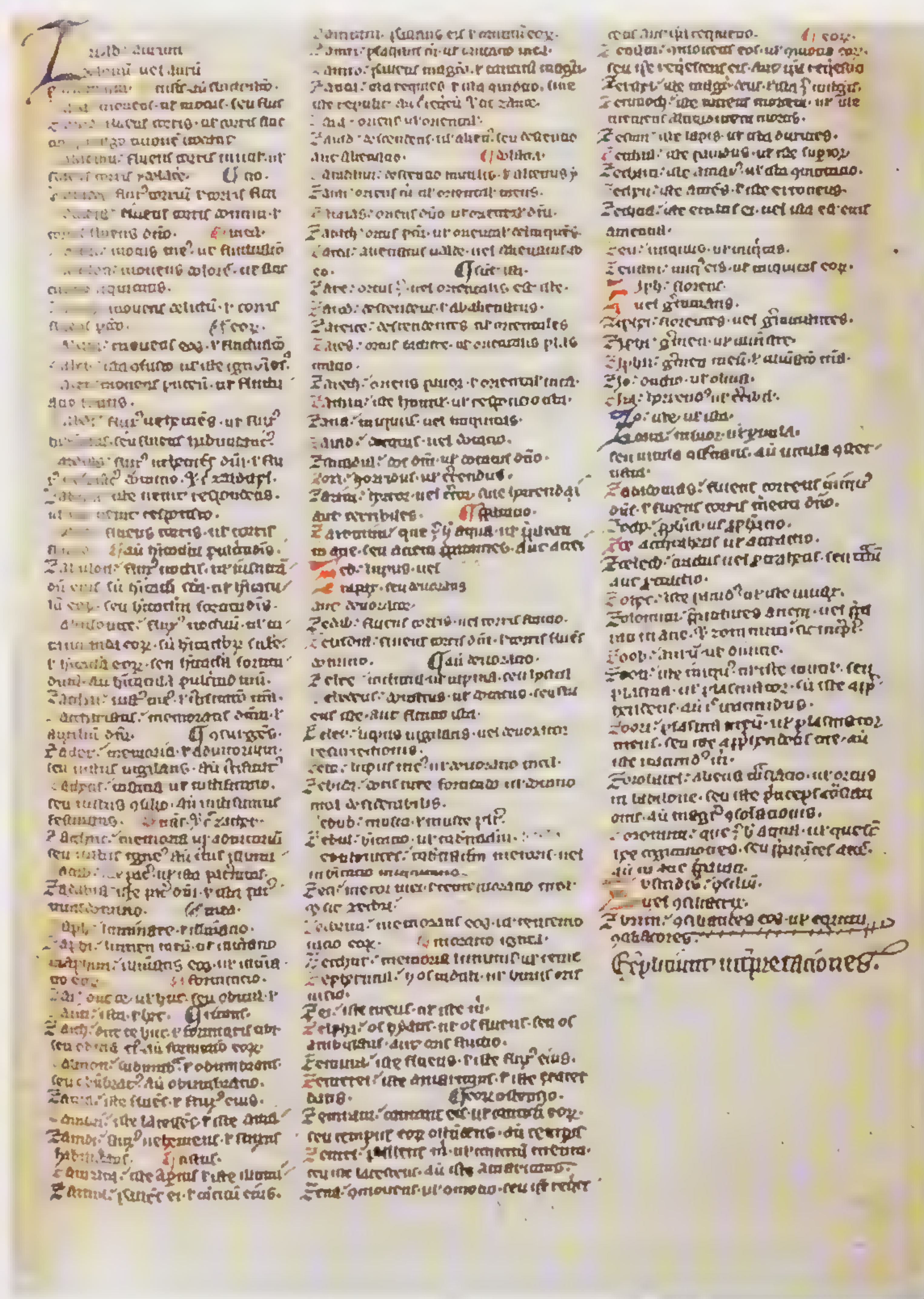
In fact, many of the Hebrew incunabula are very interesting in terms of their illustrations, like the edition of the Pentateuch ('The Five Books of Moses') which was printed in Lisbon in 1491 by Elieser Toledano.⁷ At any rate, Hebrew language studies as well as Hebrew publishing in the fifteenth-century Italian and Iberian printing workshops were sporadic ventures resulting from the work of isolated individuals like Elia Levita, a teacher and grammarian living at the court of Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo (1465-1532), whom he tutored in Hebrew and Aramaic.⁸

The Hebrew Bible started being used as a source book and datum point for new editions of the Vulgate in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when Hebrew studies were organized on a more systematic basis in the European universities (Wittenberg, Erfurt, Leipzig, Rostock, Heidelberg, etc.);⁹ and during the same

period Hebrew started being printed ‘officially’ in various book centres: Robert Estienne was nominated King’s Printer of Hebrew in France in 1539.¹⁰

The Vulgate: St. Jerome’s Latin translation. The Latin translation of the Bible made in the mid-fourth century by St. Jerome, who relied on Hebrew and Greek Bibles, remained the foremost text of Christendom until the late fifteenth century.¹¹ Thereafter, of course, a number of attempts were made to reconsider the text of the Vulgate, as in the case of Theodulf of Orléans (ca. 750–821), Abbot of Fleury-sur-Loire. On the other hand, apart from the Vulgate, illuminated Bibles circulated at various times, produced in Paris during the thirteenth century, as well as excerpts from Bible chapters translated into national languages, like French and German.¹² English Christians differed in that the Vulgate was not universally accepted among them, for by the Late Medieval times they had adopted the so-called Wyclif translation of the Bible.¹³

The term ‘Wyclif translation’ denotes various English renditions of the Bible or selected books of it, dating from the late fourteenth century and edited by members of Oxford University, supporters of the controversial theologian John Wyclif (ca. 1328–1384). These translations were soon rejected by the Archbishop of Canterbury, yet this only helped boost their popularity. In the next 125 years or so, Wyclif’s Bible was copied numerous times and circulated surreptitiously: owners of these copies ran the risk of being excommunicated, even beheaded. The right of Christians to read the Bible in their own languages was recognized only in the sixteenth century, with the advent of the Reformation.



4. Page from the Index containing Hebrew proper nouns and place names mentioned in the Bible, in Latin translation. The manuscript dates from the 13th century.

The Gutenberg Bible. The first printed edition of the Bible, the acclaimed Gutenberg Bible, produced in two volumes in Mainz between 1455 and 1456, soon became a model, not only for at least 93 incunabular editions, but also for thousands of reprints representing the Bible publishing output over the centuries.¹⁴ The theologians that compiled the final draft of this edition relied on codices kept in medieval libraries, probably in the Rhineland; attempts, however, to compare the Gutenberg Bible with many of the manuscripts still extant today have failed to reveal any affinities.¹⁵ The essential difference between the Gutenberg Bible and the Late Medieval tradition of the Vulgate consists in the fact that it included all four books of Ezra, in contrast to the Paris edition, which featured only three of them. The Books of Ezra, of course, were considered controversial texts by medieval theologians, and are wholly absent in the Greek Bible. Another important difference between the Gutenberg Bible and the other Latin versions is that it does not contain the Scholia on Jewish names, found at the end of the books, an omission that gradually led to their complete excision from later editions of the Bible.¹⁶

Erasmus's New Testament. This new Christian literature begins with Erasmus and Cardinal Ximenes's initiative for the publication of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible.

The edition of the Greek New Testament (*Novum Instrumentum*) published by Johann Froben's printing press at Basel in 1516 constitutes the first Bible text publication that negates, or rather challenges, the validity of the Vulgate.¹⁷ Here Erasmus was provocative through the new title he selected (*Novum Instrumentum*), for he is the first to clarify that 'Testament' denotes an oral teaching, while the Gospels are written testimonies, i.e. an *instrumentum*. At the same time, the extraordinarily positive reception of the New Testament (with its repeated reprints) by the wider readership, but also by Pope Leo X himself, reveals that the Christian flock had a closer contact with the sacred texts and suggests the practice of private reading was quite widespread. Erasmus was, to all intents and purposes, the first to mould the character of this new Christian library, paving the way that Luther, Calvin, Robert Estienne, Tyndale, Coverdale and others would follow.

The *editio princeps* of Erasmus's New Testament, together with its multiple reprints, constituted a complete self-contained library. The edition elicited commentaries and observations by scholars and theologians as well as treatises containing various responses and criticisms with respect to the validity of the project.

5. Copy of Gutenberg's Bible, with miniature decoration added in England (London, Lambeth Palace).

A principio creauit deus celū
et terram. Terra autem erat inanis et
vacua: et tenebre erant super faciē abyssi:
et spiritus dñi ferebatur super aquas.
Dixitq; deus. **Fiat lux.** Et facta ē lux.
Et uidit deus lucem qd esset bona: et
diuisit lucem a tenebris. appellauitq;
lucem diem et tenebras noctem. **Factū**
q; est uespere et mane dies unus. Dixit
quoq; deus. **Fiat firmamentū** in me-
dio aquarū: et diuidat aquas ab a-
quis. Et fecit deus firmamentū: diui-
sitq; aquas que erant sub firmamen-
to ab hijs que erant super firmamen-
tum: et factum est ita. **Vocauiq;** deus
firmamentū celū: et factum est uespere
et mane dies secundus. Dixit uero de-
us. **Congregentur** aque que sub celo
sunt in locum unū et appareat arida.
Et factum est ita. Et uocauit deus ari-
dam terram: congregationeq; aquarū
appellauit maria. Et uidit deus qd es-
set bonū. et ait. **Germinet** terra herbā
uiuentem et facientem semen: et lignū
promiscuū faciens fructum iuxta genus
suū: cuius semen in semetipso sit super
terram. Et factum est ita. Et protulit
terra herbam uiuentem et facientem se-
men iuxta genus suū: lignūq; faciens
fructū et habēs unūq; semine scdm
speciē suā. Et uidit deus qd esset bonū:
et factū ē uespere et mane dies tertius.
Dixitq; aut deus. **Fiant luminaria**
in firmamento celi. et diuidāt diem ac
noctē: et sint in signa et tempora. et dies et
annos: ut luceat in firmamento celi et
illumineat terrā. Et factū est ita. **Fecitq;**
deus duo luminaria magna: lumina-
re maius ut pelleret diē et lumina-
re min⁹ ut pelleret noctē: et posuit eas in
firmamento celi ut luarent sup terrā: et

pellent diē ac noctē: et diuiderēt lucem
ac tenebras. Et uidit dñs qd esset bonū:
et factū ē uespere et mane dies quart⁹.
Dixit etiam deus. **Producant** aque
repale anime uiuentis et uolante sup
terram: sub firmamento celi. **Creauitq;**
deus cete grandia. et omne animā ui-
uentem atq; motabilem quā produxe-
rant aque in species suas: et omne vo-
lante secundū genus suū. Et uidit de-
us qd esset bonū: benedixitq; ei dicens.
Ecclesite et multiplicamini. et replete a-
guas maris: autq; multiplicentur
super terram. Et factū ē uespere et mane
dies quintus. Dixit quoq; deus. **Pro-**
ducatur terra animā uiuentem in gene-
re suo: iumenta et reptilia. et bestias ter-
re secundū species suas. **Factū ē ita.** Et
fecit deus bestias terre iuxta species su-
as: iumenta et omne repale terre in ge-
nere suo. Et uidit deus qd esset bonū:
et ait. **Faciam⁹** hominē ad ymaginē et
similitudinē nostrā. et p̄sit p̄sibus maris.
et uolantibus celi. et bestiis uniuersis terre:
omniq; reptili qd mouet i terra. Et crea-
uit deus hominē ad ymaginē et simi-
litudinē suam: ad ymaginem dei crea-
uit illū: masculū et feminā creauit eos.
Benedixitq; illis deus. et ait. **Ecclesite**
et multiplicamini et replete terram. et
subiugate eam: et dominamini p̄sibus
maris. et uolantibus celi. et uniuersis
animantibus que mouentur sup terrā.
Dixitq; deus. **Eccē dedit** uobis omne
herbam afferentem semen sup terram:
et uniuersa ligna que habēt i semetipso
semen generis sui: ut sint uobis i escā:
et cūdiis animantibus terre. omniq; uolanti
celi et uniuersis q mouētur in terra. et i
quibus ē anima uiuēs: ut habeāt ad
uescendū. Et factū est ita. **Uiditq;** deus
cuncta que fecerat: et erat ualde bona.

A number of treatises appeared on the subject, among them Erasmus's own *In Praise of Folly*; these castigated the conservative stance of the theologians and their pedantic adherence to medieval notions.¹⁸ The editions of the Bible and the Greek New Testament are the first stirrings of the coming Reformation, and they later acquired an emblematic role in the criticisms levelled by local Churches against the practices of the Holy See.



6. Opening page of St. Matthew's Gospel from Erasmus's edition of the New Testament, Basel, Johann Froben, 1522.

ment had been prepared, its release was delayed, for Johann Froben had managed to secure a privilege of exclusivity for Erasmus's edition from the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I, valid until 1520.²²

The preparation of the text for the publication of the Polyglot Bible²³ was exemplary: for the first time early manuscripts, perhaps the ones used by Jerome himself, were employed as points of reference, like the fourth-century Codex Vaticanus, acquired from the Vatican Library in ca 1481.²⁴ The Polyglot Bible is clearly

Ximenes's Complutensian Polyglot Bible. The aim of publishing the 'authentic' New Testament, i.e. the original Greek text, was not something envisioned solely by Erasmus. Francisco Ximenes de Cisneros, the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, had conceived of such an undertaking as early as 1502.¹⁹ In fact, his goals were rather more ambitious, for he sought to publish the first polyglot edition of the Bible in the four Biblical languages: Hebrew, Greek, Latin and Aramaic.²⁰ Having founded the University of Alcalá, he surrounded himself with scholars specializing in the classical languages, including Demetrios Doukas (for the Greek), and commissioned Diego Lopez de Zúñiga to oversee all the preparatory work for the publication.²¹ While by 1514 the text of the Greek New Testa-

a product consonant with the dogma of the Catholic Church, for it exhibits no signs of revisionist attitudes and does not deviate from the Vulgate. Its intended readership, however, was clearly scholarly, for it offers parallel versions of the text in the other Biblical languages besides Latin.

Luther's German Bible. Two years after the official release of Luther's Bible in 1522, Pope Leo X excommunicated him and forbade members of the Christian flock to read his writings. Persecuted by the Catholics, Luther found refuge in the palace of Wartburg with Frederick, the Elector of Saxony.²⁵ There he conceived of the idea to enable Germans to study the Scriptures in a language they could easily understand, i.e. German. Taking the improved version of Erasmus's New Testament (1518-1519) as a model, he translated the text and accompanied it with numerous notes and observations in the spirit of the Reformation.²⁶ Luther's *Das Neue Testament Deutzsch* was printed by Melchior Lotther in 1522; it is also known as the *Septemberbibel*, because it came out in September.²⁷ The book was illuminated with engravings prepared in Lucas Cranach's workshop.²⁸

While the *Neue Testament* was at the presses, Luther was working on the Old Testament with the aid of Melancthon and Matthäus Aurogallus, a Jewish grammarian. Following the appearance of Luther's New Testament, the followers of the Reformation did not appear over-eager to continue reading the Old Testament, which made him decide to have it published in instalments. By 1534, however, all Protestants had access to an illustrated German Bible.²⁹ The universal acclaim for Luther's Bible did not simply unite the followers of the Reformation, but also had a significant impact on the development of the German dialects, helping the establishment of High German as a *koine*.³⁰

CHAPTER VI

Libraries for a New Christian Literature



7. Page from the Polyglot Bible showing a passage from Genesis in the Septuagint version, the Latin Vulgate, Hebrew text and the Armenian translation, accompanied by a Latin translation, Alcalá, 1514-1517.

The Bible in English. The impressive number of English Bible editions bears testament to the nation's piety and the widespread study of the Holy Scriptures in that country. Yet notwithstanding the fervent nationalism of the citizens of Albion, even after the appearance of Erasmus's New Testament (1516) conditions were not

XIIII.



Vnd der HERR redet mit Mose / vnd sprach / Rede mit
 den kindern Israel / vnd sprich / das sie sich rumb lencken
 vnd jr gezelt auffschlahen gegen dem tal Diroth / zwi-
 schen Migdol vnd dem Meer / gegen Baal Zephon / vnd
 daselbs gegen vber das gezelt auffschlahen ans meer /
 Denn Pharao wird sagen von den kindern Israel / Sie

8. Moses parting the Red Sea. One of the engravings illustrating the first German translation of the Bible by Luther, printed in 1534.

ripe for the publication of the Bible translated into English. William Tyndale, who planned a second edition of the English Bible, seems to have shared this opinion: he left London in *ca.* 1522, and toured the cities of Continental Europe and the centres of the Reformation, like Hamburg and Wittenberg, perhaps even having the chance to converse with Luther and Erasmus.³¹ There, he continued preparing a translation of the New Testament with the aid of his amanuensis, William Roye, a student at Cambridge and a Franciscan friar of Greenwich Abbey.³² This translation was completed in 1525, and the two men settled at Cologne, where they commissioned the renowned printer Peter Quentell to publish it.³³ At that time,

however, Quentell was also printing the work of a fervent Roman Catholic, Johann Cochlaeus, who during a visit to the printing press realized what Tyndale was up to. He promptly informed the ecclesiastical authorities of Cologne, requesting the printing of this book to be immediately discontinued and warning Henry VIII and Cardinal Wolsey of the dire consequences of such an initiative that was clearly contrary to the behests of the Holy See. Tyndale and Roye realized the seriousness of the situation, abandoned their undertaking and, taking the edition's printed sheets with them, relocated to Worms. As a result, only a part of Tyndale's eventful Bible-publishing project survives today, kept in the British Museum.³⁴

Peter Schoeffer subsequently took over and completed the undertaking at Worms, yet only two copies of this edition survive, which was released in 1526:³⁵ one, illustrated with miniatures, now in the library of Bristol's Baptist College, and another, fragmentary as well, in St. Paul's Cathedral. An indeterminate number of copies of the 1526 edition of the New Testament, however, circulated underground in England. Notwithstanding his humanist leanings and his friendship with Erasmus, Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of London, denounced Tyndale's publication from St. Paul's Cross.³⁶ Others joined him in this condemnation, like William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, while the punishment for anyone found with a copy of Tyndale's Bible in their possession was excommunication. The prelates did more, proceeding to purchase all available copies from Continental Europe with the intention of publicly burning them. Warham and Tunstall acted quickly: in fact they bought so many copies that they unwittingly provided Tyndale with the funds to bring out a second edition!³⁷

During this period Tyndale lived in Antwerp, working on the translation of the Old Testament. The Pentateuch and the Book of Jonah were published in 1530 and 1531 respectively. Although at Antwerp Tyndale enjoyed the hospitality of English merchants like Thomas Poyntz, in the 'English House', Catholic agents were lurking around. One of these, a zealous supporter of the Roman Catholic Church, Henry Phillips, pretending to be a friend, located him and reported him to the authorities; Tyndale was incarcerated and finally strangled in October 1536.³⁸

Coverdale's Bible. Tyndale's initiative was not officially recognized by the Anglican Church, thus pride of place for the first publication of the Bible in English belongs to Miles Coverdale (1488-1568).³⁹ Having studied at Cambridge, he entered the Augustinian Order. He moved to London, where he met More and was befriended by Thomas Cromwell, who became a powerful patron. Coverdale's desire to meet the harbingers of the Reformation brought him to Continental Europe:

in 1529 he travelled to Hamburg, where he aided Tyndale, who was working on the translation of the Pentateuch.

Coverdale produced his own translation of the Bible relying not only on the Vulgate but also on Luther's German Bible, Pagnini's Latin edition, Tyndale's translation and, mainly, on the High Alemannic (Swiss-German) Zurich Bible. The style of the translation precisely reflects his noble nature and his writing is distinguished for its elegance, a quality clearly observable in the Book of Psalms.⁴⁰ Coverdale's translation of the Bible circulated freely and it was never officially denounced as heretical. It was first printed in 1535, perhaps in Cologne, as many believe, in the workshop of Eucharius Cervicornus and Johannes Soter, and reprinted in Marburg by James Nicolson of Southwark. In fact, all that Nicolson did was to carry from England to Antwerp the printed sheets of Coverdale's Bible, previously in the possession of the bookseller Jacob van Materen.⁴¹ In one of Thomas Cranmer's letters to Cromwell we find the basis for Henry VIII's consent: the desire that every Englishman should have access to the Bible in his own language. The decision was formalized, giving birth to the so-called 'Matthew's Bible'.⁴²

Matthew's Bible. The first edition of the Bible in English to be officially licensed by the Church of England is known as 'Matthew's Bible'. Thomas Matthew was in fact the pseudonym of John Rogers (*ca.* 1500-1555), who filled out Tyndale's and Coverdale's translations and added comments, thus creating the desired official edition of the Bible. Its printing was eventually undertaken by Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch. Notwithstanding Cromwell's assurances that he would see to it that every clergyman got one copy of this Bible, and every abbey six, this effort was not successful. Remarks that Matthew's Bible contained a number of provocative passages and interpretations led Cromwell to 'amend' Matthew's Bible, eliminating any offending comments. The new edition was entrusted to Coverdale, while Grafton and Whitchurch were again chosen as the most suitable printers, because of their extensive experience and their solid financial standing.⁴³

Once again, the English Bible was not printed at an English printing press but in Paris, the great publishing centre of Northern Europe at that time. In 1538, François I granted the two English printers a privilege that allowed them to print the English Bible at any press on French soil and freely transport their copies to England. A new problem emerged, however, originating from the Inquisition of the French Theolog-

9. *Title page of the Bible, printed in London by Robert Barker in 1633. The Barker family enjoyed the exclusive right to print the official edition of the Bible from 1589 to 1709.*



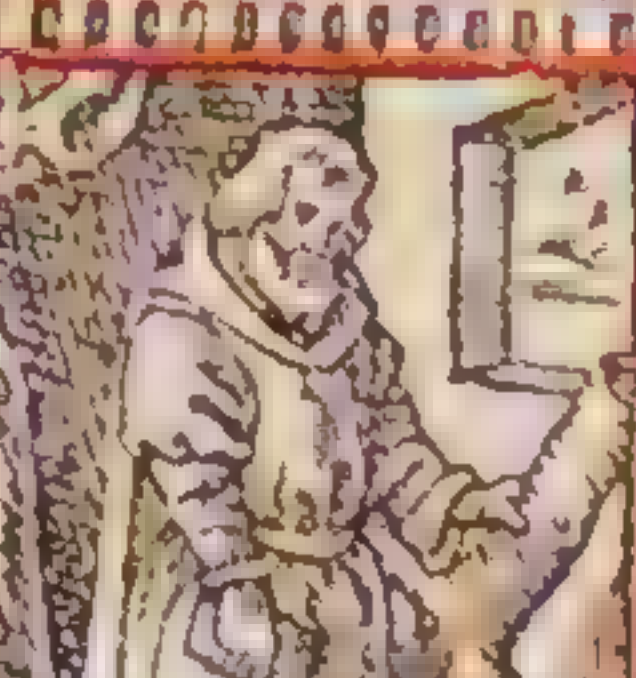
LEVI.



SIMEON. RVBEN.



PETER. ANDREW.



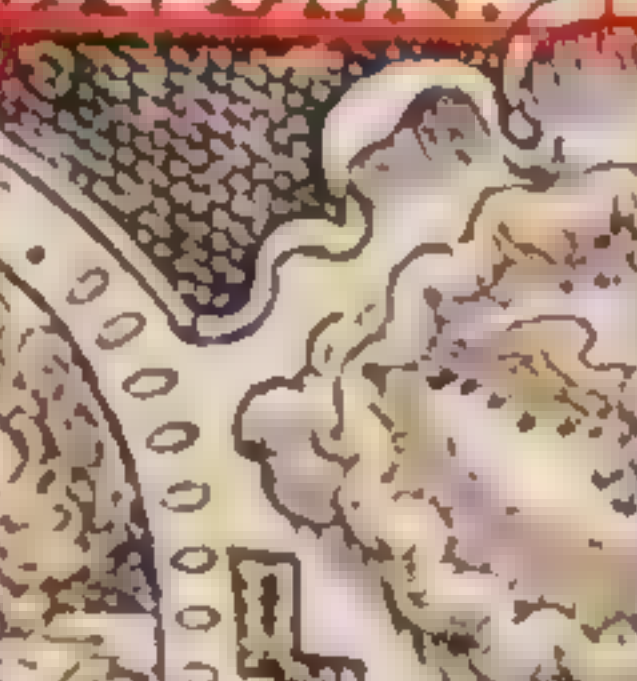
JAMES.



IVDAH.



MATHEW.



MARC.



JOHN.



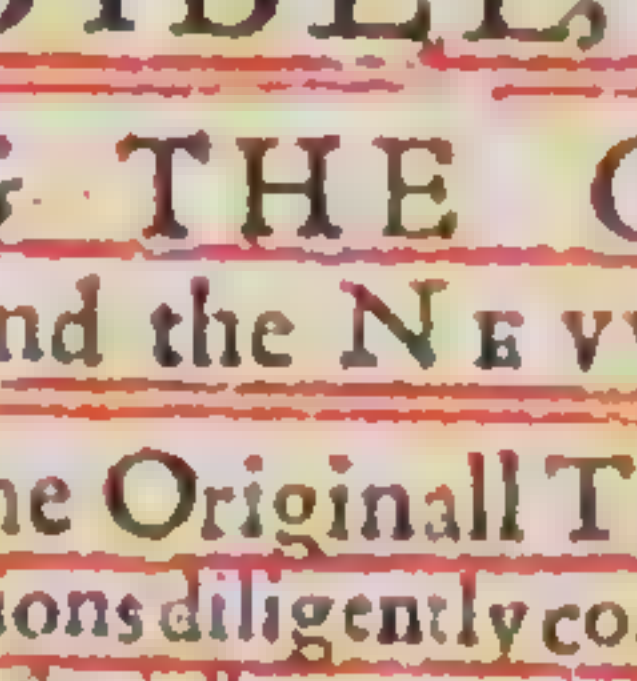
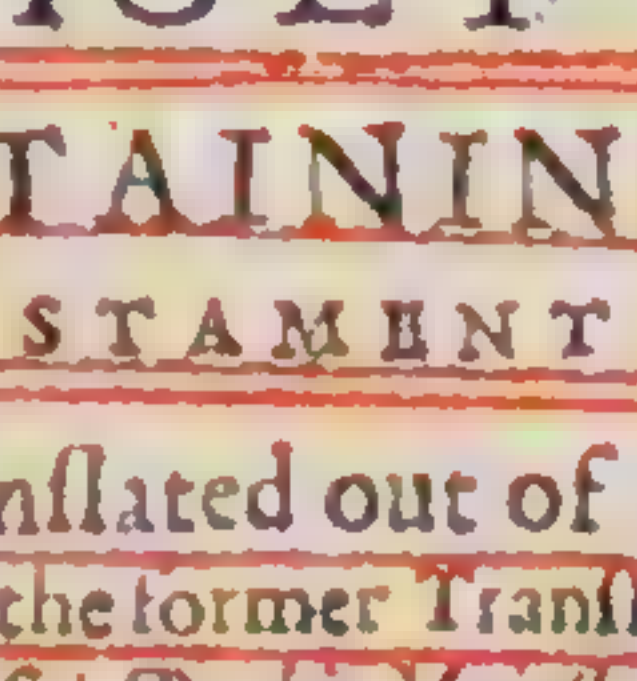
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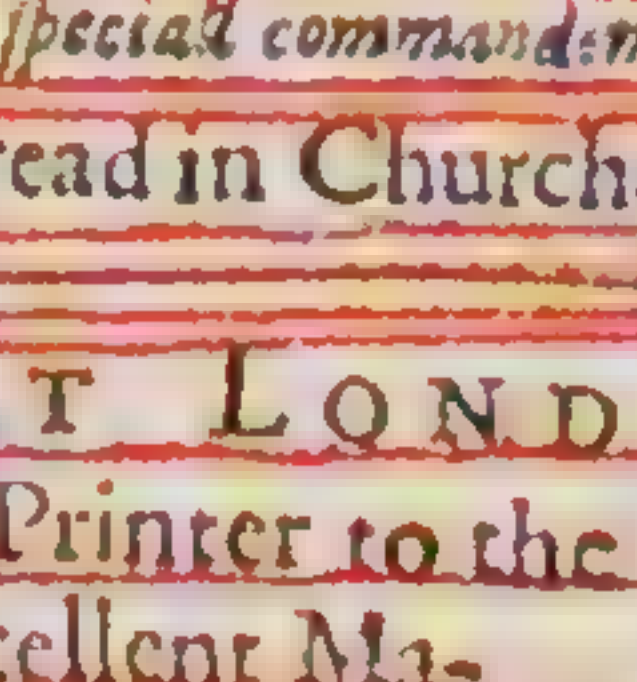
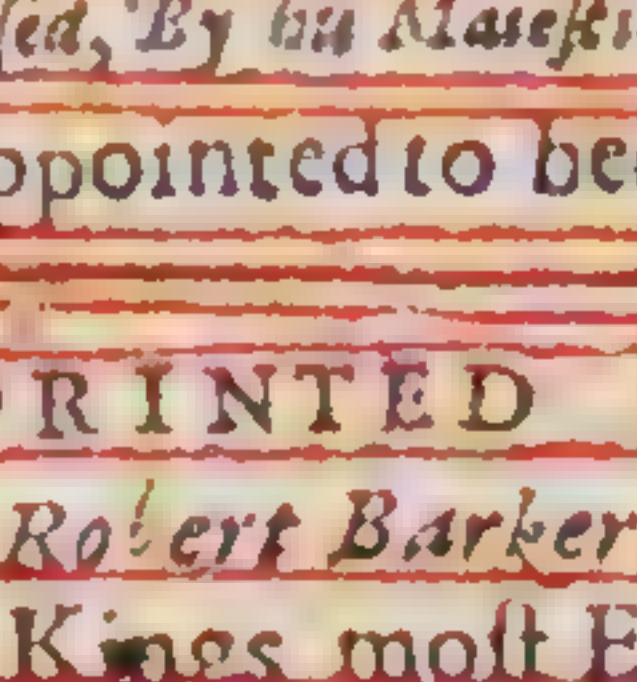
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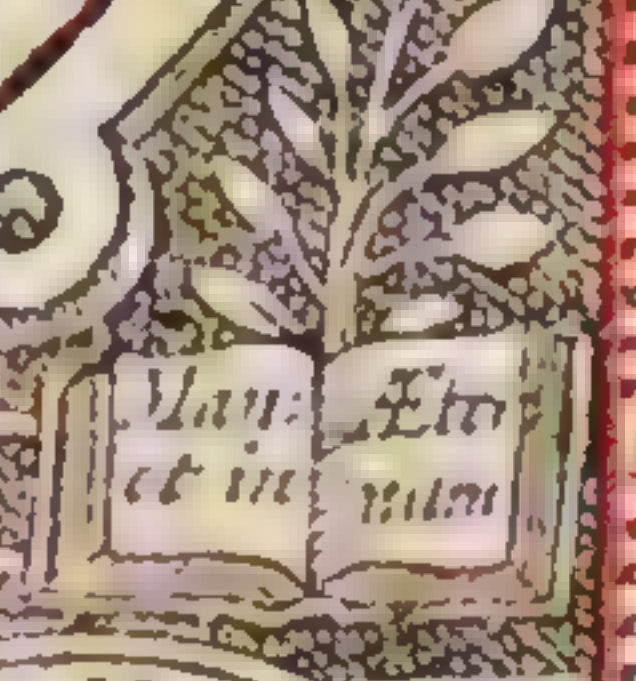
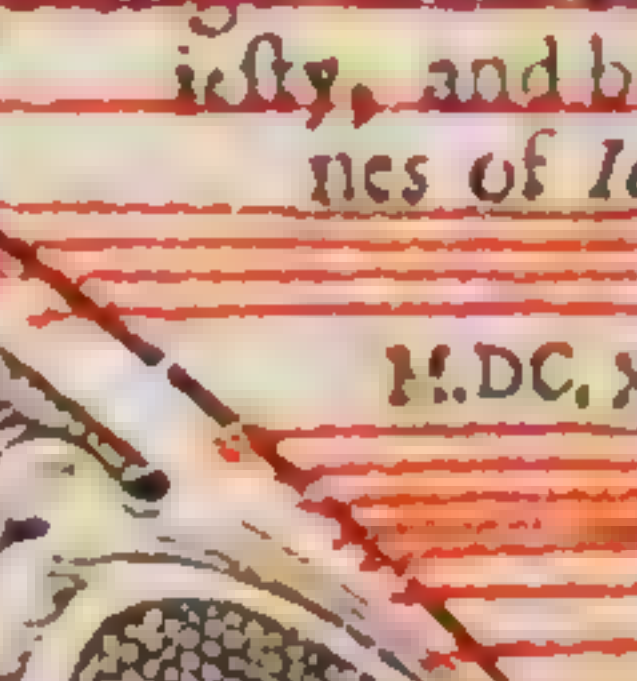
GAD.



MATHEWE.



ASHER.



THOMAS.



ISACAR.



JAMES.



JOSEPH.



IVDE.



ZABVLON.



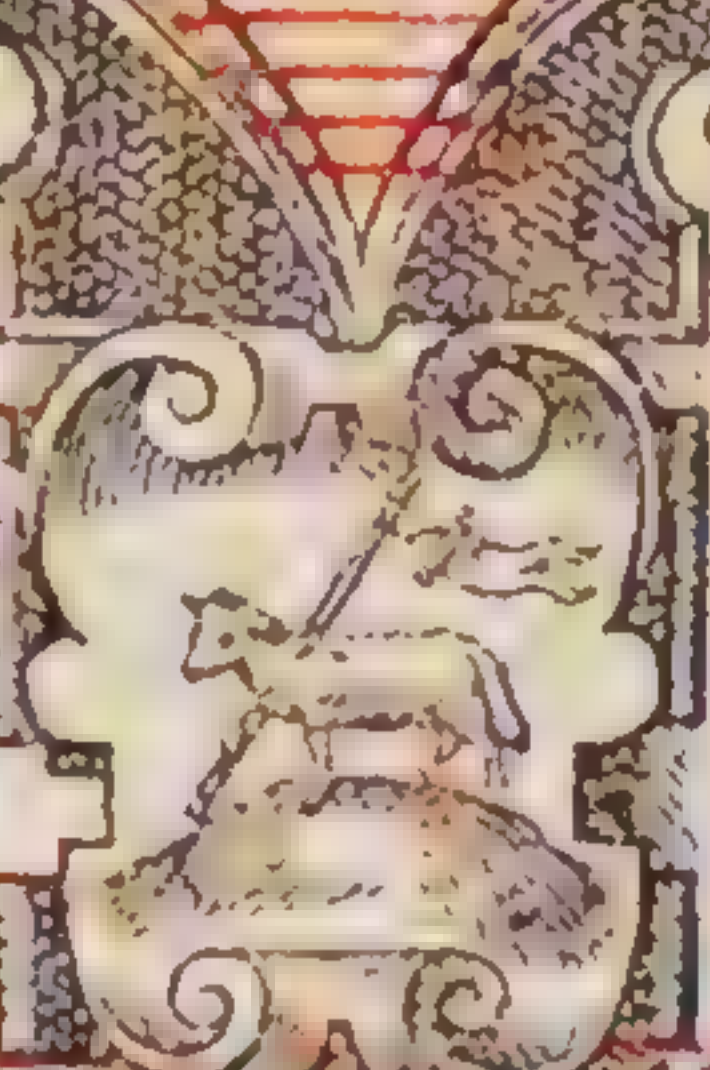
SIMON.

THE
HOLY BIBLE
CONTAINING THE OLD
TESTAMENT and the NEVV:

Newly translated out of the Originall Tongues
And with the former Translations diligently compared
and revised, By his Majesties speciall commandement.
Appointed to bee read in Churches.

IMPRINTED AT LONDON
by Robert Barker, Printer to the
Kings most Excellent Ma-
iesty, and by the Assig-
nes of John Tilly.

M.DC. XXXIII.



JOSEPH.

BENJAMIN.

MATTHIAS.

IVDE.

JOSEPH.

BENJAMIN.

MATTHIAS.

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MATTHIAS.

IVDE.

ical School: they ordered the seizure of the Bible's printed sheets, forcing the two English publishers to return hastily to England. Grafton and Whitchurch, however, managed to salvage some printed sheets and carried them back to England, while what remained was consigned to the flames by the Inquisition.⁴⁴

The vicissitudes of the 'Great Bible', as it was subsequently called, ended in 1539, and Cromwell, in his capacity as Vicar-General, ordered all clergymen to purchase a copy, with the cost to be shared by all the religious clergy.

After all they had gone through, Grafton and Whitchurch were eventually rewarded for their troubles, for by late 1541 seven reprints of the Great Bible had been published. The engraving of the title page in the 1539 edition was signed by no less an artist than Holbein, then a member of Henry's court; the composition's pictorial style is highly reminiscent of the Flemish school. The rich decoration of the title page depicts, among others, Henry VIII, Cromwell and Cranmer handing out copies of the Bible to the Christian flock, while courtiers cry 'Vivat Rex!' and the populace 'God Save the Kynge!'.⁴⁵



10. Title page, probably by Holbein, of the Great Bible, translated into English by Coverdale. Taken from the 1541 edition.

The English Bible of Geneva.

Following the accession of Mary I Tudor to the English throne in 1553, the pro-Reformation current

was halted and a royal edict forbade the reading of the English Bible; the result was that no similar publication came out during her reign.⁴⁶

Many adherents of the Reformation relocated to Geneva, and in 1560 they published their Bible there. The Geneva Bible, commonly known as the 'Breeches Bible', was translated by a group of English theologians, which included, probably among others, William Whittingham, Anthony Gilbey and Thomas Sampson. The title page informs the faithful that this translation was based on Hebrew and Greek

versions, suggesting that examples of the rich manuscript tradition and printed editions had been employed, in a city where Calvin's figure was clearly dominant. This is the first English Bible printed in Roman type, and the first one to separate the Apocrypha from the rest of the books. It was issued in a convenient size, ideal for home reading; it was also enriched with marginal notes and printed by the English printer Rowland Hall, who after his return to England used the Reformist motto *Post tenebras lux* ('After darkness, light') in his publications. Although it would not be officially authorized in England for another three generations, the Geneva Bible was the most popular of all English editions, as attested by its 140 reprints by 1640. It became the *textus receptus* for English Puritans and greatly affected the development of the English language. We should note this is the edition Shakespeare used to study the Scriptures.⁴⁷

The chronicle of the publication of the Paris Bible. The path followed by theologians, scholars and printers in re-evaluating the Vulgate translation and in providing new readings of the Scriptures based on textual scholarship (without, however, diverging from the true spirit of Holy Writ), is perhaps most clearly observable in the publications edited by Lefèvre d'Étaples and the Estiennes. A much wider audience was preoccupied with providing new translations and arriving at new readings of the Bible (this is attributable to advances in printing and the popularity of such editions in universities), and they pondered on the following question: should one seek the authentic text of the Scriptures in tradition or in the critical eye of textual scholarship? Lefèvre, who expressed the internationalist spirit of France and was deeply versed in Florentine Neoplatonism, chose to approach the Bible employing a hermeneutical method which preserved the Word of God and 'rationalized difficult passages', without departing from the humility and piety that ought to characterize every Christian.⁴⁸ This method of translation and interpretation had been widely acknowledged and established since the time Lefèvre employed it to restore the Aristotelian corpus, and it is no coincidence that in one of his letters More describes Lefèvre as a true reformer of dialectics and real philosophy, mainly Aristotle's.⁴⁹ Lefèvre's publishing career was predicated on the quest to reappraise the manuscript tradition. To this end he visited many monastic libraries, seeking old codices containing hermeneutical approaches to the Vulgate by theologians and scholars of impeccable credentials – for instance the ninth-century Vulgate codex by Theodulf of Orléans, which Robert Estienne had found in the abbey of Fleury-sur-Loire.⁵⁰

Lefèvre started by publishing the Book of Psalms at Henri Estienne's printing

press in 1509 (the first edition of what became known as the 'First Book of French Protestants'), where he cites five different versions of the Psalms for the purposes of comparison: the first three, all printed in parallel columns, are the three editions of St. Jerome (*Psalterium Romanum*), etc. Each is accompanied by Lefèvre's commentary (*expositio continua*), reflecting his translation method.⁵¹ The Book of Psalms as published by Lefèvre was impeccable in terms of theological sophistication and philological accomplishment:

this was recognized by Cardinal Ximenes, who promptly purchased a copy for his library to add to the material he was collecting for use in the preparation of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible.

Three years later, Lefèvre published parts of the Vulgate; this time (1512) he published St. Paul's Epistles to the Romans, the first part of the Vulgate to appear in a revised version.⁵² The French scholar cites the Epistles as they appear in the Vulgate, accompanied by his own commentary, which reveals and highlights his philosophy, his religious experiences and the totality of his theological and dogmatic approach. This edition was complemented by his own rendition of the Epistles, based on the Greek text of the Septuagint.

In the prologue to this edition Lefèvre expresses his constant puzzlement, his






11. *The Bible and 'Scriptures', i.e. the Old and New Testament, printed by Rowland Hall at Geneva in 1560.*

objections and reservations vis-à-vis a tradition that dealt with the 'divine'. He rejected the commonly held belief that the Vulgate, in the form it was known in his time, was the work of St. Jerome and took it upon himself to publish an 'Apologia' against the prevailing view.⁵³ He thought one should not blindly accept current doctrines; however, he dared not dispute the theses of the Early Christian theologians, nor did he intend to oppose their dogmas openly, as Luther did later.

It is obvious that such a disputatious attitude vis-à-vis the Biblical tradition of the Catholic Church would inevitably inflame the conservatives of the Sorbonne School, yet Lefèvre's approach did not offend the piety of the book-buying public;

in fact the 1,000 copies that were printed were not enough to satisfy the initial demand, and so a revised edition appeared in 1515, again printed by Estienne.⁵⁴

Lefèvre's next theological work was published by another great Parisian printing press, that of Simon de Colines, in 1522. This is a publication containing the first commentaries on the four Gospels (*Commentarii initiatorii in quatuor Evangelia*), accompanied by excerpts from the Gospels and printed, according to its colophon, in the town of Meaux.⁵⁵

| PSALTERIVM GAL
LICVM. I | ROMANVM. I | HEBRAICVM. 5
I |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|  <p>1 Eatus vir
qui nō a
biit in cō
silio ipio
rum; et in
via peccatorum non ste
tit; & in cathedra pestilē
tie non sedit.</p> <p>2 Sed in lege domini volū
tas eius; et in lege ei⁹ me
ditabit die ac nocte.</p> <p>3 Et erit tanq̃ lignū quod
plantatū est secus decur
sus aquarū: quod fructū
suū dabit in tēpore suo.</p> <p>4 Et foliū eius nō defluet;
et omnia quēcunq; faci
et prosperabuntur.</p> <p>5 Non sic impij nō sic; sed
tanq̃ pulvis quem proi
cit ventus a facie terre.</p> <p>6 Ideo nō resurgunt impij
i iudicio; neq; peccatores
in concilio iustorum.</p> <p>7 Qm̃ nouit dñs viā iusto
rū; et iter ipiorū peribit.</p> |  <p>Eatus vir
qui nō a
biit in cō
silio ipio
rum; et in
via peccatorum non ste
tit; et in cathedra pestilē
tie non sedit.</p> <p>Sed in lege dñi fuit volū
tas eius; et in lege ei⁹ me
ditabit die ac nocte.</p> <p>Et erit tanq̃ lignū: qđ plā
tatū est sec⁹ decurs⁹ aq̃rū:
Quod fructū suū dabit
in tēpore suo.</p> <p>Et foliū eius nō decidet;
et omnia quēcunq; fece
rit prosperabuntur.</p> <p>Non sic impij nō sic; sed
tanq̃ pulvis quē proiicit
ventus a facie terre.</p> <p>Ideo nō resurgunt impij
in iudicio; neq; peccato
res in concilio iustorum.</p> <p>Qm̃ nouit dñs viā iusto
rū; et iter ipiorū peribit.</p> |  <p>Eatus vir
qui nō a
biit in cō
silio ipio
rum; et in
via peccatorum non ste
tit; in cathedra derisorū
non sedit.</p> <p>Sed in lege domini volū
tas eius; et in lege ei⁹ me
ditabit die ac nocte.</p> <p>Et erit tanq̃ lignū trans
plātatum: iuxta riuulos
aquarum.</p> <p>Quod fructū suū dabit i
tēpore suo; et foliū ei⁹ nō
defluet; et omne quod fe
cerit prosperabitur.</p> <p>Non sic impij; sed tanq̃
pulvis quē proiicit vent⁹</p> <p>Propterea nō resurgunt
ipij i iudicio; neq; pctōres
in cōgregatione iustorū.</p> <p>Qm̃ nouit dñs viā iusto
rū; et via ipiorū peribit.</p> |
| <p>TITVLVS nullus. Psalm⁹ de Christo dño. Est enī q̃ habet clauē David; & q̃ claudit et nemo aperit/ A
apit et nemo claudit. Propheta i spiritu loquit. Beatus vir: describit Christ⁹. Impij: gētes/ idololatre/
dei contēptores/ peccatores/ trāsgressores diuine legis et nature. cathedra pestilētie: pōtificū/ scriba
rum et phariseorū iudiciaria potestas/ qua corrupti abutebātur. lex dñi: lex moſalca non passibiliter
sed spiritualiter intellecta/ et euāgelica. die ac nocte: iugiter/ indefinēter. Id Christo propriū est. lignū:
lignū vite. decurrētes aque: quatuor paradisi flumina Geon/ Phison/ Tigris/ Eufrates: quatuor riu
decurrentis sāguinis (Christo pendēte in ligno) respondētia. fructus: redēptio generis humani. Tēpus:
tēpus passionis. Antichristus ex opposito diffinitur. et impij et peccatores per appropinquationē
ad eū: vt pij et iusti per appropinquationē ad Christū. nō resurgūt: nō iustificātur/ nō imutātur. Iusti:
pij qui legē iplent. Ideo si Christus resurrexit ad vite immortalitātē: & pij i die iudicij in cetū iustorū &
sanctorū ad vitā resurgēt. Antichristus vero et ipij: nō resurgēt ad vitā. sed ad mortē secundā/ que est
tormentū indeficiens. et nō in cōgregatione iustorū: sed in cōsortio demonū/ iniustorū/ & dānatorū.</p> <p>1 EXPOSITIO CONTINVA. Propheta in spiritu loquit. Beatus vir qui nō abiit in cōsilio ipiorū/
et in via peccatorū nō stetit: et in cathedra pestilētie nō sedit. Hic vir beatus diffinitur: eū virū beatū
esse et certā vite eterne salutē manere/ q̃ sentētis nō adhesit cōtēptorū dei: q̃ viā trāsgressorū larā nō
intrauit: qui iudiciaria potestate pōtificū. scribarū/ phariseorū et aliorū pestilētiū iudicū deūq; homi
2 nesq; nō verentiū nō est abusus. Sed i lege dñi volūtas eius: et in lege ei⁹ meditabit die ac nocte. bea
tus ille vir: qui nō modo priuato nec publico pctō peccauit/ qui nō solū a malo abstinuit sed mēs eius
3 tota in iplēione legis diuine versā est: et in cōtēplatione ei⁹ sine intermissione. Et erit tanq̃ lignū qđ</p> | | |

12. Page from the Quintuplex Psalter, printed in Paris by Henri Estienne in 1509.

The first edition of the commentary on the Gospels was edited by Lefèvre using his familiar ‘method’, employed also in treating Aristotle, and it was not without its detractors. Immediately following the appearance of the book, the Theological School of the Sorbonne begun scrutinizing the work: the censors of the University expounded their objections in no less than twenty-five pages, quoting the passages that, in their opinion, contained heretical views. Relying on this report, the Parlement condemned the publication and ordered the confiscation of all copies, while Lefèvre avoided jail only thanks to his friendship with King François I.⁵⁶

In 1528 Robert Estienne, who had succeeded Henri in running the Estienne printing house, had the courage to publish a monumental folio Bible.⁵⁷ In the introduction he informs his readers that since 1524 he had been seeking reliable manuscripts, and one of his finds was a Vulgate codex of 876 in the library of the Abbey of St. Denis outside Paris. He also reveals that he studied a tome containing the thirteenth-century *Correctiones*, kept in the Sorbonne University library,⁵⁸ and bought directly from the Spanish market a copy of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible; he reports he was pleased to discover that the Latin text was in complete agreement with the version given in old manuscripts he had discovered in France.

After a new edition of the Bible (1527), which for the first time featured many illustrations,⁵⁹ Robert Estienne published the *Biblia hebraica* in six volumes (between 1544 and 1546), having been given the title of King’s Printer of Hebrew in 1539.⁶⁰

The second edition of Robert Estienne’s Latin Bible (1545) featured the Vulgate and the new Latin version based on ‘a Hebrew original’, prepared in Zurich by Leo Juda and Theodore Bibliander, arranged in facing columns.⁶¹ The second Zurich edition was interpreted by the Parisian establishment as an aggressive move by Estienne and a challenge to the Vulgate, all the more so as it contained comments undermining established theological views, although Estienne himself argued they were based on traditions originating from the widely respected François Vatable. Although Robert enjoyed royal patronage, the Leuven theologians sought to block the circulation of his publication by any means: the Index of Prohibited Books included his Bible editions of 1532 and 1540, as well as his 1543 New Testament.⁶²

In 1546 Robert Estienne presented Christians in France with the first edition of the Greek New Testament to be published in their country; it was printed in a convenient format and became known, as did its 1549 reprint, as the *O mirificam*.⁶³

13. Title page, decorated with an engraving depicting the symbols of the Evangelists, of Lefèvre d’Etaples’s Commentary on the Four Gospels. Printed at Meaux by Simon de Colines in 1522.



Арсиз4

GELIA.
 In euangelium secundum Matthæum.
 In euangelium secundum Marcum.
 In euangelium secundum Lucam.
 In euangelium secundum Ioannem.

PAVLVS AD ROMANOS
Non enim erubesco euangelium CHRI-
STI. Virtus enim dei est in sa-
lutem omni credenti,

Judeo primu
& Gra
CO.

Iustitia enim dei in
eo reuelatur ex fide in fidem,
sicut scriptum est, Iustus au-
tem ex fide uiuet.

CVM PRIVILEGIO
REGIS.

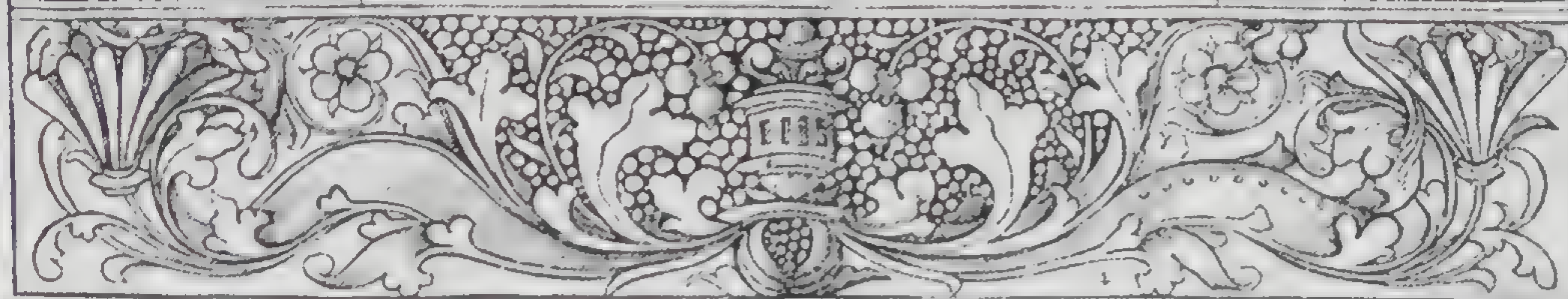
II
Prædicabitur
hoc euangeliū
regni, in vniuer
so orbe: in testi
moniū omni
bus gentibus.
Matth. 24



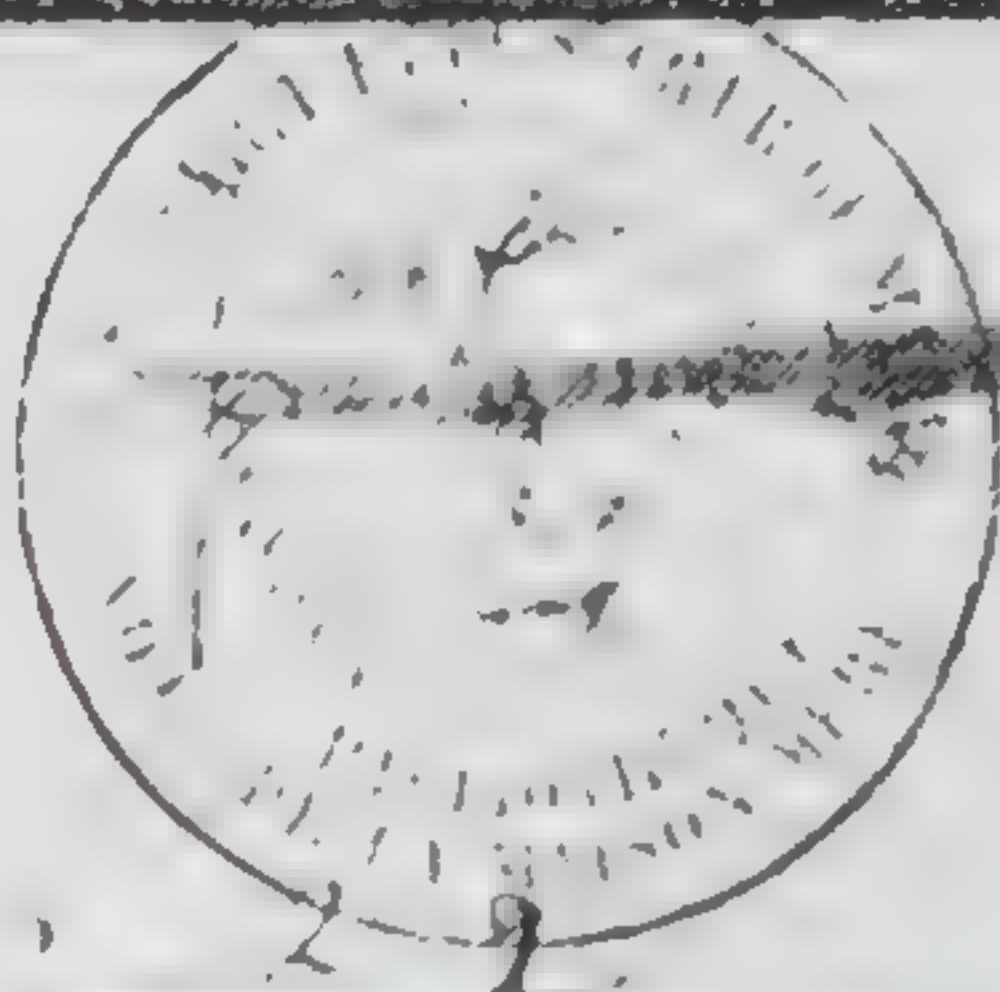
IIII
Euāgelizo vo
bis gaudium
magnū quod
erit omni po-
pulo.
Luc. 2



III
Euntes in mū
dūvniuerſum:
prædicate euā
gelium omni
creaturæ.
Marc. 16



Beaux (Simon Colin)
b. 1922



BIBLIA



PARISIIS
Ex officina ROBERTI STEPHANI, eregione Scholæ Decretorum.
M. D. XXVIII.

C V M P R I V I L E G I O R E G I S.

Estienne compiled the text relying on two printed editions, Erasmus's and the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, and on certain manuscripts at his disposal, including thirteenth-and fourteenth-century codices of the Greek New Testament in the Royal Library. The small-format edition of the New Testament was warmly received and enjoyed significant publishing success even outside France, as attested by the large number of copies surviving in English college libraries. It is also claimed that it supported Greek studies in England between 1560 and 1620, for many people studied Greek to gain access to the Greek New Testament and the patristic literature of the Eastern Church.⁶⁴

In 1550 Estienne completed his monumental *Editio Regia* of the Greek New Testament,⁶⁵ the most noteworthy edition of his, for it contained sigla indicating variant readings based on 15 different codices, including the famous Codex Bezae, used for the first time.⁶⁶ The text of this edition became the *textus receptus* for at least two centuries, mainly in England, and was used as a model for the English edition prepared by William Whittingham and other English Protestant theologians who had sought refuge in Geneva. Although this undertaking was widely hailed as a feat of publishing, it also marked Robert Estienne's 'flight' to Geneva, for members of the Sorbonne Theological School considered many of his marginal notes on the text to be heretical.⁶⁷



15. Page from Robert Estienne's Greek New Testament, Paris, 1546.

14. Title page from Robert Estienne's monumental Bible; this was his first venture into textual scholarship, Paris, Robert Estienne, 1527.

The dissolution of England's historic monastic libraries. The wealth of books kept in the libraries of the abbeys and cathedrals of medieval continental Europe provided an invaluable and inexhaustible source of material for humanists, supporting them in their efforts to revive classical learning and restore theological texts and the Scriptures.⁶⁸ Things evolved differently in England, however, for even before 1530 – precisely when the humanities were beginning to be more intensely cultivated – a new period of ‘witch-hunting’ began, its victims being old manuscripts, most of which were kept in the larger monasteries and abbeys. We should not forget the important role of libraries in the Christianization of the British Isles and the dissemination of ancient literature in the monasteries established by Augustine at Canterbury, and by Benedict Biscop at Wearmouth-Jarrow, where the Venerable Bede was active.⁶⁹

The dissolution and plundering of monastic libraries in England was directly linked to political and theological issues caused by Henry VIII's all-out clash with the Roman Catholic Church and the Pope himself, and his disagreement with claims of papal primacy. This occurred when the members of the English Parliament denied the Pontiff his customary title, recognizing him only as ‘Bishop of Rome’ (1553). It all began with Henry VIII's dogged insistence on annulling his marriage to Catherine of Aragon, which sparked much hostility between Henry's court and the English clergy. In the context of the king's clash with ecclesiastical dignitaries, at some point between 1524 and 1529 Thomas Wolsey, the Lord Chancellor, had already ordered the dissolution of certain monasteries, followed by the confiscation of their movable property and their book collections.⁷⁰ The intellectual wealth that was lost during this royal onslaught is inestimable. It is almost certain, however, that in this way at least thirty-one medieval codices found their way to the king's library in his main residence, Hampton Court, for Henry hoped to find passages in them that could be construed as supporting the annulment of his marriage.⁷¹

The violent and destructive royal frenzy that smote England's historic monastic libraries also led to the disappearance of most of the documentary evidence needed for a systematic record of their contents up to the early years of the humanist movement. As a result of this turmoil, the libraries of the three royal palaces (Westminster, Hampton Court and Greenwich) were turned into storehouses for the books taken from monastic collections.⁷² An undated catalogue listing about a hundred codices found in a Lincolnshire house was compiled around that time (in 1530) and reveals not only the wealth of those libraries but also the rationale behind the selection of particular codices among many. When the catalogue was

complete, it was delivered to a member of the royal court or to a prelate loyal to the king, who singled out approximately forty manuscripts by marking them with a cross (the marks are still visible); these were later incorporated into the Royal Library.⁷³ Among them is a work by Ralph of Flaix with a commentary on Leviticus, which clearly states the Catholic Church's ban on the practice of a surviving brother's marrying the widow of his dead sibling.⁷⁴ The Lincolnshire catalogue clearly reflects the actions of the future Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, who sought to single out older texts containing references to papal authority and the rights of the English Crown.⁷⁵ This catalogue (*Royal Appendix 69*) is, of course, the only one that survives; there are, however, indications that other libraries were catalogued on the basis of codices that were removed from monastic libraries and sent to the library at Hampton Court, as in the case of Reading Abbey.⁷⁶

John Leland's list. The sole surviving document from pre-Dissolution England that provides evidence of the monastic libraries' wealth was compiled by John Leland. It does shed some light on many aspects of these collections, yet the information recorded there is selective and illustrates his personal interests as a bibliophile: it is not the bibliographical undertaking of a historian or bibliographer.⁷⁷ We should, however, clarify that here we are discussing monastic libraries and not those of cathedrals like the one founded by St. Augustine at Canterbury, for which a list had been compiled before 1500 and later updated with new acquisitions.⁷⁸ Leland's list, which by the eighteenth century was called *De uiris illustribus* or *Commentarii de scriptoribus Britannicis*, contains records and opens with Glastonbury Abbey, which he visited in 1533:⁷⁹

"A few years ago I was in Glastonbury, Somerset, where the oldest and the most famous abbey of our whole island is found [...] I betook myself to the library (which is not open to all comers) in order to turn over the relics of venerable antiquity, of which the number is not easily matched anywhere else in Britain [...] Then, having saluted the *genius loci*, I spent some days searching through all the bookcases with the greatest curiosity" (*Scriptores*, 41).

At Bath, Leland was impressed by the antiquity of the codices he found and the fact that these had managed to survive until his own time (*Scriptores*, 166). With respect to the cathedral priory at Norwich, he reports that it was "crammed with good books" (*Scriptores*, 247), while the library of St. Augustine at Canterbury is described as "a rich storehouse of ancient manuscripts", despite of the destructive fire of 1168, and the later plundering of boorish monks (*Scriptores*, 299-301). The Abingdon library, again according to Leland, was completely derelict, yet he

*Leland tours
the monasteries*

managed to locate a 'precious jewel' there: a copy of Joseph of Exeter's lost epic poem *Antiocheis* (*Scriptores*, 238).

Of the Cistercian monasteries, Leland singled out Jervaulx, for its library was "well filled with books" (*Scriptores*, 74), and the library of Warden Abbey, which was "crammed with ancient manuscripts". Among other things, there he located an exquisite illuminated codex of a work by Nicholas Stanford, not extant today, entitled *Moralitates super Genesim* (*Scriptores*, 343 and 243). In London, of the monastic libraries, the richest appears to have been that of the Carmelites, "although the number of books has now markedly declined, there is still no library in London to compare with that of the Carmelites for the number or the antiquity of its manuscripts" (*Scriptores*, 441).

This idyllic picture that Leland paints, albeit in broad strokes, does not reflect the condition of all monastic libraries, as he himself remarks while relating his abortive efforts to locate Roger Bacon's writings, a failure which caused him great disappointment:

"were once disseminated in many copies and kept religiously in libraries all over Britain; now I am ashamed to say some of them have been removed from their bookcases and stolen as a result of the negligence of their guardians; others have become mutilated, with quires torn out here and there; in fact, they appear so seldom that it would be easier to collect the Sybillene leaves than the names of the books which he wrote" (*Scriptores*, 258).

As it turned out, Leland played the role of the chronicler, pronouncing judgement on libraries on the basis of the antiquity of their collections and the rarity of their most treasured possessions. The clergymen responsible for these libraries certainly did not share his viewpoint, and not all of them were bibliophiles; most book collections in monastic centres had been created in previous periods and the books amassed by successive generations of monks catered for the liturgical, coenobitic and meditative needs of the monastic communities. By the sixteenth century, with the advent of printing on the intellectual scene, printed books gradually replaced bulky manuscript tomes.⁸⁰ At St. Albans, in fact, developments occurred at an even faster pace, and in the 1530s John Herford installed his printing press inside the abbey's walls.⁸¹ Although the abbey was dissolved in 1539, Herford with the last abbot, Richard Boreman, produced another six publications.⁸²

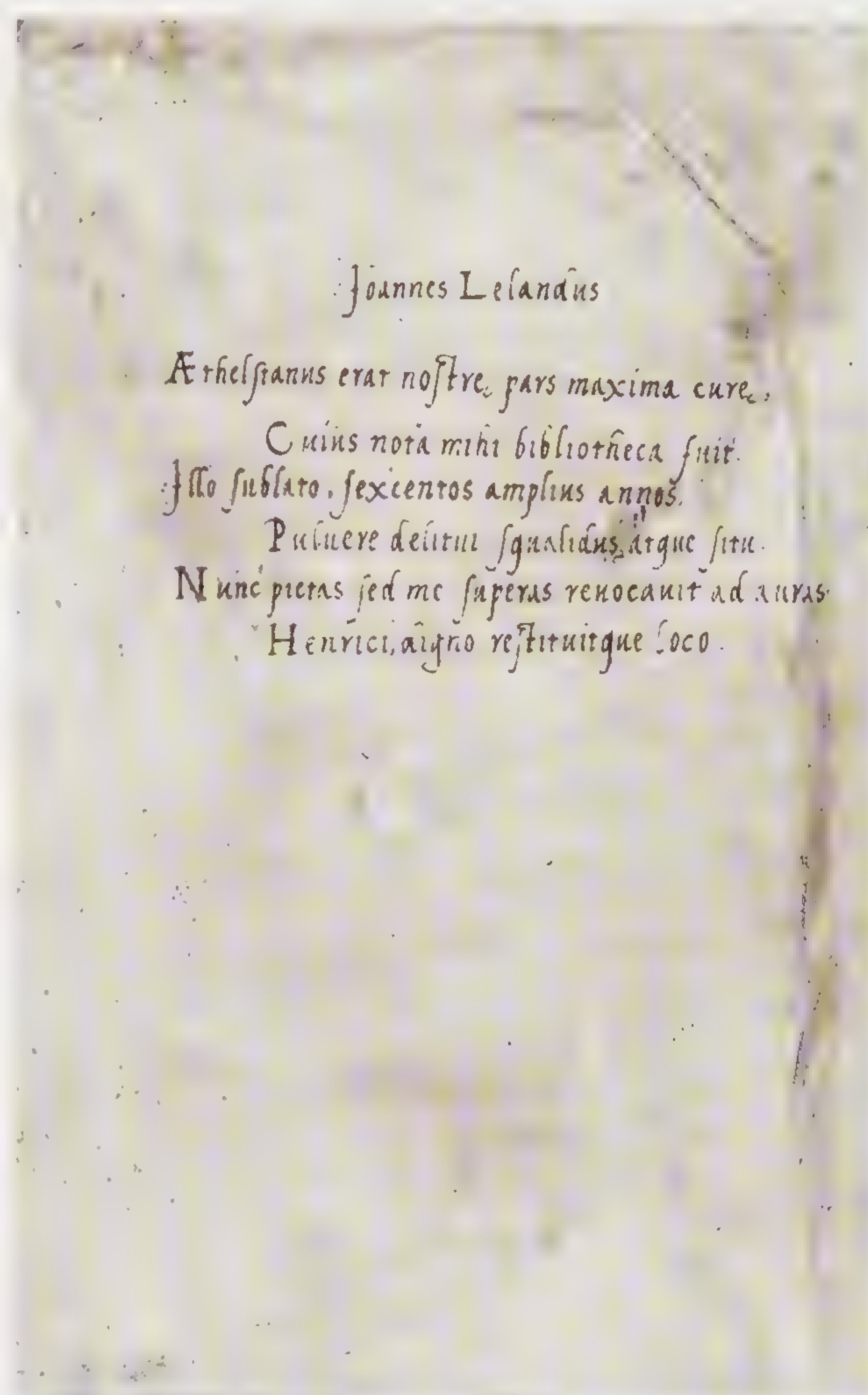
Leland's role as a protector of manuscripts. In a letter not extant today, but whose existence is indirectly attested, we know that Leland had written to Cromwell in 1536 requesting financial support to avert the loss of the precious

corpus of manuscripts kept in abbeys that was rapidly being scattered.⁸³ In the prevailing atmosphere of general paralysis and state connivance with the dissolution of many monasteries, the confiscation of their treasures and relics and the ransacking of their libraries, Leland returned to the monasteries he had previously visited: this time not to record their treasures, but to make provision for their future. He wished to collect the codices and protect them from almost certain destruction.⁸⁴

Leland had conceived of a plan for the future of the books he collected: some would enrich the Royal Library, others his own personal collection, and the rest would be sent to members of the humanist community and other bibliophiles. There is indirect evidence that he did indeed contribute to the enrichment of the Royal Library, as suggested, for instance, by a codex containing the *De synodis pontificiis*, which originated from a library at Bath, and a tenth-century Gospel, presented to St. Augustine of Canterbury by the then King of England, Aethelstan.⁸⁵

A large portion was probably incorporated into his personal collection, which stands out for its contents. The *Index* compiled by John Bale records more than 200 volumes 'ex bibliotheca Ioannis Lelandi', featuring works by British authors only. Some of these books, in fact, still survive today and can be identified, like the copy of the *Vita Sancti Cuthberti*, composed by Bede and possibly copied at the cathedral of St. Augustine of Canterbury (*Index*, 42).⁸⁶

Again according to Leland, codices and printed texts, which he 'rescued' from the disbanded monasteries, were intended to enrich the libraries of people with humanistic ideas even on the other side of the English Channel, especially those working in publishing and printing centres, mainly Basel. The ultimate goal of this initiative was to make sure these valuable texts were published in multiple copies.⁸⁷

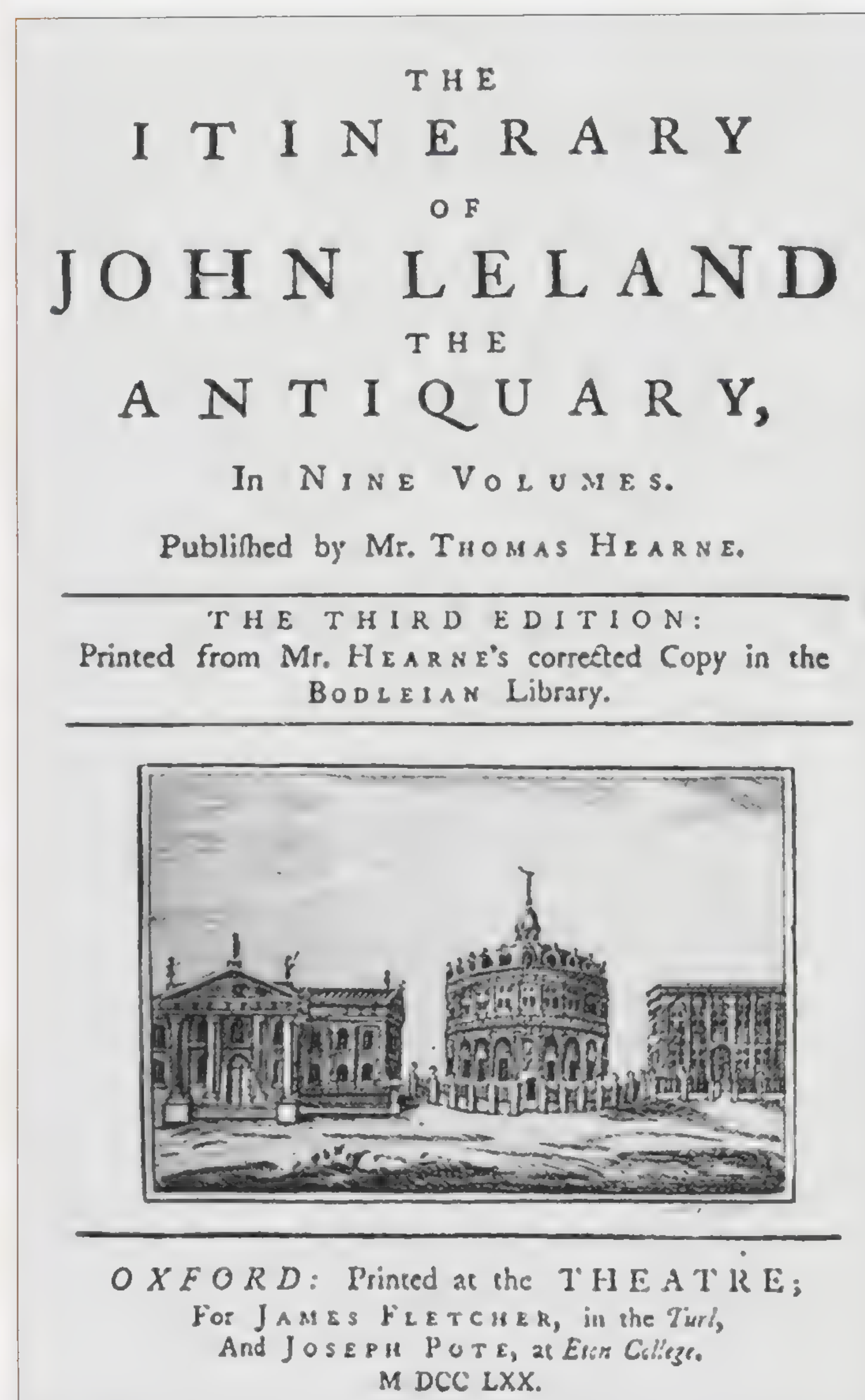


16. Leland's verses on a 10th-century manuscript of the Gospels (The British Library, Royal MS I.A. XVIII, f. 2v).

However, Leland was not the only source from which the editors and textual scholars of Central Europe 'borrowed' valuable manuscripts kept in various libraries in England. for example, when Simon Grynaeus visited England in 1531 he borrowed an unknown number of old manuscripts.⁸⁸ It is impossible to estimate accurately the extent of this expatriation of English codices initiated by Leland and other like-minded men, but at least one codex provides support for this hypothesis. Among the

books found by Leland at Malmesbury in 1533 was a copy of Tertullian (*Scriptores*, 100), and in a letter to Beatus Rhenanus (June 1539) he claims that the edition of Tertullian produced by Hieronymus Froben's printing press in 1536⁸⁹ was based on a manuscript he had discovered at Malmesbury, which he was allowed to take through the intercession of Richard Morison.⁹⁰

Leland's library and its fate. The books comprising Leland's collection, together with autographs of his works, came into the possession of other scholars of that period, some even before his death in 1552.⁹¹ John Dee, according to his personal testimony, purchased six manuscripts at a London auction in 1556,⁹² while a list compiled by the same person suggests that Leland was also interested in texts dealing with other branches of learning, a



17. Title page from John Leland's *Itinerary*, from the 1770 Oxford edition.

fact that does not come across in the *Index* compiled by Bale.⁹³ Some of Sir John Cheke's books came from Leland's collection, and Bale confirms that Cheke had in his library a copy of Sicardus of Cremona, now lost.⁹⁴ Thomas Key of Oxford is mentioned in the *Index* as another who, like Leland, possessed books by obscure authors whose works were extremely rare. It is not impossible, however, that in this case Bale listed the copy in Leland's library which later came into Key's possession.⁹⁵

Other losses of library books. In a period when the humanist awakening in England – with More, Colet and others, not to mention Erasmus as the apostle of Christian humanism touring the colleges of England – had paved the way for forging the character of English humanism, the dispersal of monastic libraries dealt a heavy blow to university life in that country. To make matters worse, it appears that in this climate of uncertainty, often even terror, valuable and almost irreplaceable book collections were lost or relocated abroad. In the mid-1530s approximately two hundred medieval manuscripts, almost all from the houses of the Austin, Dominican and Franciscan friars in Cambridge, were packaged and sent to Rome, enriching the library of Cardinal Marcello Cervini.⁹⁶ Eugene J. Crook suggests two possible explanations for this: either these books were sent to Rome for safekeeping by Cervini (who was a patron of the Servite and Austin friars), or they were sold to Cervini by Dr. John Hardyman, the last Prior of the Austin Friary in Cambridge. In any case, the extent to which monasteries were pillaged by their own abbots, even before the Dissolution in 1538, is apparent from the fact that many of them sold off book collections, parcels of monastic land and even architectural members from splendid abbeys for personal gain.⁹⁷

To appreciate the extent to which book collections were dispersed we need only consider the case of Christ Church at Canterbury, which in Late Medieval times possessed one of the richest libraries in England.⁹⁸ Christopher de Hamel has published a detailed account of the fate of some of the books from this library after the dissolution of the monasteries.⁹⁹ In 1540 private collectors such as John Twyne, Thomas Cranmer, William Darell, John Bale and others, took books from the Lower Library of Christ Church for their own collections, but none from the Upper Library, according to the catalogue compiled in 1508 by William Ingram. John Whitgift, after his consecration as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1583, augmented his collection with fifty-two codices from the same library, and following his death at least two hundred medieval manuscripts were found in his library.¹⁰⁰

Presumably the testimony of Leland in particular, and also of other scholars and bibliophiles who participated in this ‘unofficial auction’ of monastic libraries, does not tell the whole story. And there can be no doubt that, in the prevailing climate of religious conflict, the dissolution of the monasteries and the appropriation of their treasures and relics led to the disappearance of works of secular and religious literature preserved in England, dealing a blow to the continuity of the whole Western intellectual tradition.



VIRESCIT VVLNERE VIRTVS.

ORONTII
FINEI DEL-
PHINATIS, LIBE-

RALIVM DISCIPLI-

NARVM PROFESSO-

RIS REGII,

PROTOMATHESIS:

Opus varium, ac scitū non minus utile
quā iucundum, nunc primū in
lucem feliciter emissum.

Cuius index universa
lis, in uersa pagina
continetur.

V.
28
1.

PARISIIS ANNO

1 5 3 2.

Cum gratia & priuilegio Christianissimi
Francorum Regis, ad Decennium.

H. ne Auctor proprio pingebat: maxie pizant.

Libraries of scholars and men of letters from Italy to Northern Europe.

The ascendancy of printed books on the European intellectual scene did not simply make books more readily available to the wider public, nor did it only provide decisive and crucial support in diffusing the entire spectrum of the Graeco-Roman intellectual tradition and medieval and Renaissance secular and Christian literature: it created and established an international bibliographical tool. Even before the late fifteenth century, the enormous publishing output of Europe (approximately 35,000 publications in millions of copies) engendered an unprecedented situation on the European scene. Men of light and leading now had at their disposal a powerful tool for disseminating the fruits of their work: the multiple copies of their books circulating in the open European ‘common market’ which developed in various book centres and at Frankfurt. Henri Estienne¹⁰¹ provides a vivid description of the Frankfurt Book Fair: “During the time of the Fair, the Muses call upon printers and booksellers, bidding them to be accompanied by poets, orators, historians and philosophers, not only those who once glorified Greek and Latin letters, but also the people who day by day produce works in all the countries visited by the nine Sisters! When all these persons are gathered in the German city called Frankfurt, one believes one is in another city, once flowering; the most lettered city of Greece. The area accommodating scholars, printers and book sellers could be called the Athens of Frankfurt, how else? Can one not feel as if one is in Athens, where the Muses were worshipped and philosophers, and all orators and historians converged? Would it not be misleading if, in the quarter we call Athens of Frankfurt, one expected to come into contact only with books and not their authors, meaning those who live on through their work. Thus, the Frankfurt Book Fair is far superior to any other library, for it represents a living Academy-Exhibition of international letters. Academics mingle with printers and book sellers, and book sellers discuss philosophical issues, at a level comparable to that of circles of the Lycaenum, Socrates and Plato. Apart from philosophers – who represent the Academies of Vienna, Wittenberg, Leipzig, Haidelberg, Strasburg, as well as of Leuven, Padua, Oxford and Cambridge a.o. – in this environment one can also meet orators, poets, historians and mathematicians. In other words, one could claim the Book Fair represent the areas of knowledge the Greeks called encyclopaedic (*encyclopédie*) or encyclical education (*encycliopédei*) [...] Beyond any doubt, one can here acquire a library far richer than anything the great book collectors of Antiquity, Ptolemy, Polycrates Peisistratus and other princes, ever imagined”.

CHAPTER VI

Libraries of Men of Letters

The Frankfurt Book Fair

18. Title page of Oronce Fine's *Protomathesis*, printed at Paris in 1532.

The various book fairs reflect the annual European output of books and can act as compass readings for the direction of international intellectual discourse and the publishing record of each printing house. Their lists acted as bibliographical tools and journals of the book trade, as well as guidelines for the enrichment of the great libraries and collections that were assembled to support various professional pursuits.¹⁰² So let us embark on a short tour of Europe from South to North, pausing to consider the lives and works of book-minded people and the particularities of their collections.

Italy. Italy was unrivalled in Europe in the sixteenth century in terms of the range of available books; this was attributable not only to its numerous printing presses, but also to the book-trading centres in Italy and in Northern Europe.¹⁰³ This enormous book production was not only intended for the members of the elite, great collectors and bibliophiles and men of letters in general, but also for the students in the country's celebrated universities. In these places, by the mid-fifteenth century distinguished teachers had already established the practice of providing copies of their lectures in written form; these were later printed and subsequently standardized, as in the case of Aristotle's *Problemata* translated by Theodoros Gazis.¹⁰⁴ These printed texts terminated the monopoly of manuscripts, and the internal production of university course material, the *peciae*, was largely replaced by printed texts, or relied on these. The nature of libraries from the early sixteenth century onwards precisely reflects the alteration that occurred in the ratio of manuscripts to printed books in all bibliophiles' collections, as in the cases of Gioviano Pontano and Pope Paul III, which we will now consider.

A Poet's Library: Gioviano Pontano. The famous statesman and humanist Gioviano Pontano (1426-1503), a student of Panormita at Naples and secretary to King Ferdinand I, provided evidence of his deep erudition and poetic bent early on, without neglecting his diplomatic duties.¹⁰⁵ His historical account of the War of Naples is remarkable, his poetical essays are as charming as Catullus's verses, while his collections *Urania, seu de Stellis* and *Meteora* reveal the depth of his philosophical thinking. In his capacity as head of the Naples Academy he had the opportunity to edit a great number of unpublished manuscripts and discovered, among other things, Tiberius Claudius Donatus's *Interpretationes Vergilianae*.

The collection he assembled, according to a catalogue compiled in 1505, i.e. approximately two years after his death, comprised forty-nine volumes: thirty-four on parchment and fifteen on paper, some in manuscript and others in printed

form. Their contents offer an insight into the interests of the humanist community: medieval literature, philosophy, astrology, contemporary literature and other subjects. The main body of the library comprised the works of Homer, Aristotle and Theophrastus; the Platonic tradition is represented by Plotinus, and Roman literature by the three elegiac poets and Ovid, Cicero and Seneca. Pliny the Elder's *Historia Naturalis* is listed in the inventory, together with Ammianus Marcellinus and others. The library also contained the Scriptures and patristic literature, as well as medieval texts, like Egidio Colonna's *De regimine Principum*. Among the highlights of his collection of contemporary Renaissance literature were Donato Acciaiuoli's *Orations* and Leonardo Bruni's edition of Cicero's *De temporibus suis*. Pontano's collection also contained Arabic treatises on astrology: Al-Kindi's *In astrologia* and Alfraganus and Masha'llah's astrological treatises, as well as Pico della Mirandola's *Disputationes adversus astrologiam divinatricium*.

The picture provided by the 1505 catalogue is not accurate, for a significant number of books were removed as it was being compiled. For instance, out of the publications containing Pontano's works, it only mentions the following dialogues: *Caron et Antonius* and *Commentationes super Centum sententiis Ptolomaei*. We do know, however, that in 1503 Pontano had requested from Aldus Manutius the autographs of the works *Urania* and *Meteore*, the first four *Eclogues* (*Egloghe*) and other books.¹⁰⁶ We also know that in the year his second-born daughter Eugenia donated his books to the library of San Domenico Maggiore in Naples, not all the autographs of Pontano's works were included in the donation, for some of them were in the hands of his student, Pietro Summonte, who put an unknown number of them on to the market after Pontano's death. Summonte also owned all of Pontano's authentic transcripts, which he delivered for publication, one by one, to various printing presses in Venice, Florence and Naples.

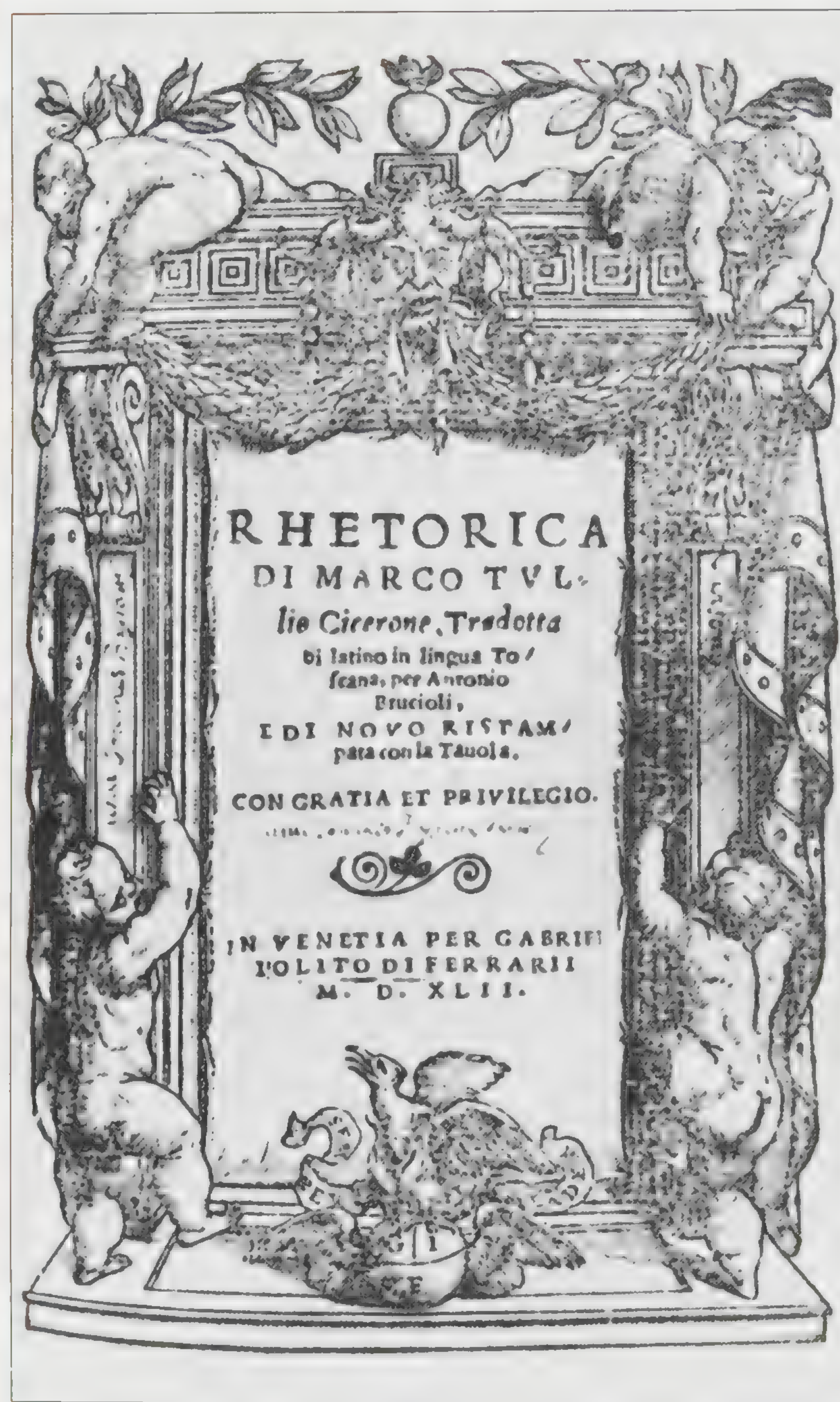
Therefore any attempt to reconstruct Pontano's library, as well as those of so many other Renaissance figures, is fraught with difficulties: the collection had an eventful history, changing hands many times before finally being dispersed between various public and private libraries. Evidence making it possible to gauge the wealth of these collections with any degree of accuracy is rarely found in archival or other sources: the *Ars grammaticae* of the grammarian Palemone, for instance, acquired by Pontano before Panormita's death (1471), is not recorded in any of his library's catalogues.¹⁰⁷

*The Catalogue
of Pontano's
library*

The library of a future Pope: Paul III's collection. Alessandro Farnese (1468-1549), later Pope Paul III (1538-1549), created a library that had originated in his student years, when he joined in the discussions of various academic circles, like those of Pomponio Leto in Rome and Ficino in Florence.¹⁰⁸ Being very well versed in Latin and Greek literature, he was an avid patron of letters during his

pontificate and continued to enrich his personal library: it proved a valuable ally in the political and religious disputes of his time. Near the end of his life his library numbered approximately 600 titles, and they clearly reflect his intellectual interests and pursuits. No catalogue survives, and the number of books it contained is known today only from a reference the eulogy delivered by Romolo Amasei on Paul III's death. Of its 600 titles, however, only 160 survive and can be safely identified as items from his library.

Alessandro Farnese began systematically collecting books in 1493, when he was appointed cardinal, and the corpus of his collection provides overwhelming evidence of his intellectual pursuits and inclinations: most of the books are of a humanist orientation, for he collected the most important



19. Title page of Cicero's *Rhetorica* (a Herrenio), printed at Venice by Gabriele Giolito de' Ferrari in 1542.

works of contemporary Italian thinking. Poetry was represented by: Dante, *L'amoroso convivio* (Venice, 1531), Petrarch, *Opera* (Venice, 1503) and *Rime* (Naples, 1533), Boccaccio, *Il Philocolo* (Venice, 1530), Pietro Bembo, *Prose* (Venice, 1525), Bernardo Tasso, *Amori* (Venice, 1533) and the collections *Rime toscane* and

Carcer d'amor, printed in Venice in 1532 and 1525 respectively. Epic poetry is represented by a single volume, containing Valerius Flaccus's *Argonautica* (Paris, 1519). It was not rich in philosophical works, featuring only Pico della Mirandola's books, like the *Opera* (Venice, 1519) and *Liber de providentia Dei...* (Novi, 1508). Historiography, however, was strongly represented in this library: Procopius, *De rebus Gothorum...* (Basel, 1531), Quintus Curtius Rufus, *De rebus Alexandri regis Macedonum*, (Venice, 1520), Roberto Valturio, *De re militari* (Paris, 1532), Dio Cassius, *Vitae* (Venice, 1519) and Flavius Eutropius, *Breviarium historiae Romanae* (Basel, 1532).

Under the other thematic headings in his collection we should mention Julius Firmicus Maternus's *Astronomicon* (Basel, 1533) and Andrea Navagero's *Orationes*, printed in Venice in 1530, and also Iamblichus's *De mysteriis Aegyptiorum* in Ficino's celebrated translation (Basel, 1533). We should note here that while many of these editions originated from famous humanist printing presses in Basel, those of Amerbach and Froben, the vast majority were products of Venetian workshops.

When Farnese became Pope Paul III, however, his interests were reorientated towards other subjects, of greater political and religious import. The political writings recount and glorify the history of various Italian cities and discuss important political and religious events, like the proceedings of the Council of Trent on the Counter-Reformation, convened on Farnese's initiative (L. Alberti, *Della decima prima delle Historie di Bologna*, Bologna, 1541-1543) and the history of the Venetian Republic (Gasparo Contarini, *La repubblica e i magistrati di Vinegia*, Venice, 1544); among other things, it also contained Galeazzo Flavio Capella's treatise *Commentarii delle cose fatte per la restituzione di Francesco Sforza Secondo Duca di Milano* (Venice, 1539), and Platina's celebrated *Delle vite et fatti di tutti i sommi pontefici romani* (Venice, 1543).

This short discussion of Paul III's library mainly aims at revealing the key role of printed books as the foremost informative and instructive tool for all officials and scholars, as we shall see at greater length further on. In fact printed books almost completely replaced manuscripts, though the latter continued to represent a time-honoured source of textual tradition. The publications printed in Northern Europe that found their way into Alessandro Farnese's library also underline the internationality of printed books and the near-total failure of geopolitical borders to prevent book-lovers from finding out about the publishing programmes of the printing centres of Basel and Paris, such as the workshops of Michel Isegrin and Michel Vascosan.

The library
of Alessandro
Farnese

Library catalogues and publisher/printers' lists. The safest bibliographical guides to historic libraries and the publishing ventures of various European printing presses are their lists and catalogues. These acted as bibliographical bulletins and appeared as early as 1470, as we have seen above,¹⁰⁹ following the petition of Sweynheim and Pannartz, but acquired greater significance with the establishment of international book fairs, especially those at Lyon and Frankfurt. One could in-



20. Portrait of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli, taken from Paolo Gualdo, *Vita Ioannis Vincentii Pinelli*, Augsburg 1607.

deed go back much further, to Photios's *Bibliotheca*, which preserved texts not extant anywhere else.¹¹⁰ These diverse documents did not only serve as tools for those who sold books on the international markets, but also functioned as guides for small –and large– scale book collectors and bibliophiles seeking a complete overview of the European publishing output and wishing to remain up to date. Collecting manuscript and printed library catalogues is unusual, but such documents record the contents as well as the ownership status of libraries that were subsequently dispersed or changed hands without leaving any trace.

The international library of Gian Vincenzo Pinelli. Pinelli, born to a noble family of Naples in 1535, moved at the age of twenty-three to Padua,

where he studied Jurisprudence¹¹¹ and started collecting books, creating a library that was to acquire considerable fame.¹¹² He was anything but a 'bibliotaph' or jealous hoarder of books for his own exclusive use, for his library became the meeting point for men of letters from the University of Padua and beyond: Pinelli's special interest in botany, for instance, rendered his library a focal point for Italian naturalists, as we can gather from the contacts Ferrante Imperato of Naples¹¹³ had with colleagues from the North, such as Jacobo Swinger of Basel, Joachim Camerarius of Nürnberg and Carolus Clusius of Leiden.¹¹⁴ Pinelli did not simply collect books: the premises where he kept his collection served also as a museum and

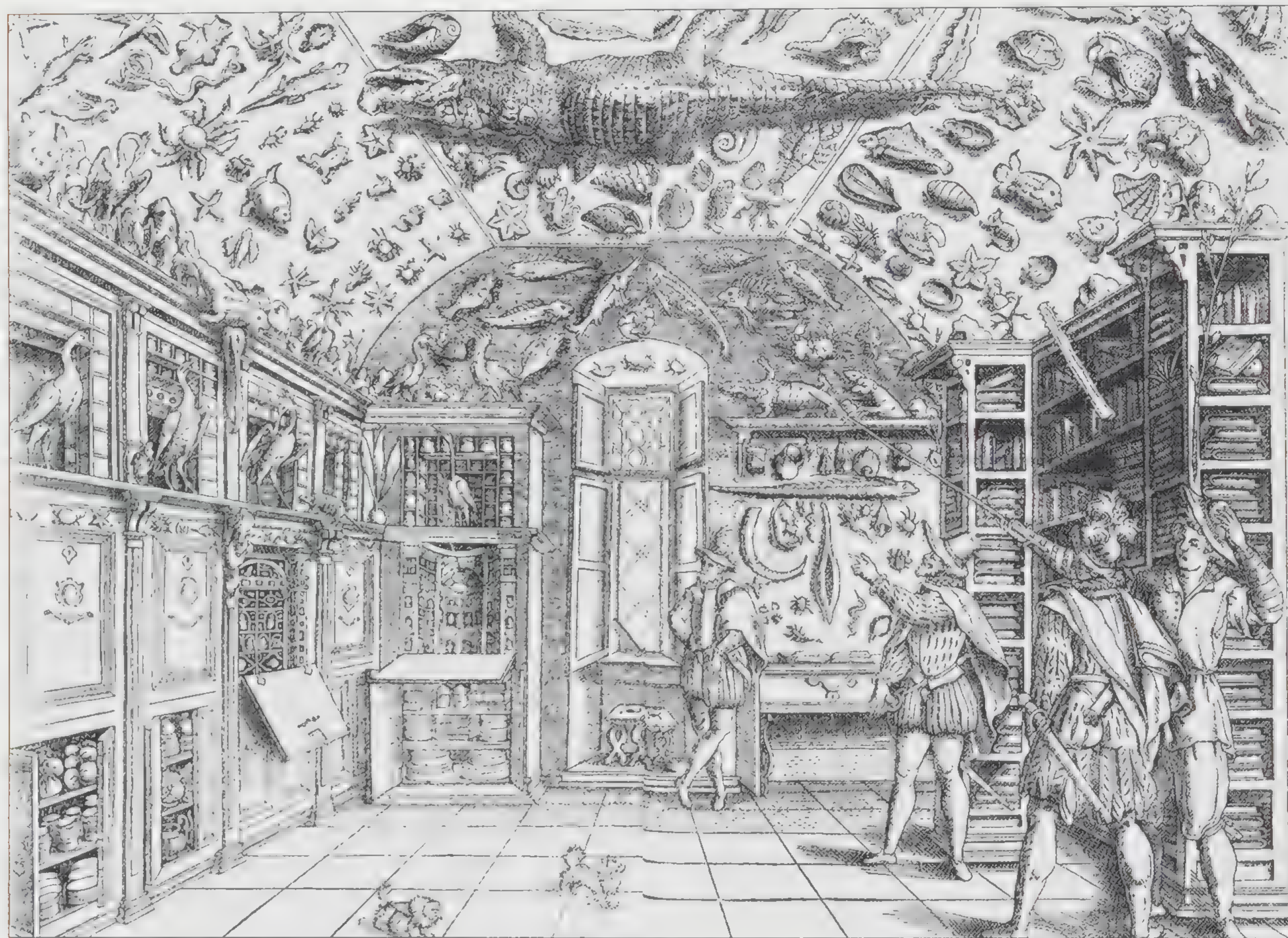
workshop with maps, terrestrial globes, astronomical instruments, medallions, fossils and embalmed specimens from the animal and plant kingdoms, and anything else that might be considered useful in scientific research.

Pinelli's intellectual pursuits, together with his wide-ranging education (he was fluent in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French and Spanish) allowed him to acquire knowledge from inaccessible sources. The most celebrated and regular visitor to his intellectual hothouse was none other than Galileo, who settled with him in his house and worked in his library preparing his academic career at Padua University.¹¹⁵ Soon the Italian scholar acquired fame and was looked upon as a model by the European scholarly community, and many of its members became his correspondents, including Justus Lipsius, Claude Dupuy, Jacobo Corbinelli, Fulvio Orsini, Carlo Sigonio, Joachim Camerarius and Henry Savile.¹¹⁶ In 1601 Pinelli passed away and a person he trusted, the scholar Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc, needed two whole weeks to catalogue the contents of his library, and keeping up his correspondence.¹¹⁷ Fabri was the last person to visit Pinelli's library, in other words he was the last to witness the collection in its entirety, which numbered 9,000 manuscript and printed titles, apart from the scientific and other instruments he had collected.¹¹⁸ The library and other items from Pinelli's collections were subsequently inherited by members of his family; after a few years they decided to sell them off.¹¹⁹ The manuscript collection remained intact, as it was purchased by Cardinal Federico Borromeo, who wished to expand his new library at Milan, the Biblioteca Ambrosiana.¹²⁰ A third of the printed books, however, together with other instruments and scientific equipment, were sold in Naples, but on the way there from Padua some valuable items were removed from the original collection.¹²¹



21. Praetorius's printer's mark, with the motto 'ad insigne pinus', Augsburg 1594.

The *Vita Ioannis Vincentii Pinelli*, written by Paolo Gualdo (1553-1621), a friend of Pinelli's and the executor of his will, was published in 1607 in Augsburg and contains valuable information on Pinelli and the paths he followed in collecting books for his library.¹²² An important source of books was Venice, and his systematic contacts with publishers and booksellers offered him a complete overview of contemporary book production. Not only did he collect the lists of various pub-



22. Engraving depicting a Natural History Museum, taken from Ferrante Imperato, *Dell'Historia naturale....*, Constantino Vitale, Naples, 1599.

lishing houses, like that of de Colines mentioned above, and some sketchy bibliographical bulletins that circulated in his day, but also the inventories of famous libraries containing manuscripts owned by collectors.¹²³ As a result, Pinelli's collection of book catalogues offers a complete panorama of contemporary book production and constitutes one of the most important records of sixteenth-century Italian private libraries.

More than twenty of the catalogues he collected survive in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana at Milan, and we know from scattered pieces of information that he possessed at least double that number altogether, including those of private as well as

academic libraries.¹²⁴ Some of those catalogues were partial, covering only specific sections of collections, like the catalogue of Greek manuscripts in the Vatican Library, but this does not diminish their value.¹²⁵ Most of them were compiled so as to allow him to form a representative picture of the bibliological horizons of his time, so he commissioned scriveners and bibliographers to catalogue book collections of people he maintained contacts with. The importance of these bibliographical tools is immeasurable. The catalogue of Cardinal Grimani's books, for instance, is one of the very few documents providing clues for the contents of his collection, for by 1523 it was gradually being dispersed, before being destroyed completely in a fire in 1687.¹²⁶ Pico della Mirandola's catalogue of books is even more important: it was found in Fulvio Orsini's collection and probably came from Pinelli's collection of catalogues.¹²⁷

Libraries belonging to intellectuals. Two important private libraries assembled in Venice – mentioned in the Venice guide among Francesco Sansovino's *librerie particolari* – belonged to Agostino Amai (Amadi) and Fabrizio Rinio.¹²⁸ Amai had collected a library of 1,500 volumes, known only through Pinelli's catalogue, which records two hundred illuminated manuscripts.¹²⁹ Rinio,¹³⁰ the son of the physician and philosopher Benedetto Rinio, also owned the richly illuminated botanical codex which is nowadays a prized possession of the Biblioteca Marciana: *Liber de Simplicibus*, by Niccolò Roccabonella di Conegliano.¹³¹ A 1604 catalogue describes his book collections, which numbered more than six hundred volumes in Latin and Italian. An inventory of Rinio's library, however, compiled soon after 1575 and originating from Pinelli's collection, provides a different picture of his library.¹³² The collection was covered by two catalogues, one listing manuscripts and the other printed books; the latter (Ambrosiana I, 110 inf.) runs to no less than 175 pages and lists 3,000 titles covering a wide variety of subjects.¹³³ By the standards of its time, Rinio's library contained some particularly fine examples of the manuscript tradition, as well as an excellent body of works produced by Venetian printing houses.

Pinelli contributed to the enrichment of another, especially remarkable library of the period, amassed by Fulvio Orsini, an important member of the humanist community and the 'French' circle of Rome.¹³⁴ In 1582, Orsini informed Pinelli about his library catalogue and Pinelli searched for and acquired on his behalf a number of precious manuscripts, formerly in the collection of the renowned Pietro Bembo.¹³⁵ Orsini mainly collected Greek and Latin works, some of which originated in the most significant humanist libraries of the previous century, like that of

*The library
of Amai
and Rinio*

*Orsini's
library*

Angelo Colocci.¹³⁶ In his capacity as librarian of the Farnese family, Orsini had gathered evidence of a body of books of immense value belonging to cardinals living in Rome. Pinelli had already managed to get his hands on inventories for the libraries of some of these prelates, including Guglielmo Sirleto, Ascanio Colonna, Francesco Sforza and Rodolfo Pio.¹³⁷ These collections contained thousands of works and demonstrate the wealth of secular and Christian literature that could be found in Italian libraries; they are also the most complete collections of works assembled in the context of the Counter-Reformation.



23. Francesco Barozzi's portrait, taken from Proclus Diadochus, *In Primum Euclidis...*, Padua, 1560.

Book collections assembled on scientific criteria. Judging from the catalogues collected by Pinelli, a considerable number of libraries and collections exhibited a specific thematic orientation, for instance the pure and applied sciences, mainly mathematics. Pinelli's collection also preserves the famous catalogue of Greek manuscripts belonging to the humanist philosopher Francesco Patrizi, who amassed his collection in Cyprus.¹³⁸ The catalogue, compiled by Pinelli, is in ten parts and contains certain Greek texts of extreme rarity, many of them then unpublished.¹³⁹ Patrizi's collection was subsequently acquired by Federico Borromeo, before being broken up and coming to rest in the Escorial Library and the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan.¹⁴⁰

Pinelli's friend, the physician Girolamo Mercuriale, created a particularly interesting collection, indicative of the interests of medical practitioners who belonged to the humanist movement.¹⁴¹ The inventory was compiled by Girolamo himself and listed 1,200 titles arranged in four categories: medicine, philosophy, the humanities and theology.¹⁴²

Pinelli also possessed catalogues of the library of Francesco, Baron della Foresta, nephew of the eminent mathematician Francesco Maurolico (1494-1575).¹⁴³ Maurolico had revived the systematic study of mathematics, as he had confided to Bembo a detailed outline of his plans for the renaissance of mathematics. According to another of Pinelli's catalogues, the mathematician had acquired certain 'ancient' manuscripts and had carefully selected the most reliable texts of the ancient Greek mathematicians.¹⁴⁴

Pinelli also owned the library catalogue of Greek manuscripts belonging to Francesco Barozzi, the great mathematician born in Venetian-ruled Crete.¹⁴⁵ Barozzi spent a considerable part of his lifetime on the island, where he was head of a school at Canea which promoted the study of Euclidean geometry. He maintained friendly relations with other mathematicians, including Christoph Clavius and Guidobaldo del Monte, while he was teaching at the University of Padua. Upon his return to Venice he was accused of practising sorcery: he was tried by the Inquisition and found guilty. His unusual interests pushed him to seek out and acquire especially rare manuscripts, and eventually he amassed an enviable collection; this later (in 1629) came into the possession of William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, who subsequently donated it to the Bodleian Library. Pinelli's catalogue refers to the manuscripts in Barozzi's possession when he moved from Crete to Venice, and it is the earliest and most valuable inventory of the Barozzi collection.

*Barozzi's
library*

Pinelli's collection of catalogues is a unique body of evidence on the character of libraries belonging to Italian scholars and men of letters active in the sixteenth century. Given that his home soon became a meeting point for members of the Italian humanist community and other people, his could be described as the most significant 'public' library in Italy.

Germany. The way for the systematic cultivation of Italian-style humanistic disciplines in the German lands was paved by a great book collector and scholar of the Greek and Hebrew traditions, Johann Reuchlin (1455-1522).¹⁴⁶ He studied at various German universities, learnt Greek and then travelled to Italy, ending up in Rome, where he completed his Greek studies. He was initiated into Neoplatonism, showed great interest in the Kabbalah and devoted considerable time to Hebrew studies. By the time he returned to Germany he had already formed his scholarly ethic, which revolved around the belief that Greek and Hebrew should be systematically studied and the Scriptures should be approached employing the tools of textual scholarship, as if they were works of pagan literature, without regard to the dogmatism of theologians.¹⁴⁷

*Johann
Reuchlin*

Reuchlin's interests as a student and teacher. The course Reuchlin followed as student, when his intellectual pursuits were beginning to crystallize, is no less interesting than his later career. He began by studying Latin in his home town of Pforzheim, at the local abbey school, and by 1470 he was following courses at Freiburg University, an institution not at all famed for its library. Because of his early accomplishments in Latin language and literature, he was chosen as a com-



24. Portrait of Johann Reuchlin, engraving taken from *Die grossen Deutschen im Bilde*, 1936.

panion to Frederick, son of Charles I, who sought to acquire a university education. In Paris, Reuchlin was fortunate enough to befriend students in the circle of Gregorio da Città di Castello and learnt some Greek with them.¹⁴⁸ At that period, he probably had the opportunity to leaf through specimens of the products of the first Parisian printing press, which was installed at the Sorbonne on the initiative of its Rector, Guillaume Fichet (*ca.* 1471).¹⁴⁹ In 1473 he crossed the Alps and travelled to Rome; there he studied under Ioannes Argyropoulos and repeatedly visited various Italian centres of learning.¹⁵⁰ He was mesmerized by the Neoplatonism of the Florentine Academy under Ficino and, influenced by Pico della Mirandola,

delved into the Kabbalah. He returned to Basel to perfect his Greek under Andronikos Kontovlakes,¹⁵¹ and there he associated with Johann Amerbach, who had set up his printing workshop in *ca.* 1476. At Basel he also frequented the circles of eminent intellectuals working in the city's printing houses, and he was further fortunate enough to visit Giovanni da Ragusa's excellent library.¹⁵² Reuchlin published here his first book (*Vocabularius latinus breuiloquus dictus*, a biblical dictionary) at Amerbach's printing press (1475).¹⁵³ Their collaboration also led to Reuchlin's being hired as a editor and emendator in that publishing house. He also taught Latin at the local university and delivered lectures elucidating Aris-

totelian texts, thus contributing to the dissemination of Aristotelian philosophy, as no work of that Greek philosopher or his commentators had been printed at Basel before 1492.¹⁵⁴

Reuchlin was not content with the Greek he had learnt so far, so he returned to Paris in 1477 to study under the person who had taught Erasmus, Georgios Hermonymos Spartiates, and he was often found among the audience of the Sorbonne's Rector, Jean Heynlin.¹⁵⁵ He stayed at the French capital for approximately four years, until 1481; there he experienced the atmosphere of humanist Paris and met leading French intellectuals like Gaguin, Budé and Lefèvre d'Étaples.¹⁵⁶ Having acquired a degree in Civil Law, he devoted some time to copying manuscripts, returning to Germany and settling down at Tübingen in the same year, 1481. At the same time he studied Jewish literature, and by 1483 he had become fairly accomplished in Hebrew, perfecting his knowledge under Jacob Jehiel Loans.¹⁵⁷ With these new skills he set out to study the Kabbalah, a tradition which combined scholarly scriptural interpretation with prayer and meditation, so as to allow people to approach angelic and demonic powers. In this he was influenced by Pico della Mirandola, whom he met on a later journey to Italy in 1490. Pico passed on his beliefs to Reuchlin, namely the idea that a solid understanding of the Jewish scriptural tradition could be useful in interpreting the fundamental doctrines of Christian faith. An offshoot of his study of the Kabbalah was the publication of *De verbo mirifico*,¹⁵⁸ which aimed at revealing the miraculous powers inherent in the name of God, as argued by Pico in *De arte Cabbalistica* approximately twenty years earlier, in 1517.¹⁵⁹ Reuchlin also taught Hebrew and published elementary Hebrew textbooks, such as *De rudimentis Hebraicis* (1506).¹⁶⁰ He is indeed the uncontested protagonist and champion of Jewish studies at university level in the West.

*Reuchlin's
studies in Paris*

The 'Battle of Books'. Reuchlin's determination to establish Jewish studies enraged the conservatives and created a volatile atmosphere, which soon led to the so-called 'Battle of Books'.¹⁶¹ In 1507 Johann Pfefferkorn, even though he had recently embraced Judaism, began attacking the Jewish community, arguing that all Hebrew books are hostile to Christianity. Enjoying the support of the Dominican order in Köln, he made numerous public interventions and published leaflets, thus securing an edict from Emperor Maximilian I, ordering the confiscation of all Hebrew books within the Empire, with the aim of carefully scrutinizing their contents. The committee that was formed to examine these texts included Reuchlin, because of his deep knowledge of Hebrew literature and his qualifications as a

lawyer. Reuchlin's report, entitled *Augenspiegel*, was published in 1511 at Tübingen, and included a further fifty-two theses arguing for the absolute necessity of preserving the Hebrew literary tradition.¹⁶² Drawing on the opinions of classical Greek authors, the Church Fathers, canon law and imperial edicts, he concluded that the Jews had every right to live and prosper within the Empire, with their property protected by the state. He passionately stressed that any destruction of Hebrew works would be an irreplaceable loss for Christianity. He further wondered how their detractors could wish to destroy books they could not read, even books which Reuchlin himself had never had a chance to study, like the Talmud – he ironically proclaimed that he had never even leafed through a copy of that work.

Johann Pfefferkorn, Reuchlin's main adversary, and his circle of Köln theologians pounced on a number of 'heretical' opinions in his *Augenspiegel*.¹⁶³ This dispute carried over into university circles, and as a result Emperor Maximilian decided to impose silence on both sides in 1513, thus absolving Reuchlin. This is when the Inquisitor General Jacob van Hoogstraaten intervened in the controversy. He re-



25. Woodcut entitled 'Capnion's Triumph', Berlin-Dahlem (D 354-10).

quested that all of Reuchlin's works be scrutinized and he condemned the *Augenspiegel* as heretical, ordering the public burning of all copies in the marketplace. In the meantime, Reuchlin had delivered a rejoinder at the papal court of law, in which his arguments were accepted and undersigned by kings and princes, electors, bishops and abbots, adding a new dimension to this feud. Rome had not responded to this by 1514, when eminent European literary scholars published a collection in support of Reuchlin (*Epistolae obscurorum virorum ad M. Ortuinum Gratium, Illustrium virorum epistulae ad Ioannem Reuchlinum*),¹⁶⁴ and another publication in the following year: this revealed the concord between members of the humanist community within and outside Germany, a community willing to criticize the casuistry and dogmatism of poorly educated Church officials and theologians.¹⁶⁵

Political circumstances did not allow the 'Battle of Books' to spread, and the decision was never enforced; thus precious sources for the Hebrew literary tradition were spared. The truce with his detractors, however, did not bring Reuchlin the peace of mind he needed, for the plague broke out in Frankfurt in 1519, forcing him to seek refuge at Ingolstadt in 1521, where he taught Greek and Hebrew for a year. He returned to Tübingen, continued delivering lectures and passed away in the spa town of Bad Liebenzell in 1522.

Reuchlin's Library. Reuchlin participated in the 'common library' of the humanist circle of Northern Europe and Italy, mentioned earlier. In a letter from Basel in 1514, Erasmus informed him of the completion of his commentary on the Old Testament and entreated Reuchlin to lend him a particularly reliable manuscript from his library that would allow him to provide a sounder philological grounding for the forthcoming publication from Froben's printing press. He reassured Reuchlin that his manuscript would be returned intact and in pristine condition. This was the Book of the Apocalypse (Revelation), which was omitted in the manuscripts Erasmus had at his disposal while preparing the publication of the New Testament.¹⁶⁶ In June 1517 Reuchlin wrote to thank him for returning the codex, and also for the copy of the New Testament Erasmus had sent as a gift. Reuchlin sent him two copies of *De arte Cabbalistica* in 1517, asking him to deliver one of these to John Fisher.¹⁶⁷

During his travels in Italy, and mainly after he had come into contact with some of the Neoplatonists and Pico in particular (1490), he probably acquired a number of printed books, for he himself informs us that he had purchased Hebrew books: "When I had purchased these books, at no small cost to myself; [...] I saw in them [...] not so much the Mosaic religion as the Christian faith".¹⁶⁸

A large number of the Greek books in Reuchlin's possession were probably obtained by him directly from Aldus's printing press, for in 1498 the latter published an oration by Reuchlin addressed to Pope Alexander IV in which he praised Philip, Duke of Bavaria, and exploited the opportunity to offer the Pope a tour of his printing and publishing house.¹⁶⁹ By that time Aldus had released textbooks for learning Greek, including the grammars (both entitled *Γραμματική*) by Laskaris and Gazis, a reissue of Theocritus's *Idylls*, Aristophanes's comedies and the Aristotelian corpus (1495-1498). Given that Reuchlin claimed to have in his possession almost all Greek books printed in Italy, these editions probably represented the earliest acquisitions of his library. We should also remember that he was the first Northern European humanist to be excited by Aldus's printing press and the editorial skills of Aldus's associates, Markos Mousouros for instance; and that he attempted to pave the way for a future relocation of the Aldine printing press in Germany, thus transforming the country into 'another Athens', as Aldus himself commented in a letter addressed to Conrad Celtis.¹⁷⁰

By the early sixteenth century Reuchlin was becoming preoccupied with the fate of his library, for he had been embroiled in philological disputes, while his clash with the Roman Catholic Church over his persistent attempts to disseminate Jewish studies had only made matters worse. When in 1519 the army of the Swabian League was nearing Stuttgart, he did everything he could to save his book collection, especially the volumes he believed were of extraordinary value. Thus he 'buried' his most valued books and tried, but in vain, to conceal part of his library in a nunnery at Pforzheim.¹⁷¹

At the same time, with help from Melanchthon, he also participated in the negotiations for a peaceful settlement by addressing the Prince of Saxony, in the hope that he would be able to save his books. In 1519, when he left Stuttgart for Ingolstadt to accept the chair of Greek and Jewish Studies, he left behind half his collection of books, taking with him only those he considered essential for his lectures. It is unclear exactly what happened to his library, but there are indications to suggest that he regained it without any losses.

Ever after, he remained deeply concerned about what would happen to his collection after his death. Initially he considered bequeathing it to his nephew, Melanchthon, but on account of the latter's open support of Protestantism he decided to bequeath it to the Abbey of St. Michael at Pforzheim. In this way his books found a safe haven in the monastery church within the castle. Reuchlin's library was gradually integrated into the collection of the local Elector, and in 1565 all of the books were relocated to Karlsburg Castle at Durlach. During the Thirty Years'

War the collection probably suffered greatly, and when war with France broke out the library was relocated to Basel (1674). Approximately one hundred years later, in 1765, Reuchlin's books together with the rest of the Elector's library were moved to Karlsruhe, where they remained until the French Revolutionary wars.¹⁷²

Of the Hebrew manuscripts and printed books in Reuchlin's collection, we should mention the fifteenth-century codex containing the *Argumenta Judaeorum contra Christianos...* and the six Hebrew Bibles with exegetical notes, two of which were published by Joshua Solomon b. Israel Nathan [Gerson] Soncino (1488) and Daniel Bomberg (1517). His collection also contained two Psalters, one in manuscript and one in printed form; the codex, containing scholia, dated back to the thirteenth century, while the printed text, which provides no indication of its date of publication, was probably printed in *ca.* 1477.¹⁷³

All bibliographers and book historians subscribe to the position that Gerson Soncino and Daniel Bomberg were excellent printers of Hebrew texts, and that the name Bomberg deserves to be mentioned in the same breath as that of Aldus: he was 'the Aldus of Hebrew books'. Among other Hebrew books, out of a total of thirty-five volumes, there were Rabbi Moses's works (Moses ben Maimon, known as Maimonides) from Cordoba, including the *Doctor Perplexorum*, which was printed in *ca.* 1480 and included a philosophical treatise in the form of an epistle addressed to students pondering on whether to follow the path of philosophy or the teachings of their religion.¹⁷⁴

With respect to Greek editions, the testimony that Reuchlin owned copies of all the titles printed in Italy must be close to the truth.¹⁷⁵ Fifty-four titles are recorded, most of them Aldine publications: the five-volume edition of Aristotle's collected works (1495-1498), Aristophanes's comedies (1498), Demosthenes's orations (1504), Plutarch's opuscula (1509) and Laskaris's *Grammar* (1495).¹⁷⁶ Reuchlin, however, also collected publications edited by Ianos Laskaris at Florence, like Maximos Planoudes's *Anthologia Graeca* (1494), and the *editio princeps* of Lucian (Florence, 1496).¹⁷⁷ He also owned copies of products of the first Greek-owned printing press of Kalliergis and Vlastos, namely the *Etymologicum Magnum* and Simplicius's *On Aristotle's Categories* (1499), and the first edition of Pindar's *Odes* with a commentary, the first Greek book to be printed in Rome by Kalliergis in 1515.¹⁷⁸ We should also mention two important first editions issued by Milanese printing presses: Isocrates's *Orations* (1493)¹⁷⁹ and the *editio princeps* of *Souda*, published by Giovanni Bissoli and Benedetto Mangio (1499), both edited by Demetrios Chalkokondyles.¹⁸⁰

Reuchlin's
Greek books

France. The French scholars and scientists amassing libraries of codices and printed books were not only in Paris, Lyon and the other great printing centres of François I's kingdom, i.e. the book centres peripheral to the capital, such as Tours, Montpellier, Avignon, Dijon and Toulouse: this practice extended to other cities otherwise uninvolved in publishing activities and with no tradition in libraries whatsoever. Many of these collections did not consist entirely of books for bibliophiles, but functioned as tools to aid people pursuing the pure and applied sciences.

Michel de Chamelet's Library. Nowadays, all the French incunabula have been published, bookplates and other owners' marks have been identified and this allows us to reconstruct many libraries, including those belonging to members of the scholarly community, which were known to us only through the *ex libris* of their owners.¹⁸¹ A typical example of this category of libraries is that of Michel de Chamelet, a lawyer at Bourdonnais between 1489 and 1497.¹⁸² We lack any biographical data on Chamelet and are unclear on his studies and the circles he moved in; he probably passed away in 1527.¹⁸³

The remnants of the French lawyer's library reflect his professional pursuits and reveal a zealous desire to achieve an all-embracing understanding of his field. Chamelet was not content with simply reading his law books but enriched the editions in his possession with notes, comments and observations, as we can gather from a body of booklets on Roman Law found in his collection: this was a series of the *repetitiones legis* containing commentaries on laws and articles by eminent Italian jurists.¹⁸⁴ This collection suggests that Chamelet had probably studied in Italy, perhaps at Pavia, early in the 1490s, for these books came from Milanese presses; it is possible however that he had purchased them at second hand.¹⁸⁵

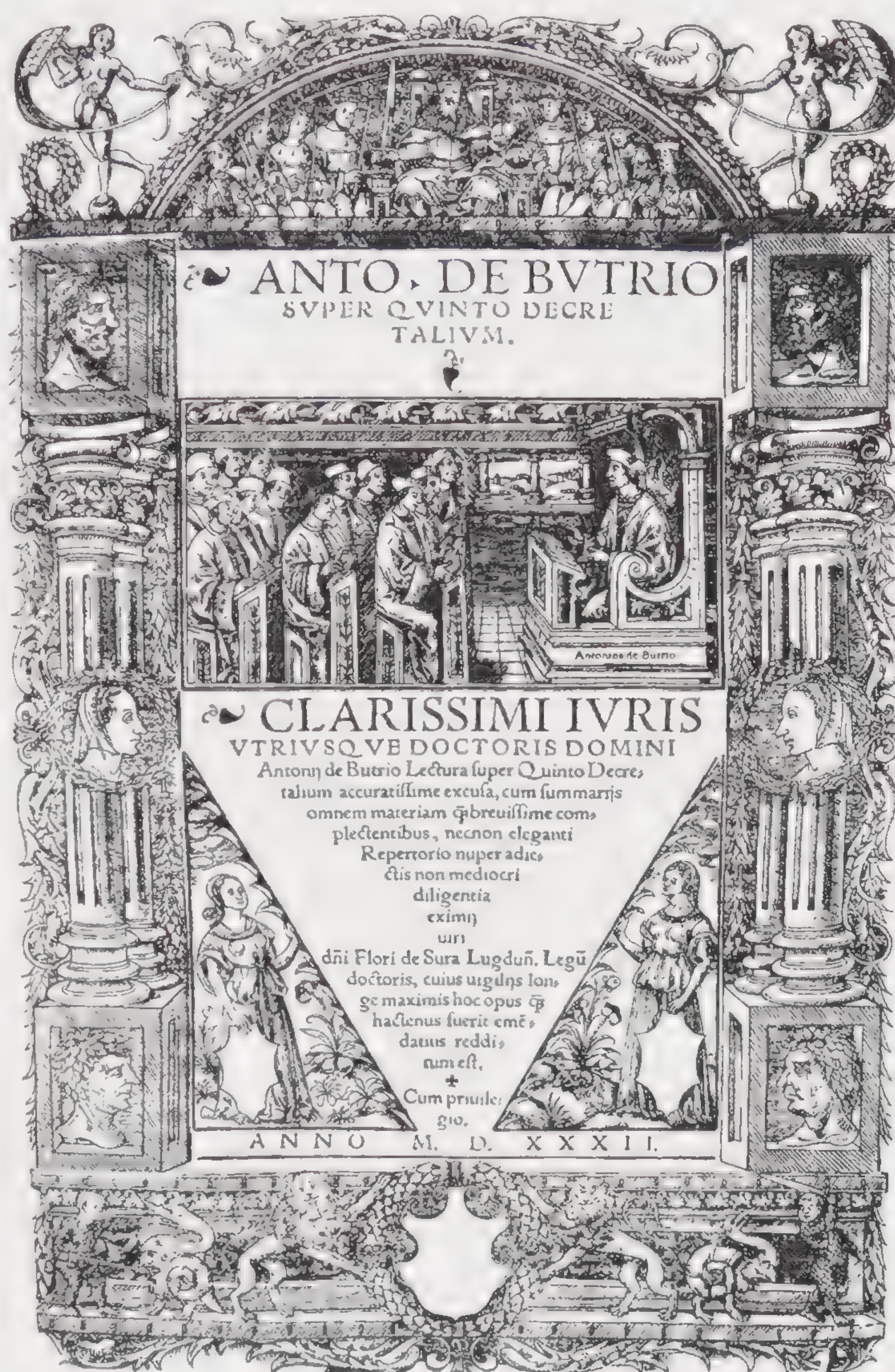
His library numbered seventy-one titles in total, six of which were manuscripts. Although one could describe it as a legal library, it also contained philosophical and political works.¹⁸⁶ We are unable to estimate the completeness of Chamelet's library on the basis of the books identifiable today as having belonged to his collection, for many no longer survive, and as a result our picture of his collection is rather fragmentary. Chamelet owned three editions of the *Lectura ... Codicis* (Lyon, J. Siber) by Bartolus de Saxoferrato (1313-1357), the most celebrated professor of Law and an authority on medieval Roman Law; he also owned *De Arbitris* and *Repetitio capituli*, two publications by Lanfrancus de Orianio (15th c.), a legist from Padua who taught Law in Florence and Pavia, and two publications by Baldus De Ubaldis (1327-1400), a student of Bartolus and member of Pope Urban IV's Curia, printed at the press of Ulrich Scinzenzeler: *Apparatus substitutionum* and *Margarita*

seu Repertorium. The jurist and poet Cino da Pistoia (de Pistorio), a friend of Petrarch, was represented by the *Lectura super Codice*. Chamelet also owned two incunabula containing the works of Antonius de Butrio (1338-1408), who taught Jurisprudence at Bologna: *Consilia* and *Repetitio capituli 'Vestra'*, printed at Pavia, and more. With respect to the non-legal books in Chamelet's library, we should single out the *Compendium theologiae veritatis* by Hugh Ripelin of Strasbourg (pseudo-Albertus Magnus) and Juvenal's *Satires* with a commentary by Antonio Mancinelli and Jodocus Badius (Lyon, 1501). The sole surviving codex attributed to his collection is a miscellany, containing a treatise by Nicholas of Clémanges and other similar pieces, as well as a Latin translation of Lucian's *Charon*.¹⁸⁷

This overview of Chamelet's collection of printed books supports the view that he had studied law at Milan or Pavia, for most of his incunabula come from Lombardy printing presses. His library was largely made up of incunabula published by Milanese printing houses, especially Scinzenzeler's press, which is represented by nineteen publications dating from 1491 to 1495. The rest of the Italian publications were produced at Pavia, Bologna, Modena, Siena, Turin, Pisa, Pinerolo and Venice. Most of the French publications came from Lyon presses, mainly from that of Johann Siber.¹⁸⁸

Chamelet's extant books were preserved largely due to the bibliophilic interest of Henri de Bourbon, Prince of Condé (1588-1646), who was outstanding in his humanist pursuits and his passion for rare and unusual books.¹⁸⁹

Reconstructions of private collections, like that of Chamelet, illustrate the extent to which books during the Renaissance had become a *sine qua non* for all educated



26. Title page with an engraving with the central scene depicting Butrio in his classroom, taken from A. de Butrio, *Super Quinto Decretalium*, Lugduni, J. Crespin, 1532.

persons, rendering private libraries an indispensable tool for anyone actively engaged in providing any sort of services for the state apparatus.

Spain. Humanist letters flowered in Spain originally in the University of Alcalá, and in the circle of scholars that Cardinal Ximenes de Cisneros had created in his court since 1502 in preparation for the publication of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible. Among them were Antonio de Nebrija, Núñez de Guzmán, Juan de Virgara and Diego Lopez de Zúñiga. By the 1620s more scholars would enter this circle, originating from Italy, like Fausto Andrelini and Demetrios Doukas, who left the Aldine printing house soon after 1509 to teach Greek at the University of Alcalá.¹⁹⁰

Notwithstanding the patronage bestowed on followers of the Renaissance spirit by some prelates, especially during the tenure of Cardinal Ximenes, the Spanish Inquisition quickly realized the power of the printed word and the immoderate influence books exerted on the Christian flock. Accordingly, in 1490 a large number of Hebrew Bibles were publicly burned, and in 1491 more than six hundred works on Judaism and occultism were condemned at Salamanca. In the following year, an *auto-da-fé* was organized at Granada for confiscated Arabic manuscript copies of the Muslims' holiest book, the Koran.¹⁹¹ The prevailing doctrine and political position of the Catholic rulers of Spain was that the Christians had to be rallied against Muslims and Jews, for the Iberian Peninsula was their sole northern gateway into Europe. The Catholic Church in Spain considered all Hebrew and Muslim sacred texts to be heretical, including various treatises on alchemy and the occult. The Inquisition was empowered to supervise the circulation of books, and by the 1490s its occasional acts of censorship had become more systematic. Furthermore, by the mid-sixteenth century its assiduous censors began scrutinizing university textbooks as well, causing the annihilation of entire libraries containing important works. The Inquisition targeted not only the theological works of other religions and of those clinging to pagan practices, but also, and with greater vehemence, Luther's writings.

The year 1550 saw the compilation of the first *Index* listing books that had been condemned by the Louvain Theological School. This list was translated into Spanish and distributed to the public: "All books containing the Koran in Arabic and in any other language, which contain the erroneous ideas of Muhammad [...] and all other Bibles in the vulgar language" were proscribed. Thus the Christians inhabiting Spain were *de facto* divided into Roman Catholics on the one hand and, on the other, supporters of the Reformation in general and of Luther in particular. In these circumstances, the Spanish sovereigns Philip II and Charles V issued edicts giving themselves complete control over the production of books and forbid-

ding any publishing activities without prior approval by the Royal Council. The penalty for marketing books without the said approval was death for the publisher and author. Furthermore, the offender's property was confiscated and his books were publicly burned.¹⁹² This royal edict was immediately implemented in the city of Valladolid, where Lutheran books were burned in a public ceremony, together with Christian men and women found guilty or suspected of supporting Luther's views. The *Index librorum prohibitorum*, compiled by the Inquisitor General Fernando de Valdés y Salas, was published in 1559; among other things, it included works such as the *Confesión de un pecador* by Constantino Ponce, as well as all his other writings. This book of his (the *Confesión*) was to be a cross that Ponce would have to carry for the rest of his life.

Ponce's Library. Constantino Ponce de la Fuente (1502-1506) came from Cuenca and was the scion of a rather conservative Christian family. He studied first at the University of Alcalá, and then at Seville.¹⁹³ By 1530 he was corresponding with Erasmus, as he had supported the Dutchman in the furore stirred up against him by Luis de Carvajal with his *Dulcoratio amarulentiarum Erasmi responsionis* (Paris, S. de Colines, 1530).¹⁹⁴ In 1534 Ponce started teaching at the school of Seville cathedral and was universally acclaimed by the flock and the authorities alike for his sermons. He also authored a number of doctrinal and exegetical theological texts which ran into various editions, each reprinted more than once, like the *Summa de doctrina christiana* (Seville, 1543), and the *Catecismo* (Seville, 1547).¹⁹⁵

The ordeals of *el doctor* Constantino began in 1547 with the publication of an anonymous piece intended to rouse Christians, which soon became known under the title *Confesión de un pecador delante de Jesu Christo redemptor y juez de los hombres*: "A fisherman, addressing Jesus, confesses his mortal shortcomings vis-à-vis the Law of God and the Articles of Faith, submits to divine judgement and declares his determination to follow his Saviour, Jesus Christ".¹⁹⁶ The book was an instant success and in the following year Constantino secured a *Privilegio real* from Emperor Charles V, granting him official approval for this publication as well as the rest of his works, and giving him absolute control over their printing and marketing.¹⁹⁷ In the same year the Emperor invited him to join his court as a preacher and royal tutor. Constantino Ponce continued to perform his duties in the royal court until 1555, travelling in Europe in the meantime to become acquainted with the reform movements of his time and enlarge his personal library. The books in his collection are not particularly interesting: according to his library catalogue, it comprised works by Erasmus and the leaders of the Reformation and the Scrip-



INDEX
LIBRORVM PROHIBITORVM
ET EXPVRGATORVM
ILL^{MI} AC R^{MD}.

D. BERNARDI DE
SANDOVAL ET ROXAS
S. R. E. PRESB. CARDIN. TIT.
S. ANASTASIAE.
ARCHIEPISC. TOLETANI
HISPANIARVM PRIMATIS
MAIORIS CASTELLAE
CANCELLARII.

GENERALIS INQUISITORIS
REGII STATVS CONSILIA^{RI} &
AVCTORITATE ET IVSSV
EDITVS.

*DE CONSILIO SVPREMI SENATVS
S^{TA} GENERALIS INQUISITIONIS
HISPANIARVM.*

ARGV.
MENTVM
NON
APPAREN
TIVM
HEBR. II

SAPIEN.
TES
IN BONO
SIMPLI.
CES
IN MALO
ROM. I6

tures, while the few works of a Protestant inclination, such as Zwingli's essays, cannot be said to form a distinct section. Among the titles in his library there were also works that were hostile to the Reformation, i.e. books by Luther's opponents and Bucer, as well as Melanchthon and Oecolampadius.¹⁹⁸

By 1553, however, the writings of *el doctor* Constantino had drawn the attention of the Inquisition, members of which had expressed doubts and objections to his positions and castigated him for his perceived adoption and promotion of Lutheranism. No sooner had he returned to Seville in 1555 than he became embroiled into a feud with the local archbishop, none other than the powerful Inquisitor Fernando de Valdés. As a result, he was accused of being a Lutheran and his possessions – including his books – were confiscated in 1558. He was then thrown into prison, but he died before being put through the ordeal of a public trial (1559).¹⁹⁹ All Constantino's works were included in the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* and were publicly burned, together with his bones and portrait (December 20, 1560). During the ceremony, the Inquisitor proclaimed: "In the name of Jesus Christ [...] we declare that Constantino de la Fuente [...] committed the sin of heresy and was an apostate, and has been found guilty of these crimes. He was a heretic and died as a heretic, an apostate, a contriver and a hypocrite, excommunicated [...] and as a heretic we condemn and beshrew him and we order [...] his name be effaced from all inscription and image, and no indication shall exist for his sepulchre [...], we order that nothing of his existence on this earth remain, save for the sentence passed upon him..."²⁰⁰

*Targeted by
the Inquisition*

His conviction by the Inquisition and his excommunication meant little outside Spain, for his works circulated freely in Europe and remained in print even after his death; thus his thinking was preserved through the same books burned at the pyre by the Spanish Inquisition. The first edition of the *Confesión de un pecador* (1547) is known only through the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, while of its second edition of 1554, printed at Evora in Portugal, only two copies remain, and only one of them complete. The sole surviving copy of the third edition, which was published at Antwerp in 1556, went missing from the Munich Library during the Second World War.²⁰¹

The story of Ponce and his books clearly reveals the ordeals and sufferings undergone by any honest scholar who, while remaining true to the Christian faith, had the courage to reject calls for blind obedience to the dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church and elected to record with his quill his personal views on the authentic message and spirit of Jesus Christ.

*Ponce
condemned*

27. Title page of the 1612 *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*.

England. The private and university libraries of England moved towards humanism and acquired distinctive characteristics of their own from the mid-sixteenth century onwards. This was true even of great libraries like that of Matthew Parker (1504-1575), which was the richest in terms of medieval manuscripts during the Elizabethan period and started taking on its distinct identity after Parker was elected Archbishop of Canterbury.²⁰² Progress towards the establishment of the distinct nature of private libraries in England, as illustrated by the humanist pursuits and



28. *Robert Dudley, a most generous patron of letters, owned a fine library, as can be seen from the volumes that survive in other collections. His library was probably broken up after his death, as reported by Camden in the Annals of the Reign of Elizabeth.*

book collections of Grocyn, Latimer, Colet, Fisher, More and others.²⁰³ was checked, or even came to an abrupt halt, with the dissolution of monastic libraries during the reign of Henry VIII (from 1530 onwards),²⁰⁴ and later with the imposition of a form of censorship in universities by Mary I Tudor (1556). These were not the only problems books faced, for in 1530 a royal edict excluded the work a number of scholastic philosophers, like Duns Scotus, Walter Burley, Antonius Trombetta and Thomas Bricot, from the university curriculum.²⁰⁵ The basic objection of the instigators of this edict, Protestants and followers of the Reformation, related to specific works belonging to the theological and philosophical tradition of the Middle Ages.

In 1556 Queen Mary's agents demanded the complete submission of university authorities to the rules of the Roman Catholic Church, and in

this spirit a detailed record was made, book for book, of all volumes kept in every college or other library.²⁰⁶ A large number of books were deemed heretical or inappropriate for keeping and were thus destroyed, and with them perished the catalogues that could, on a bibliographical level at least, offer us some clues to the book wealth of English universities up to that period. Only the catalogues of some libraries survived, like those of King's College and Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and of Cambridge University.²⁰⁷

In 1521, the English parliament passed a law requiring that all possessions of every deceased English citizen be recorded, irrespective of the existence of a will. The authorities responsible for enforcing this law originally demanded that it be

carried out to the letter, and this meant that every book included in a deceased person's possessions should be recorded with its full 'bibliographical' particulars. Thus, for the period between 1521 and 1590, the safest way to get some idea of the contents of contemporary private collections is to seek out the wills and the inventories of the estates of deceased persons.²⁰⁸ For instance, the inventory of a Cambridge University academic who passed away in 1559, one John Bateman of Gonville, lists more than four hundred books.²⁰⁹ At Oxford, the inventories collected by the university's archivists in 1837 included 1,173 wills (1436-1814) in 15 volumes and 899 inventories (1449-1740) in ten volumes, while at Cambridge University the corresponding material filled five volumes (1501-1765).²¹⁰ The evidence provided by these two great English universities, together with the catalogues of university and college libraries, represent a unique treasure trove for any attempt to reconstruct a list of the books circulating in the sixteenth century, and they are ideal for documenting the intellectual horizons of their owners and making general appraisals of the cultural level and education of the English in various parts of the country.



29. Portrait of Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury (1504-1575). Contemporary engraving.

Public Libraries. According to the above evidence, the catalogues and inventories of university and cathedral libraries between 1500 and 1550 provide us with the following picture: whereas for that period we have eighteen university library catalogues and twelve cathedral library catalogues, by the second half of the sixteenth century the ratio has risen to twenty-five to one.²¹¹

During the sixteenth century, the Oxford University library was gradually overshadowed by the collections of three colleges: Merton, All Souls and Christ Church (Canterbury College). Catalogues from these libraries survive today: eleven from Merton, seven from All Souls and five from Christ Church. At Cambridge, the university library kept catalogues compiled between 1424 and 1582, most of which

have now been published.²¹² An indication of the fitfulness of libraries' acquisition policies in that era is given by the fact that between 1530 and 1573 the University of Cambridge allocated no funds for the purchase of new books, but only for the maintenance of library facilities.²¹³ On the other hand, John Leland, who visited the Oxford University library in 1528, recorded a mere thirty-one titles.

Of the college libraries at Cambridge, the best during the medieval period were, in all probability, those of Clare and Peterhouse. By the sixteenth century, King's College had assembled the richest library at Cambridge. Apart from university li-

braries and ecclesiastical collections, from the sixteenth century onwards books were collected in the better schools, like Winchester and Eton, whose book collections contained interesting editions. In this early period some local libraries already stand out for their collections, like those in the cities of Leicester and Ipswich.²¹⁴



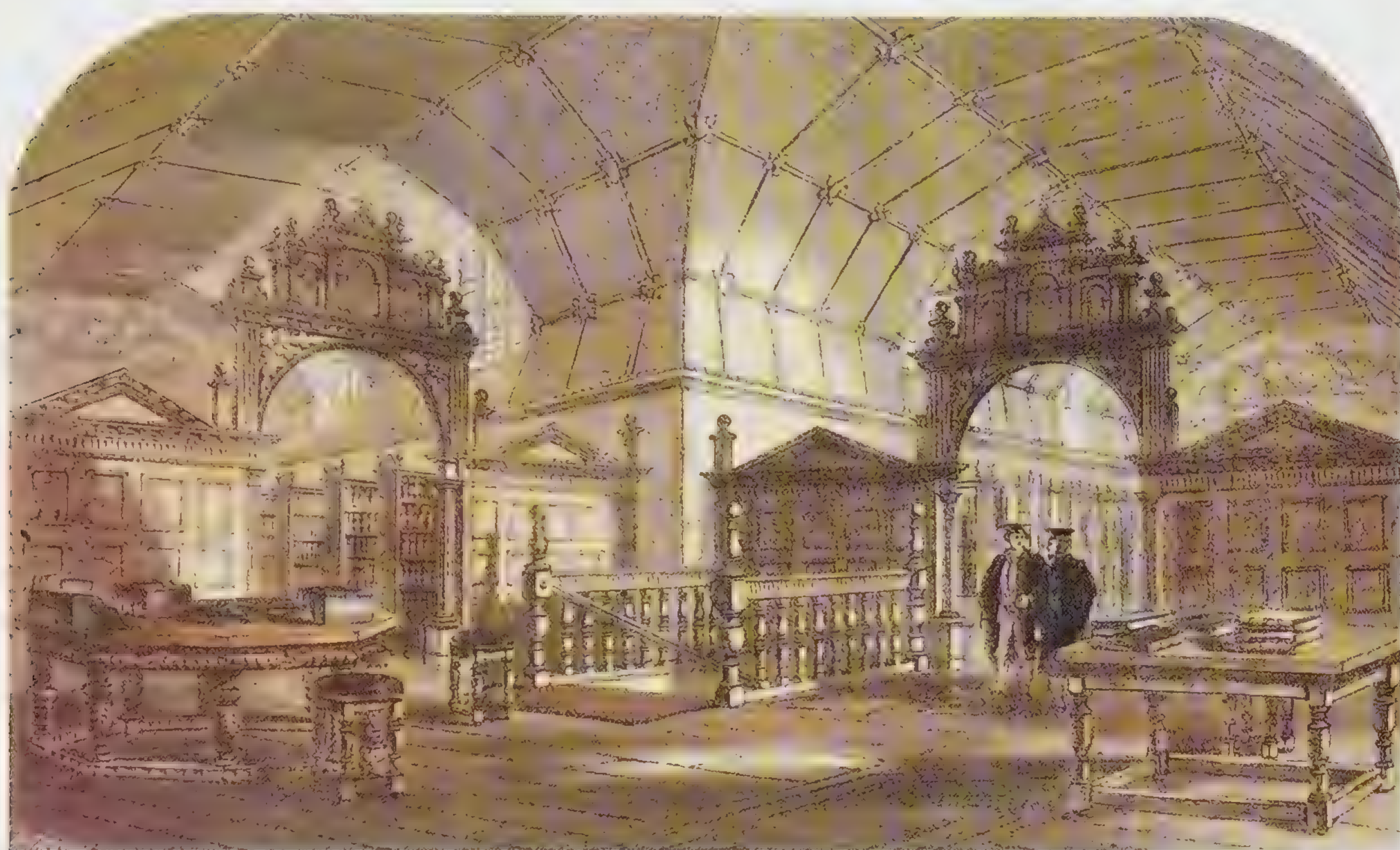
30. Lord William Cecil Burghley's ex libris (1520-1548).

Private Libraries. Outside university circles, before the late fifteenth century it was rare for a private individual to have a book collection featuring more than twelve titles. Even at Cambridge, the typical private library numbered approximately twelve books before the 1600s. A case in point is that of John Frisbe (†1504),²¹⁵ whose will lists only eight titles, including two encyclopaedias, two Gospel books, one Bible and a work by Cicero. In 1580, at Cambridge again, a man of letters owned, on average, seventy books.²¹⁶ Furthermore, in the early sixteenth century, non-professionals outside the university owned personal book collections that usually contained fewer than half a dozen titles.

A number of factors provided the impetus for bibliophilism from the mid-sixteenth century onwards: apart from the greater availability of books due to developments in printing, Italian humanist ideology ordained that all members of the aristocracy were now expected to take an active interest in books in general. Reading contemporary literature was also slowly becoming an integral part of everyday life, and it often dominated conversations at social gatherings. Similarly, the revival of classical disciplines supported by colleges and other schools, the religious dis-

putes then raging and the rising level of general knowledge among those involved in international commerce and new markets led to the establishment of an unofficial required reading list for all cultured citizens of England.

The 'catalogue' of private collections in England during the Renaissance opens with such fifteenth-century collections as those of William Grey, John Tiptoft and Thomas Markaunt, who were emulated by eminent humanists like William Grocyn



31. View of the Merton College library, an engraving from the *Illustrated London News*, 1864.

and Bryan Rowe, and many others who took their lead from them, thus mapping out English publishing activities and contributing to the establishment of its particular bibliophilic and intellectual tradition.²¹⁷

England and the international book market. Another factor that drastically altered the bibliophilic map of England, on a private as well as the university level, was the marketing of publications from the Frankfurt Book Fair in England. In fact, by 1564 specialized booksellers had begun publishing catalogues of first editions and reprints by English and other printing presses. These catalogues were intended for bibliophiles of the calibre of John Dee, Archbishop James Ussher and Tobie Matthew, among others.²¹⁸

The fact that printed books on various subjects were sought from the Continental market has its roots in the evolution of typography in England, both during the in-

cunabular period and in the first half of the sixteenth century. Let us note here that the first Greek books printed in England were published in London and Oxford²¹⁹ as late as 1543 and 1586, respectively, whereas in all European cities with humanist credentials Greek texts were being published by the first decades of the sixteenth century.²²⁰ According to Graham Pollard, the so-called Latin Trade was conducted



32. Portrait of James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh (1581-1656), who donated his library to Trinity College.

by certain booksellers established at centres of learning on the other side of the English Channel, like Govaert van Hagen, who exported large quantities of books to England and probably maintained an outlet in London.²²¹ At least until 1557, the book needs of students at Cambridge and Oxford were almost certainly catered for by independent merchants, who imported the books themselves, effectively ignoring the London book market.²²²

English libraries organized around Italian models. The practice of bequeathing private collections to local universities and colleges became more prevalent among men of letters in

England than anywhere else. This was indeed the way in which many great college and university libraries, like the Bodleian which is discussed in the next chapter, were assembled.²²³ This practice had social implications, for it should be correlated with the close ties cultivated between church officials and their local academic communities, their common point of reference being the schools and libraries established in monasteries and cathedrals. By the late sixteenth century private book collections on a par with the ones in Central Europe had appeared, like those of John Dee and Andrew Perne.

John Dee (1527-1608/9), arguably England's foremost humanist in the Italian mould, a mathematician, astronomer, astrologer, alchemist, navigator and adherent of Hermetic philosophy, amassed a rich library of manuscripts and printed

books.²²⁴ Although he claimed to have collected 1,000 codices, the catalogue of manuscripts in his collection, dated 1583, records approximately 300, with another 169 manuscripts being tentatively associated with his library.²²⁵ Most of these originally belonged to monasteries and colleges, as we have seen.²²⁶ The main body of his library consists of works on natural philosophy, among them works by Roger Bacon, and history books, while theological works are rare or were omitted from his catalogue. In 1583 his printed books numbered approximately 2,300 titles,²²⁷ many of which accompanied him on his long travels in Europe between 1583 and 1589. In his wanderings he naturally took advantage of every opportunity to enrich his library with the products of the most renowned European printing houses, mostly Dutch and French but also Italian. Back in England, London booksellers continued to provide most of the steady flow of new additions to his library, with publications from the firm of Birckmann in Köln.²²⁸ The catalogue also sheds light on the way the library was arranged: the *externa bibliotheca*, for instance, was originally divided into bound and unbound books, with further subdivisions on the basis of subject matter and book format: 'Hebraici, chaldaici & syriaci libri', and so on.²²⁹



33. Portrait of John Dee, an engraving by F. Cleyne, 1658.

Dee left no will, and even before his death (1608/9), probably for financial reasons, the collection came into the possession of John Pontois. The only clue to Dee's intentions was his statement that some of his 'monuments' were intended for the Tower.²³⁰ Pontois also left no will, and after his death in 1624 a part of the collection came to his heirs, John Woodall and Patrick Saunders; the rest of the books were sold at auctions in London bookshops, thus enriching the libraries of John Seiden, Brian Twyne, Sir Robert Cotton and others.²³¹

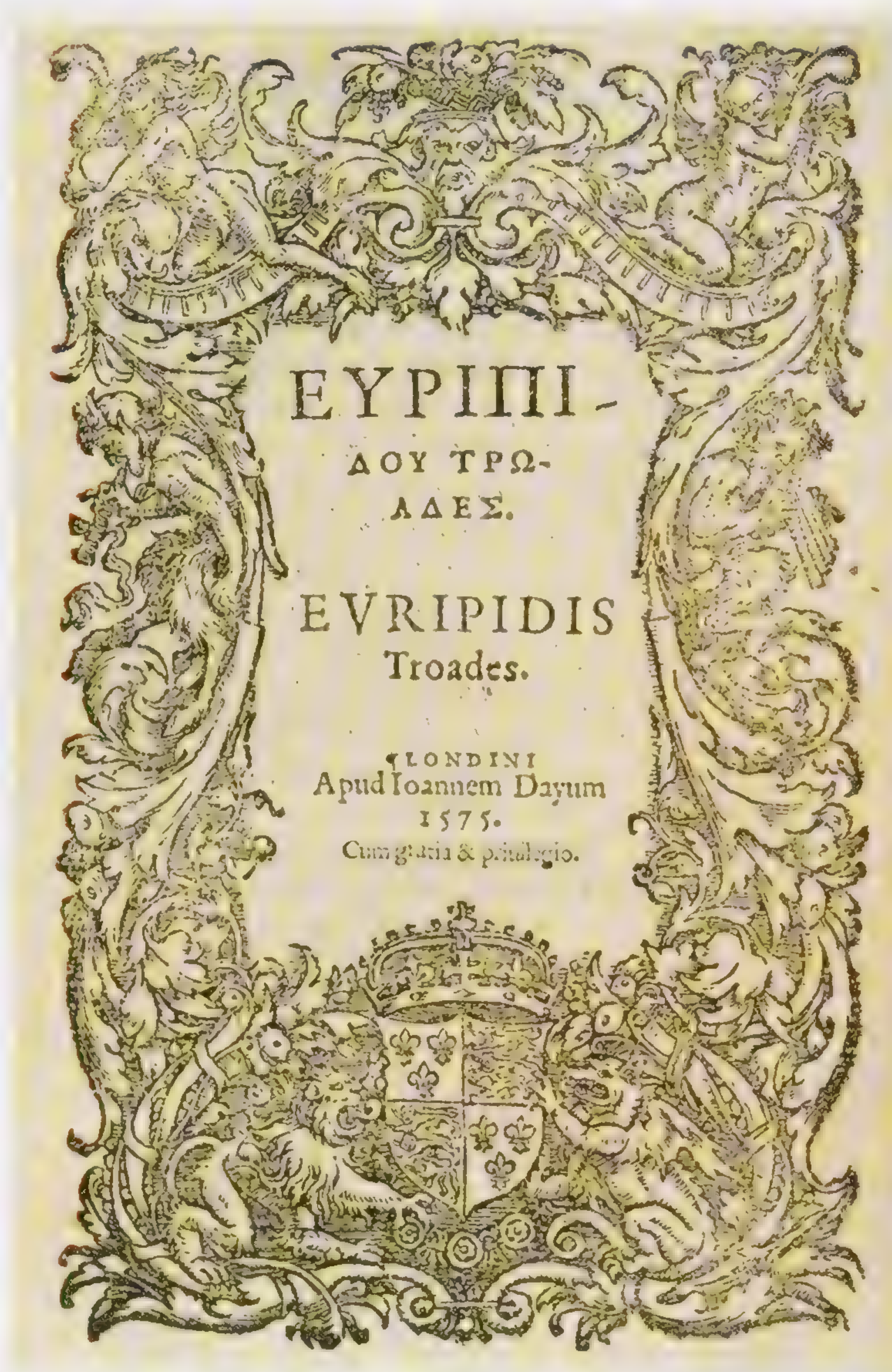
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Andrew Perne (1519?-1589) followed an academic career, took an active part in the theological debates of his time and was a contributor to the Bishops' Bible, translating Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon.²³² His comfortable circumstances

allowed him to amass a rich library, which reveals the wide range of his interests. The core of this collection was made up of medieval manuscripts; most of the books, however, came from local presses and the Continental market.

Like Pinelli,²³³ Perne was not only interested in creating a private library, but also collected scientific instruments and appears to have dabbled in medicine. As his collection grew, he became increasingly concerned with its future and finding a

site fitting for its valuable contents. Andrew Perne was exceptional among scholarly collectors in terms of the amount of decoration he added to his books. His library was shown in 1571 to the French ambassador as the 'worthiest in England'; the ambassador, however, was not impressed by what he saw, having visited far superior collections in France. His will was unequivocal about his intentions: the actual text also suggests the final decision was reached following agonizing deliberation:²³⁴ A new library was to be erected for Peterhouse, to house "one of the best and largest sort of all my books of divinitie Lawe, Physicke or of any of the Sciences that I haue at Cambridge in folio & in quarto of any sort of Authors". Duplicates and books in octavo were left to his nephew, and the

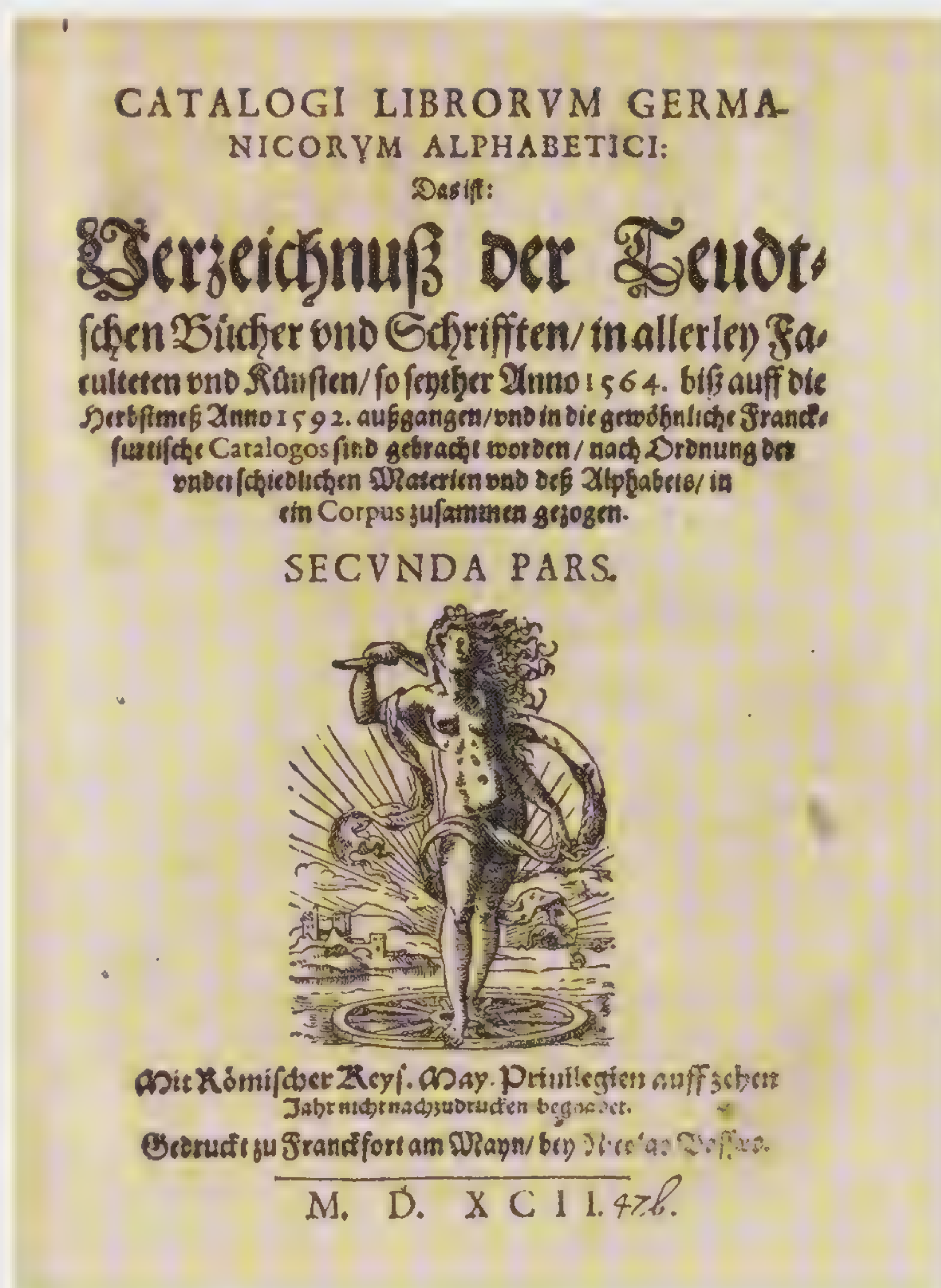


34. Title page from the edition of Euripides's *The Trojan Women*, London, Ioannes Dayus, 1575.

history manuscripts to the University Library. In making this decision, Perne distinguished between the books he deemed necessary tools for any active scientist and scholar and the reference material that ought to be kept in libraries accessible to a wider public, i.e. university libraries.²³⁵

Towards the compilation of national and international bibliographies. Library catalogues do not simply tell us about the books people collected: they also offer the most trustworthy evidence of the contents and orientation of public and private libraries, and the book trade in general. Book inventories also acted as bibliographical bulletins, for national and international bibliographies that accurately reflect local book production only emerge in the late sixteenth century. In 1494 we find the first appearance of a bibliographical bulletin, when the German cleric Johann Tritheim published a catalogue of 7,000 works by 1,000 ecclesiastical authors, in chronological order. The jurist Giovanni Nevizzano published at Lyon an index of approximately 10,000 works on jurisprudence, and in 1530 the physician Otto Brunfels of Strasbourg suggest that a list should be drawn up of all the eminent members of the medical community.²³⁶ That prominent 'Renaissance man', Conrad Gesner, published in 1546 his *Bibliotheca universalis*, where he listed 12,000 works in Greek, Latin and Hebrew, representing every book published during the first century of printing.²³⁷

This volume was supplemented in 1548 with a detailed table, in which the publications were arranged into twenty headings corresponding to various fields of knowledge. Finally, there were plans for thematic index, but it was never published. The Frankfurt catalogues, published regularly from a certain point on, would provide the basis for the compilation of national bibliographies, like the *Bibliothèque française*, which was published in Paris in 1584 and in Lyon in 1585, by François de la Croix Du Maine and Antoine Du Verdier.²³⁸



35. Title page from the Catalogue of German Publications, arranged in alphabetical order, for the Frankfurt Book Fair in 1592.

The library of a book-aesthete: Willibald Pirckheimer. Pirckheimer, an individual who exhibited many of the emblematic humanist characteristics, was well versed in history, poetry, archaeology, philology, while he stood out for his theological pursuits as well. His oeuvre, published a year after his death (*Bilibaldi Pirckheimeri, Opera*, Frankfurt, 1610), contains essays on politics, philology and epistolography.

Pirckheimer²³⁹ was born at Eichstätt and, at an early age, managed to persuade his father to pay for him to go and study at Pavia, where he eventually moved in



36. Portrait of Willibald Pirckheimer at the age of 53 (1524), engraving by Dürer.

1488, aged only eighteen. At the local university and at that of Padua he dedicated himself to the study of Roman Law for three years. He returned to Nürnberg having spent seven years in Italy, married in 1495 and was elected senator in 1496, serving a long tenure. During the Swabian War he was chosen to lead a contingent of troops, which was incorporated into Emperor Maximilian's forces in 1499. His experiences in military operations were recorded in his *Historia Belli Suitensis*, which earned him the appellation 'the German Xenophon'.²⁴⁰ Between 1500 and his death in 1530 at Nürnberg he led a peaceful life, with the exception of certain periods during which he faced various problems on account of his religious convictions.

His religious and intellectual pursuits can be inferred from the titles and content of the volumes in his library, much more so

because his finances enabled him to obtain any book he desired. His love of books was instilled by his father, Dr. Johann Pirckheimer, a legal adviser to the Bishop of Eichstätt and later to Albert V, Duke of Bavaria.²⁴¹ While still a student at Padua he purchased books on behalf of his father, and a significant portion of Willibald's collection, featuring publications on law, came from his father's library. It was Willibald, however, who gave the family library its definitive form; a friend of his,

37. The beginning of the text of Laskaris's Grammar, printed at Venice by Aldus Manutius in 1501-1503, with a miniature by Dürer.

ΕΠΙΤΟΜΗ ΤΩΝ ΟΚΤΩ ΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΜΕΡΩΝ, ΚΑΙ
 ΑΛΛΩΝ ΤΙΝΩΝ ΑΝΑΓΚΑΙΩΝ, ΣΥΝΤΕΘΕΊΣΑ
 ΠΑΡΑ ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ ΛΑΣΚΑ
 ΡΕΩΣ ΤΟΥ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΟΥ.

Περὶ διαιρέσεως τῶν γραμμάτων.
 βιβλίον πρῶτον.

Γ

γ

Γράμμα ὅστις μέρος ἐλάχιστον, φωνῆς ἀδιαίρετον.
 εἰσὶ δὲ γράμματα εἰκοσιτέσσαρα. α β γ δ ε
 ζ η θ ι κ λ μ ν ξ ο π ρ σ τ υ φ χ ψ ω. τού
 των φωνήεντα μὲν, ἐπὶ α. α ε η ι ο μικρὸν υ
 ψιλὸν καὶ ω μέγα. σύμφωνα δὲ, διηγεπὶ α.
 β γ δ ζ θ κ λ μ ν ξ π ρ σ τ φ χ ψ. τῶν
 δὲ φωνηέντων, μακρὰ μὲν, δύο. η, ω μέγα.
 βραχέα δὲ, δύο. ε ψιλὸν, καὶ ο μικρόν.

Δίχρονα δὲ, τεία. α ι υ. Ἐξ ὧν δίφθογοι κυ-
 ρείως μὲν, ἕξ γίνονται. αι αυ οι ου ει υ. καταχρηστικῶς δὲ, τέσσα-
 ρός. α η ω υ. τῶν δὲ συμφωνῶν, ἡμίφωνα μὲν, ὀκτώ. ζ ξ ψ λ
 μ ν ρ σ. ὧν διπλὰ μὲν, τεία. ζ ξ ψ. Ἀμετάβοχα δὲ, τέσσα-
 ρα. λ μ ν ρ. Ἄφωνα δὲ, ἀνέα. β γ δ κ π τ θ φ χ. ὧν ψιλά
 μιν, τεία. κ π τ. Δασέα δὲ, τεία. θ φ χ. μέσα δὲ, τεία. β γ
 δ. Ἐκ τῶν διηρημέλων δὲ πῶνδε γραμμάτων, αἰσυλαβαὶ γίνον-
 ται, οἷον, πε. ὅθεν αἰ λέξις, οἷον, πέζος. ὧν ὁ λόγος, οἷον, ὁ πέζος
 ἀναγινώσκει. περὶ συλλαβῆς.

Συλλαβὴ ὅστις σύμληψις κυλάχιστον δύο γραμμάτων. καταχρη-
 στικῶς δὲ καὶ τὰ φωνήεντα συλλαβαὶ λέγονται. Διαίρεται δὲ ἡ
 συλλαβὴ, εἰς τεία. εἰς μακράν, οἷον, ἥρωσ. εἰς βραχεῖαν, οἷον, λόγος.
 εἰς κοινὴν, οἷον, ἀρῆς. περὶ λέξεως.

Λέξις ὅστις μόρος ἐλάχιστον τῶ σωτακτικῶ λόγου διαιρετικόν.
 περὶ λόγον.

Λόγος ὅστις λέξεων σωθεῖς, διαίσιον αὐτοτελὴ δηλοῦσα. ἴσχυρ δὲ
 μέρη, ὀκτώ. ὄνομα. ῥῆμα. μερχή. ἀρθρον. ἀντωνυμία. πρόθεσις. ἐ-
 πίρρημα. σωδεσμος. τούτων κλιτὰ μὲν, πέντε. ὄνομα. ῥῆμα. με-
 ρχή. ἀρθρον. ἀντωνυμία. ἄκλιτα δὲ, τεία. πρόθεσις. ἐπίρρημα.
 σωδεσμος.



the poet Hermann Bruschi, who had the opportunity to appreciate its wealth, praises him in one of his poems: *Quodque etiam nobis tua Bibliotheca patebat vix minor impensis, rex Ptolemaee tuis, in qua Cecropij Scriptores atque Latini feruent, librorum constat et omne genus.*²⁴²

Willibald's reading reveals his deep interest in the works of Graeco-Roman literature. To soothe his existential angst he read Plato and was adept in Greek, unlike other members of the German scholarly community. His translations into Latin and German, based on the original texts, allowed a wider audience to come into contact with the works of Plutarch, Sallust, Lucian, Cicero, Isocrates and others. These books soon entered the school curriculum of Nürnberg and a wider German-speaking region, as they enjoyed the support of individuals like Melanchthon and Eobanus Hessus. Pirckheimer's particular philological approach to the translation of ancient texts was made possible by the richness of his library, which in 1504, as he proudly mentioned in a letter to Conrad Celtis, contained virtually all the books printed in Greek and published until then in Italy.²⁴³ Hans Imhof, the inheritor of his library, comments: "As soon as a valuable text had been published in Italy, by the printing presses of Rome, Venice, Mantua, Florence, Milan or elsewhere, he simply had to purchase it by any means and irrespective of the cost." The main source of books for his library was the Aldine printing house, from which he purchased a large number of first editions.²⁴⁴

Pirckheimer's tastes as a bibliophile can be seen in his relationship with a great painter of Nürnberg who, in one way or another, left his mark on almost all the books in his library: this was none other than Dürer.²⁴⁵ Their friendship dated back to Dürer's first visit to Italy (1494-1495), when Pirckheimer was studying at Padua. Beyond mutual self-respect, their relations brought the German artist some important commissions. In fact, Dürer's second trip to Italy (1505-1506) was financed by Pirckheimer, and their correspondence reveals that Dürer followed his patron's instruction and purchased a great number of books for him.²⁴⁶

Their close friendship was sealed by various collaborations. Pirckheimer dedicated to him the translation of Theophrastus's *The Characters*, while many works by Dürer, like the engraving of 'Philosophy' and the celebrated 'Melancholy', were executed at Pirckheimer's prompting, and some theological treatises were co-authored by the two. The high point of their friendship is represented by the engraving 'Great Triumphal Chariot of Maximilian I', which was conceived by Pirckheimer and executed by Dürer.²⁴⁷ Dürer also designed Pirckheimer's *ex libris*; it was carved in wood and framed by the motto *Inicium sapientiae timor domini* ('Fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom') in Latin, Hebrew and Greek.²⁴⁸

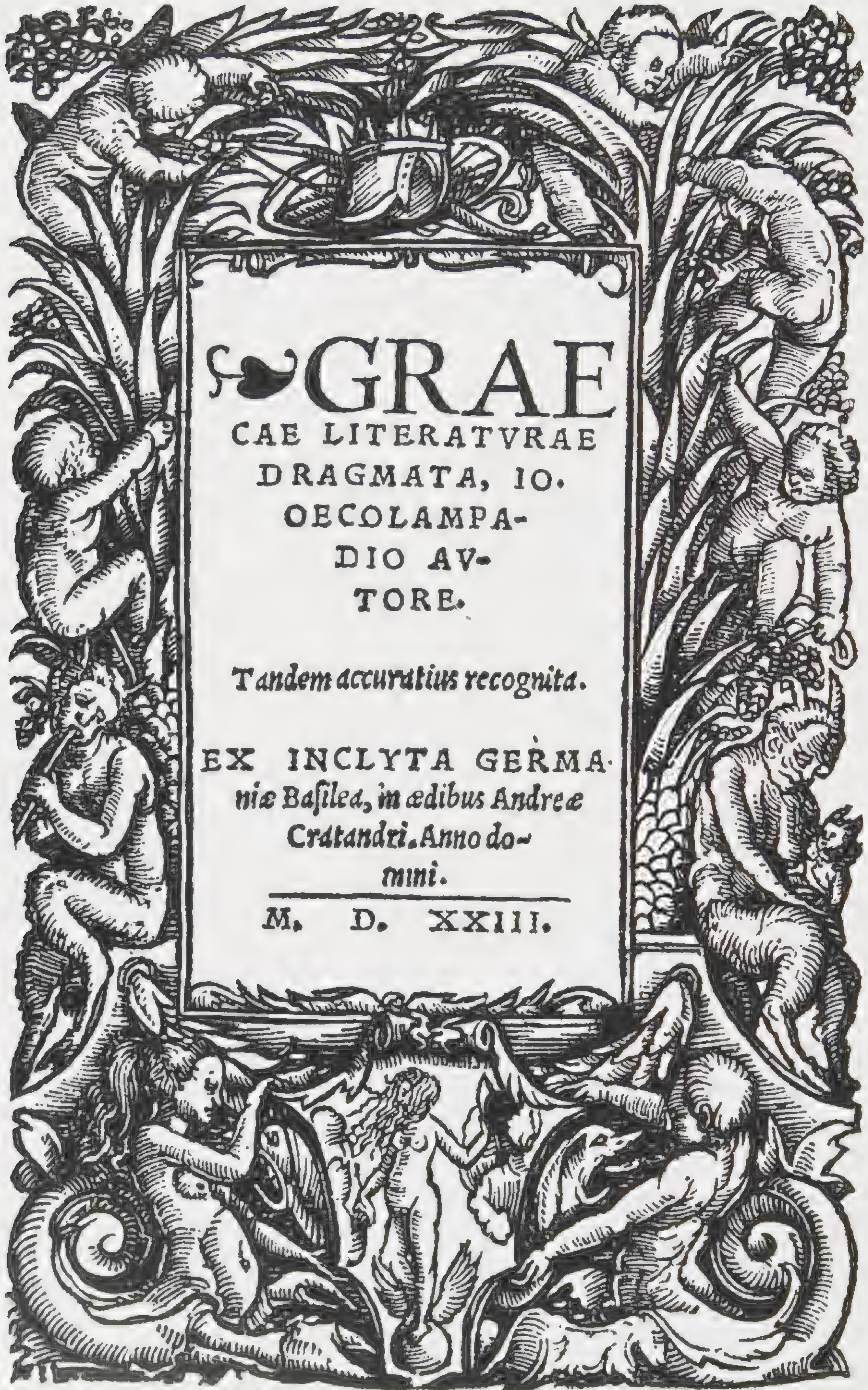
Dürer made another, more direct intervention in Pirckheimer's library, for he painted miniatures in almost all his printed books, mainly those purchased from Italy. Although most of the miniatures tend towards the heraldic, the one decorating the first page of Theocritus's *Idylls* in the 1495 Aldine edition is a skilfully executed bucolic scene.²⁴⁹

The main body of his library. Following a librarian's approach to Pirckheimer's collection, one could divide his books into at least six categories: Jurisprudence (Roman and Canon Law), Literature and Literary Studies (classical authors, grammatical, lexicographical and rhetorical works, books in Greek, Latin and Hebrew), Practical Sciences (History, Geography, Medicine), Exact Sciences, Theology and Contemporary Literature.²⁵⁰

Of his legal books, five editions have been safely identified: four of these were produced in Italy, and the fifth (the first edition of Guido de Baysio's *Rosarium super Decreto*) at Strasbourg by Gutenberg's old associate, Johann Mentelin, in *ca.* 1473.

Of his books on literature and literary studies, thirteen incunabula and sixteenth-century editions have been identified, all major publishing landmarks produced by Italian printing presses; most important among these is the *editio princeps* of Homer's collected works (Florence, 1488/89). The other editions came from Aldus Manutius's publishing house and included the first editions of Plato, Aeschylus, Euripides, Martial, Ovid and Virgil. We should also note that Pirckheimer owned a first edition of Maximus Planoudes's *Anthologia Graeca* (Florence, 1494), which was edited by Ioannes Laskaris and decorated with a miniature engraving by Dürer. This heading also includes grammar textbooks, encyclopaedias and dictionaries: Vlastos and Kalliergis's *Etymologicum Magnum* (Venice, 1499), Laskaris's *Grammar* (Venice, 1495), Oecolampadius's *Dragmata graecae literaturae* (Basel, 1518) and Urbano Bolzanio's *Institutiones Graecae Grammaticae* (Venice, 1497) stand out.

The library was very rich in historical works, judging by the translations of Greek texts into Latin and German. Appian's *Historia Romana* is found in the *editio princeps* printed by Erhard Ratdolt (Venice, 1477), while the collection also featured one of the three Italian incunabular editions of Herodotus's *Histories*, translated by Leonardo Bruni (Venice, 1494), as well as Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* edited by Lucas Porrus (Treviso, 1482) and Josephus's *The Jewish War* (Verona, 1480). The library of 'the German Xenophon' of course contained a copy of Thucydides's *History of the Peloponnesian War* (Treviso, 1483?) in a unique incunabular edition translated by Lorenzo Valla.



GRAE

CAE LITERATURAE
DRAGMATA, IO.
OECOLAMPA-
DIO AV-
TORE.

Tandem accuratius recognita.

EX INCLYTA GERMA-
niae Basilea, in ædibus Andreae
Cratandri. Anno do-
mini.

M. D. XXIII.

Pirckheimer had also befriended Johannes Werner; their friendship was predicated on their shared interest in science, and above all mathematics. Pirckheimer's translation of the works of Euclid betokens their closeness. He was equally interested in astronomy, and acquired important books containing the works of Regiomontanus; he also helped his friend Johann Schöner to complete his terrestrial globe. Finally, Pirckheimer collected a large number of astronomical instruments and was one of the most fervent supporters of 'scientific astrology'. His collection also featured some medical texts, like Johannes Serapion's *Breviarium medicinae* (Venice, 1497).

Pirckheimer was hardly a typical devout Christian: his mind always harked back to antiquity, and his heart and soul were totally given over to the study of ancient philosophy. He was interested, however, in current developments and theological quarrels: his library contained Eastern and Western patristic literature, as well as theological works by both Luther and the Counter-reformers, like Johann Eck. Remarkably, this section also contained Greek liturgical books, including the *Psalter* of Ioustinos Dekadyos (Venice, Aldus, ca. 1497), Kalliergis's *Horologion* (*Book of Hours*) (Venice, 1509) and the first edition of the *Triodion* (Venice, 1522), all paradigms of accomplished and graceful printing.

Finally, Pirckheimer had collected the works of contemporary humanist literature, like Conrad Celtis's *Panegyris ad duces Bavariae* (1492), Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Venice, 1490), Bartolomaeus Fontius's *Orationes* (Florence, 1478?), and Erasmus's *Adagia* in the 1508 Aldine edition.

In the context of these pursuits, Pirckheimer kept himself up-to-date on the contents of his era's famous libraries and was very interested in the Greek section of Matthias Corvinus's library. Scholars who have researched the contents of the Hungarian royal library argue that Pirckheimer can be associated with four of these codices.²⁵¹ The first one to report this 'relationship' was Jacobus de Banissis, through whom Emperor Maximilian I approached Pirckheimer asking him to provide a Latin translation of Ioannes Zonaras's *Epitome Historion*, a codex supplied from Buda by Johannes Cuspinian in 1513.²⁵² Subsequently, Pirckheimer was informed by Ulrich von Hütten of a manuscript of Ptolemy kept at Corvinus's library as he was preparing a Latin edition of the *Cosmographia*, finally printed at Strasbourg in 1525.²⁵³ The two other codices, the so-called 'lost Corvinae' of the Bibliotheca Corviniana, contain patristic texts used in first editions of Latin translations by Pirckheimer. These works were the *Homilies* of Gregory of Nazianzos and St. Basil's *Epistles*.²⁵⁴

38. Title page of the book *Graecae Literaturae Dragmata*, compiled by Johannes Oecolampadius and printed at Basel by Andreas Cratander in 1523.

The picture we have today of his library is incomplete, for he left no will and had no male heirs; as a result, his collection passed to the family of his first-born daughter Caritas, spouse of Willibald Imhoff, in 1530. Following the death of Pirckheimer's sister in 1560, the library came into the possession of Pirckheimer's grandson, also called Willibald. It remained intact thereafter, and only in the seventeenth century did financial hardship force the family to sell it. From 1634 it was

sold off piecemeal to various collectors and experts, like the Dutch collector Matthaeus von Overbeck, while in 1636 the entire collection was purchased by Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel. In 1667, on the initiative of the first Secretary of the Royal Society, John Evelyn, the library came into the possession of the Society (founded in 1662), whose President was Henry Howard.²⁵⁵

In 1828 the British Museum acquired the codices from Howard's library and the catalogue published in 1834 included 550 volumes.²⁵⁶ Pirckheimer's printed books changed hands in 1870: they were sold piecemeal in Bernard Quaritch's London bookshop, and in 1925 the Royal Society decided to sell the entire collection through Sotheby's auction house.²⁵⁷

Various inventories compiled by Quaritch, Sotheby's, the British Museum and others made it possible for a definitive catalogue to be prepared: this contained mainly the books from the Arundel collection, and some of those that could be identified as having once belonged to Pirckheimer. The safest yardsticks for inclusion in the latter group were his distinctive *ex libris* and some decorative elements attributable to Dürer.²⁵⁸



39. The *ex libris* prepared by Dürer for Pirckheimer's books, bearing the motto 'Inicium sapientiae timor domini', also cited in Hebrew and Greek.

40. An extremely important manuscript written by Pirckheimer, containing some of his German translations which were published later, in 1606 at Nürnberg by P. Kauffmann. These manuscripts include two famous orations by Isocrates: *To Nicocles* and *To Demonicus*, as well as a work by Plutarch, *De capienda ex inimicis utilitate*. Isocrates's hortative oration, *To Demonicus*, was highly regarded by German humanists; it was translated by Rudolphus Agricola, Erasmus and Othmar Nachtigall. This is, of course, a miscellaneous codex, comprising of 20 sections, which were collated on the initiative of Hans Imhoff the Younger's son-in-law.

Vnd prethenlichem leben mogen
kommen zu der freud der ewigen
Seligkeit Amen

Felich mißbar vnd holt selig
vnderweisung des hochbe-
rombten redners Socratis die
er zu einem jungen Demo-
niciß genant. des vatters me-
mit freuntshaft verward
gewest ist. hat geschriben
durch herz Wilholt purckhaim
er auß Riegisther sprach in
das teutsch gekogen

Ein lieber freunt De-
monice Du wilt dirgenne finden
wir gar weit von einander ge-



Pro nris laude lege libros postea ilaude 1862

acc. pictura ad instar antiquis
sunt, parochialis nec noi. Beati
super compilatione laterali. Rel
renovata et amplifiata est ac au
105. Walter. Public

MENTEL
DE
SCHLESTADT
INVENTEUR
DE L'IMPRIMERIE

Beatus Rhenanus's library at Sélestat. What could arguably be described as the most representative humanistic library in Northern Europe, preserved intact since the Renaissance, is that of the Alsatian Beatus Rhenanus.²⁵⁹ It is exemplary not only because of its varied contents, as it befitted the intellectual omnivorousness of humanists, but also its history, for it was incorporated into the public library of his home town, Sélestat, in accordance with his last will. The practice of donating libraries for the benefit of the greater public precisely echoes the humanist views of the era and expresses the humanists' commitment to promoting the unrestricted dissemination of knowledge. Rhenanus's library, as well as that of Johann Reuchlin,²⁶⁰ which he donated to his home town of Pforzheim, are the only humanist libraries to have survived intact in Northern Europe.

Beatus Rhenanus was born at Sélestat (Schlettstadt) in 1485, where he received his basic education under Crato Hofmann and Hieronymus Gebwiler.²⁶¹ His given name was Bild de Rhynow, which he changed to Beatus Rhenanus in keeping with the tendency of humanists to Latinize or Hellenize their names. He continued his studies at Paris, where he received training in the classical languages, philosophy, mathematics and astronomy; then he went on to Strasbourg and finally to Basel, inevitably drawn to the intellectual hothouse of the world of the printing presses.²⁶²

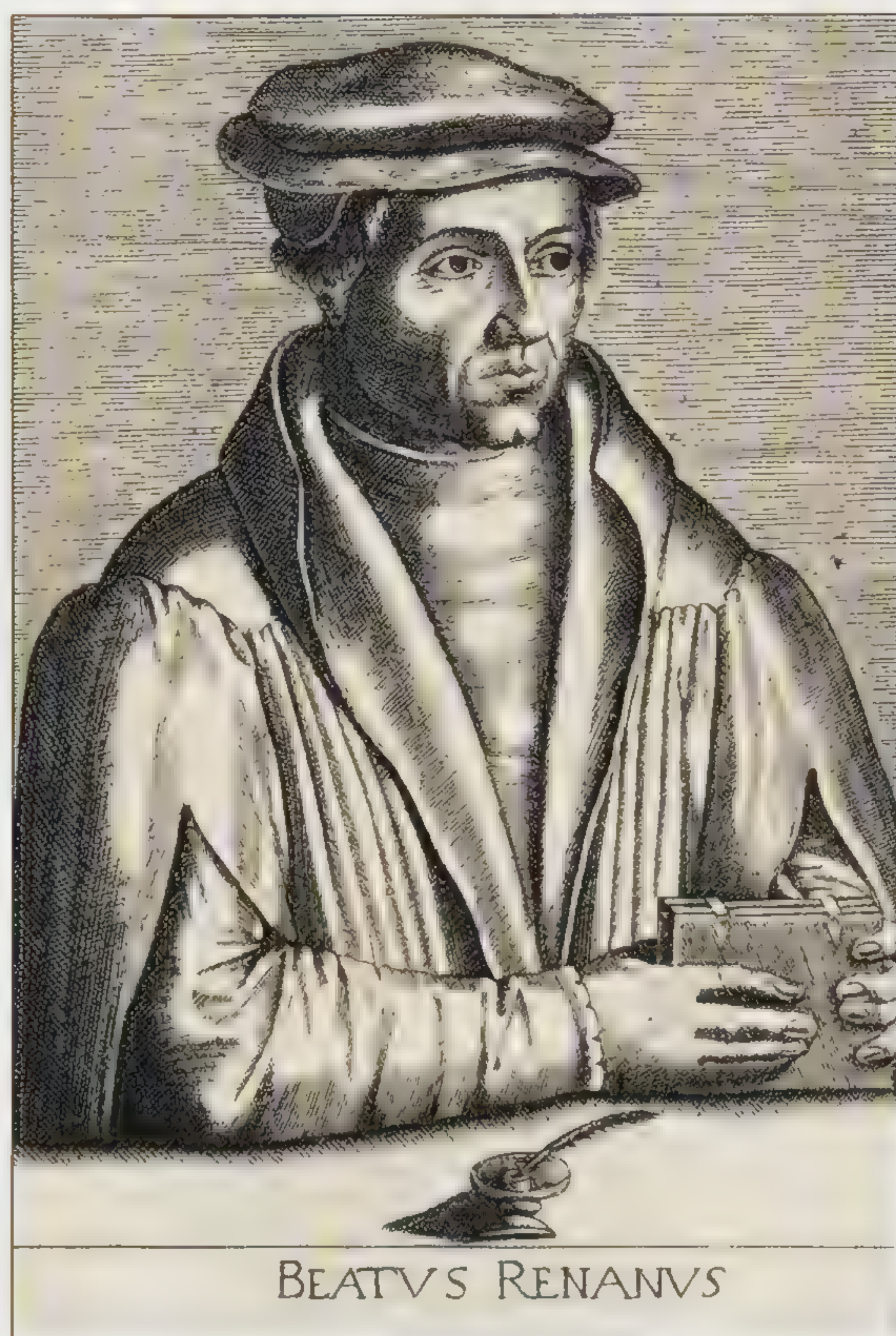
Beatus remained in Paris for four years, from 1503 to 1507: in the first two years he studied Aristotle's treatise on logic, followed courses on literature and then delved into Aristotle's writings on ethics. His teacher, and the person who instilled in him a great admiration for the Greek philosopher, was Lefèvre d'Étaples, who was renowned for his method of approaching the Aristotelian corpus and described Aristotle as 'a god among philosophers'.²⁶³ In Paris, Beatus learnt some Greek under Georgios Hermonymos Spartiates, like so many of his contemporaries including Erasmus and Reuchlin; though he failed, however, to find in him the in-



42. Beatus Rhenanus, etching by Théodore de Bry based on a lost drawing from the Sélestat archives.

41. View of the library of Beatus Rhenanus, with the distinctive binding of his books (Photo: N. Panayotopoulos).

spirational teacher he was seeking.²⁶⁴ He did, however, take the opportunity to become acquainted with leading French intellectuals and North European humanists, like Erasmus. As Beatus was seriously considering travelling to Italy to perfect his Greek, he was informed that Johann Cuno, a Dominican from Nürnberg, would be offering Greek courses at Basel.²⁶⁵ Without hesitation he travelled to Basel in July 1511 and started attending Cuno's lectures.



43. Beatus Rhenanus in a 17th century engraving.

Basel: the most important humanist printing centre in Northern Europe. By the early sixteenth century Basel had become a crossroads for humanists, and its printing houses were staffed by some of the greatest scholars of Northern Europe, as we have seen in detail above.²⁶⁶ Beatus worked as a textual scholar, emendator and editor of texts at the presses of Johann Froben²⁶⁷ and Johann Amerbach;²⁶⁸ among the publications he prepared are *De rebus Alexandri Magni Regis Macedonum* by Quintus Curtius Rufus (1518), and Maximus of Tyre's *Sermones platonici* (1519).

Notwithstanding his friendship with and respect for Erasmus, Beatus was not a follower of Luther's Reformation, but subscribed to the views of a religious movement which was called by its members *Fratres Communis Vitae*

(Brethren of the Common Life), to which Erasmus as well as many other adherents of the Reformation belonged.²⁶⁹ Beatus, however, did not harbour Erasmus's ambitions and shied away from the humanist and theological controversies that marked his era: he was a champion of the cloistered life; a tireless scholar, he was outstanding for his modesty and never sought to promote or impose his views.

Rhenanus did not produce many original works, for he spent his time emending texts of the Late Roman period;²⁷⁰ his main interest was the history of the Germanic peoples, as suggested by the theme of his most important treatise, *Rerum germanicarum libri tres*, published in 1531.²⁷¹ Parallel to his literary pursuits, like many other pioneers of humanism, Beatus dedicated himself to locating libraries

44. John of Damascus, *Theologia* (parchment), Paris, Henri Estienne, 1507 (Photo: N. Panayotopoulos).

I
SANCTI PATRIS IOANNIS DAMASCENI ORTHODOXE FIDEI
ACCVRATA EDITIO INTER-
PRETE IACOBO FABRO STAPV-
LENSI.

¶ Quod incomprehensibilis diuinitas/ q̄q̄ nichil
inquirendū preter ea que nobis a sanctis prophe-
tis/apostolis/et euangelistis sunt tradita. Cap. I.

DEVM nemo vidit vnq̄: vnigenitus filius Ioan. i.
qui est in sinu patris/ipse enarrauit. Inef-
fabilis igitur diuinitas: atq̄ incōprehen-
sibilis. neq̄ enī vllus nouit patrē nisi fili- Math. ii.

us: neq̄ filiū nisi pater. ceterū spiritus sanctus ita no-
uit ea que dei sūt: vt spiritus hominis ea nouit que i 1. Corin. 2.

illo sunt. Post diuinā itaq̄ beatissimāq̄ naturā/ nul-
lus vnq̄ deū nouit: nisi cui ipse reuelauerit/ nō homi-
num modo/ sed ne supramūdanarū quidē virtutū/

supramundandarū (aio) vt ipsorū Cherubim atq̄ Se-
raphim. Attamē haudquaq̄ nos deseruit deus om-
nimoda sui circūfusus ignorātia: quinīmo cūctis co-
gnitio q̄ deus sit/ ab ip̄o naturaliter īsita est atq̄ īge-
nita. Sed et ip̄a mūdi creatura/ et eius coaptatio/ pa-
riter et gubernatio: magnitudinē diuine īsinuat na-
ture. Et ip̄e primitus p̄ legē et prophetas/ deinde et
p̄ vnigenitū filiū suū et dominū et saluatorē nostrū
Iesū Christū (quantū nostra capit īfirmitas) nobis
sui ipsius cognitionis idulsi cōsortiū. Cūcta igitur
que tradita sūt et p̄ legē et p̄phetas et Apostolos et
euāgelistas: suscipimus/ cognoscimus/ veneramur/
nichil vltra illa perquirētes. Nā bonus cū sit deus/
omnis boni largitor est: nō īuidie aut perturbatiōi
cuiuspiam obnoxius. procul enī a diuina natura (que

that had fallen into obscurity in Alsace and the Upper Rhineland, precisely at the time when Conrad Peutinger discovered an unknown work by Marcus Velleius Paterculus in Murbach Abbey, Alsace.²⁷²

With the ascendancy of the Reformation in Basel, Beatus returned to his home town, where he spent the remainder of his days studying and reflecting on the amplitude of human mind and soul. He passed away at Strasbourg on July 20, 1547, while returning from a short trip to Wilbad. A few days before his death he entrusted Gervais Gebwiler with his last will: that his library be donated to the parish church of Sélestat.²⁷³



45. J. Wimpfeling, *Argentinensium Episc. Catalogus*, 1508.

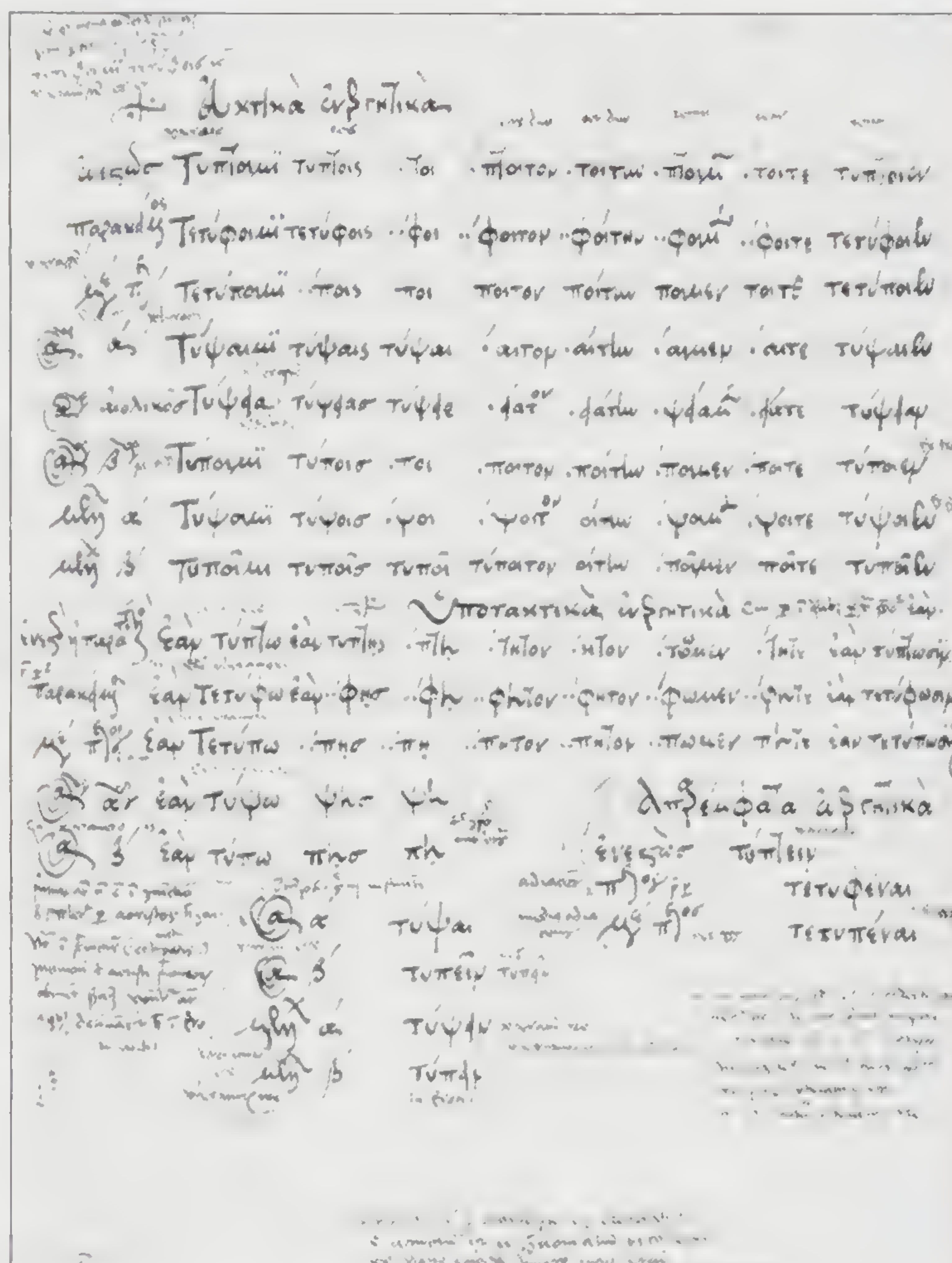
The creation of Rhenanus's library. Beatus started collecting books in *ca.* 1500, aged only fifteen, and exhibited a critical acumen uncommon for his youth. His first acquisitions were grammar books and literary texts, and thereafter, in a loving and methodical manner, he began putting his seal on his books, recording on every title page the purchase date and price and his famous *ex libris*: 'sum Beati Rhenani nec muto dominum'.²⁷⁴ The core of his library consisted of

fifty-seven books and included approximately twelve grammar books and rhetorical treatises, and a number of works by Italian humanists, such as Battista Guarino, Pescennio Francesco Negro and Agostino Dati.²⁷⁵ Beatus was particularly interested in the first editions of Latin authors and owned works by Virgil, Suetonius, Pliny the Younger and Lucretius, as well as Western patristic texts. The four years he studied at Paris were very productive in terms of book collecting, for he acquired 188 books, among them many editions of Aristotle with notes by his teacher, Lefèvre.²⁷⁶

His time spent working at the Basel printing houses also proved very fecund in terms of the enrichment of his library: each time he published a volume, he received a number of complimentary copies, which he then exchanged with his friends and other bibliophiles.²⁷⁷ Rhenanus was a humanist in the fullest sense of the word, beloved by all and always willing to lend a helping hand to friends and colleagues,

even correcting their proofs. This willingness to help opened up yet another source of new acquisitions for his collection, for he received in return copies of their own or other books, as attested by the handwritten notes on many of his books, which bear one of the following phrases: *Dono dat*, *Dono misit* or *Muneri mittit*.²⁷⁸

Michael Hummelberg, his close friend during the years he spent in Paris, sent him fifteen books from Rome, most of them in Greek. His colleagues Johannes Kierher and Jodocus Badius (Josse Bade) presented him with two printed books each, and his beloved teacher Lefèvre d'Étaples offered him a further three. The most prized possession in his library, however, was donated by Cuno, his Greek teacher,²⁷⁹ who had spent many years in the humanist centres of Italy. Cuno's collaboration with the Aldine press also turned out to be a valuable source of new material for Rhenanus's collection: Cuno collected rare editions of classical authors, proof sheets for many books that were never published, pagination samples, even printer's waste, as well as many of the finished products of this pivotal and industrious printing house. All these he left to Beatus, and



46. Greek Grammar, manuscript by Johannes Cuno dating from his student years.

by a bequest of 1512 he also left him his manuscripts and lecture notes. In the same year (1512), the great German bibliophile Willibald Pirckheimer²⁸⁰ gave Rhenanus a Latin translation of Plutarch, with the title page decorated with an engraving by his protégé, Dürer. More donations expanded his library in the next year: from Johannes Oecolampadius; from Johann Amerbach, the great printer of Basel, and his colleagues Johann Lapidus and Beatus Arnoldus; and from the two printers of Sélestat, Matthias Schürer and Crato Mylius.²⁸¹

The humanist library of Sélestat. In its current state, this library does not only contain the books and codices of Beatus Rhenanus, but also incorporates the parish library, established in 1452, which reflects the intellectual activities flourishing in Sélestat thereafter.

From 1417 on, Sélestat played a major role in the intellectual Renaissance of Northern Europe; a humanist school was established there and remained open until 1526 – this was the sole humanist school in western Germany.²⁸² It also functioned as a link between the great Italian universities and the Rhineland, gradually attracting eminent humanists and benefiting from the influence of Italian humanism. In this atmosphere, and following the suggestion of Heidelberg students, Ludwig Dringenberg came to teach at Sélestat.²⁸³ His teaching there between 1441 and 1477, as well as that of Crato Hofmann, who succeeded him, and especially Hieronymus Gebwiler,²⁸⁴ greatly influenced the intellectual climate of the local humanist school. Thus, by 1450 the need for the creation of a library had become pressing, for it had to support Latin studies, which were extremely popular at Sélestat, especially after Dringenberg began lecturing there. This library was created mainly through donations, starting from 1452, and especially thanks to the sponsorship of Johannes Westhuss (1452), Johann Fabri (1470), Dringenberg (1477), Jacob Wimpfeling and Martin Ergersheim (1535).²⁸⁵

The teaching programme at Sélestat was largely structured on the basis of the library's ample holdings, most of which were first editions from the presses of Venice and Basel. This concentrated intellectual activity soon outgrew the confines of the town, and in *ca.* 1515 the scholars of Sélestat formed a literary society modelled on Italian standards, the so-called Stubengesellschaft. Since 1760 these two libraries, the one of Beatus Rhenanus and that of the local humanist school, have been housed on the first floor of a Renaissance-style building, the Halle-aux-Blés.²⁸⁶

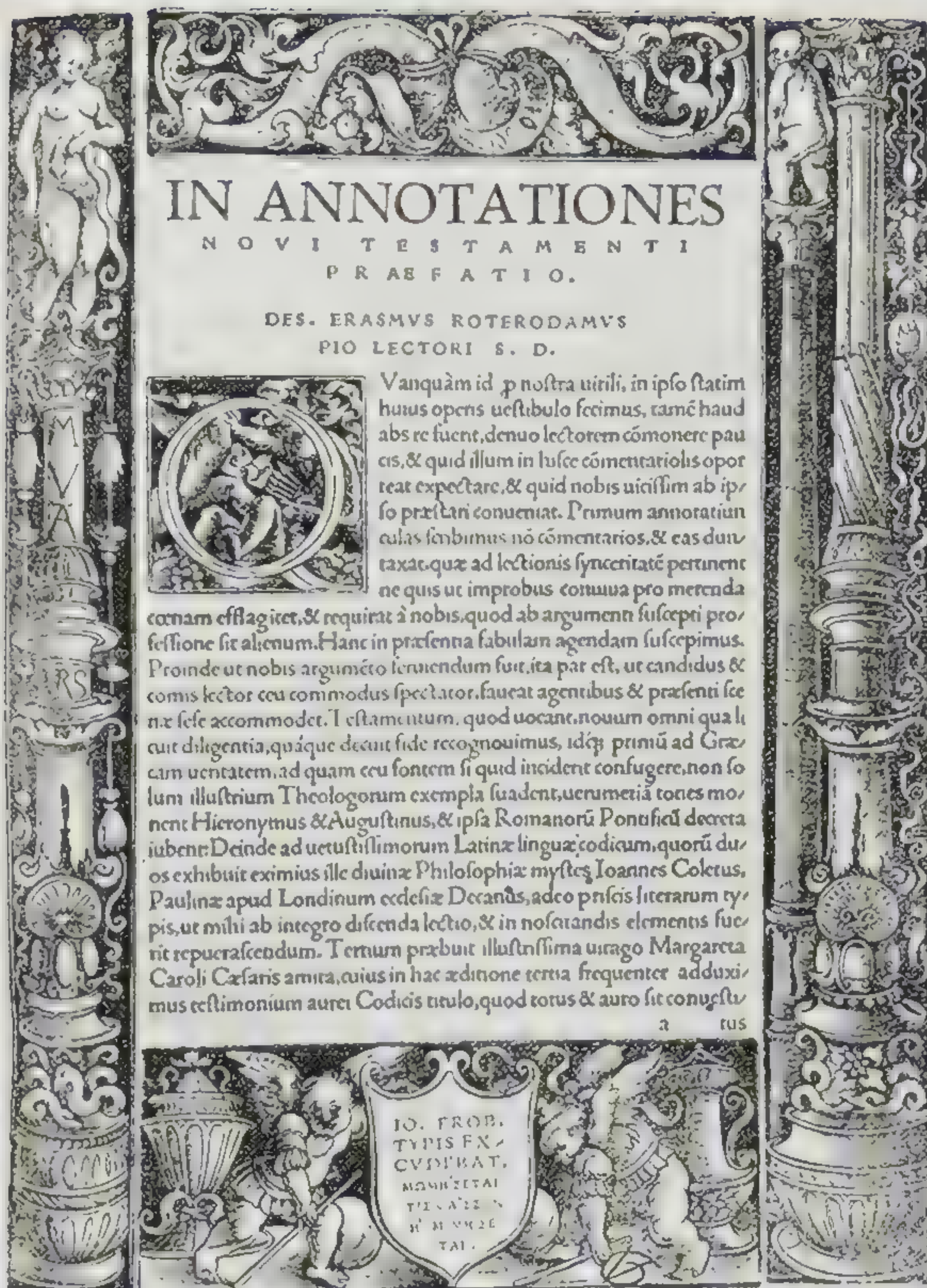
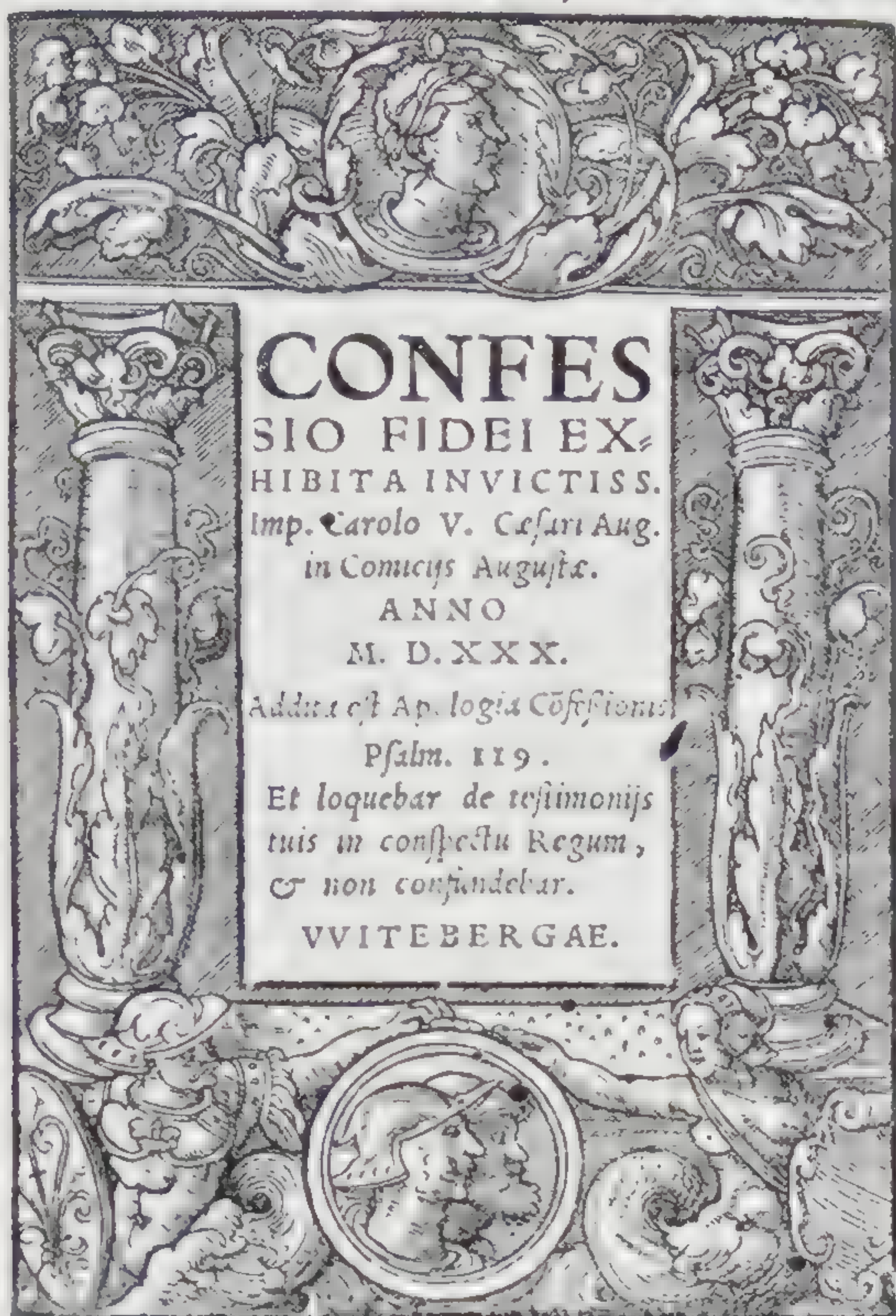
47. *Confessio fidei exhibita... Carolo V Caesari Aug. in Comiciis Augustae, Wittenberg 1530* (Photo: N. Panayotopoulos).

48. *Erasmus, Annotationes in Novum Testamentum, Basel, J. Froben, 1518* (Photo: N. Panayotopoulos).

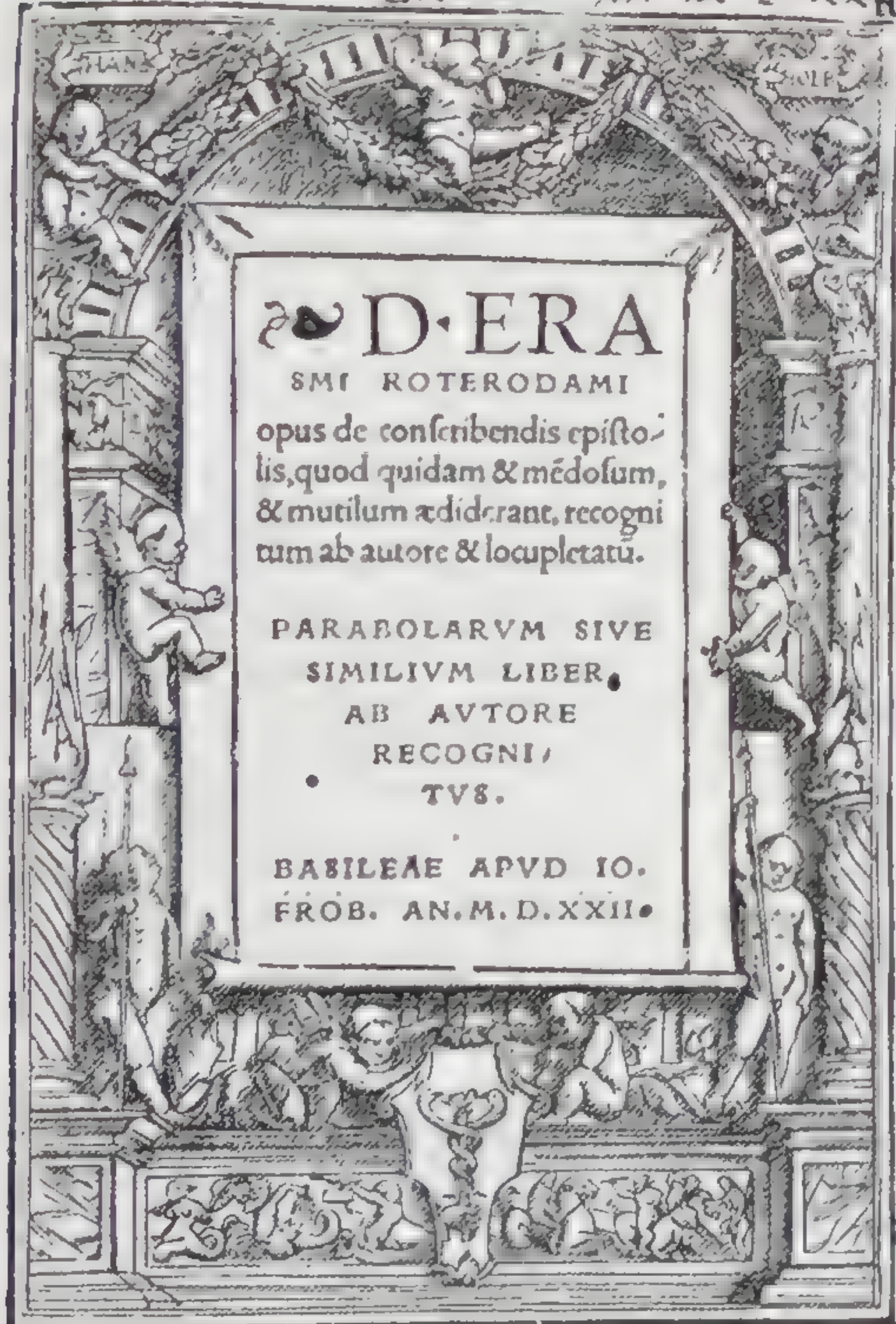
49. *Erasmus, De conscribendis epistolis, Basel, J. Froben, 1522* (Photo: N. Panayotopoulos).

50. *G. Budé, Annotationes (priors) in... Pandectarum libros, Paris, J. Bade, 1521* (Photo: N. Panayotopoulos).

Sum Brach Rhynnam 1520



Sum Beati Rhendam An d xxxv



Sum Brach Rhynnam

ANNOTATA
in G. Budæi Epistolas tam Priores q̄ Posteriores præ-
misso indice.



Venduntur ubi & Epistolæ in officina Io. Badii
Alcenii.

NOTES

VI

Libraries for a
New Christian Literature

NOTES

1. See H.C. Zafren, 'Bible Editions, Bible Study and the Early History of Hebrew Printing', *Eretz-Israel. Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies* 16, H.M. Orlinsky Volume, Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1982, 240-251; A.K. Offenberg, 'Hebrew Printing of the Bible in the XVth Century', *The Bible as Book: The First Printed Editions*, ed. P. Saenger and K. van Kampen, London, The British Library/Oak Knoll Press 1999 (= *The Bible as Book*), 71-77.
For a general overview, see A.G. Thomas, *Great Books and Book Collectors*, Chancellor Press, 1975 (= Thomas, *Great Books*), 90-110, 112-125; C. de Hamel, *La Bible: Histoire du Livre*, Paris, Phaidon, 2002 (= de Hamel, *La Bible*).
2. GW 4198. See also G. Manzoni, *Annali Tipografici dei Soncino. Commenti la descrizione e il illustrazione delle stampe Ebraiche, Talmudiche, Rabbiniche, Greche, Latine ed Italiane eseguite dai Medesimi nel secolo XV a Soncino a Casalmaggiore a Napoli a Brescia e a Bargo e nel secolo XVI a Fano a Pesaro a Ortona a Mare a Rimini a Tesalonica e a Constantinopoli, e fatte eseguire a Pesaro ad Ancona e a Cesena*, 2 vols., Bologna 1885-1886 (= Manzoni, *Annali Tipografici*), 152 (13).
3. GW 4198. On the role of the Soncino house in the dissemination of Hebrew books in various Italian cities and beyond see Manzoni, *Annali Tipografici*.
4. See Thomas, *Great Books*, 112 ff.
5. See D. Amram, *The Makers of Hebrew Books in Italy*, Philadelphia 1909; A. Freimann, 'Die Hebräischen Inkunabeln der Druckereien in Spanien und Portugal', in *Gutenberg-Festschrift*, 1925, 203-206.
6. See A.K. Offenberg, 'The First Printed Book produced at Constantinople', in *Studia Rosenthaliana*, vol. 3 (1969), 96-112 and pl.; A.G. Thomas, 'Early Books in Hebrew', in Thomas, *Great Books*, 113.
7. See Thomas, *Great Books*, 113.
8. See G. Signorelli, *Il cardinal Egidio da Viterbo: Agostino umanista e informatore (1469-1532)*, Firenze 1929.
9. See O. Pedersen, 'Tradition and Innovation', in *A History of the University in Europe*, ed. H.D. Ridder-Symoens, General Editor W. Rüegg, vol. II, Cambridge, University Press, 1996, 460-462.
10. See Armstrong, *Robert Estienne*, 117-123.
11. See Margaret T. Gibson, *The Bible in the Latin West*, Notre Dame (Indiana) 1993; H.Y. Gamble, *Books and Readers in the Early Church: A History of Early Christian Texts*, New Haven 1995.
12. See Laura Light, 'Versions et revisions du texte biblique', *Le Moyen Âge et la Bible*, ed. P. Riché and G. Lobrichon, Paris, Beauchesne 1984, 55-93; Id., 'French Bibles c. 1200-1330: A new look at the origins of the Paris Bible', in *The Early Medieval Bible*, ed. R. Gameson, Cambridge, University Press, 1994, 155-174.
13. See W. Craigie, 'The English Versions (to Wyclif)', in *The Bible in its Ancient and English Versions*, ed. H.W. Robinson, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1940, 128-145; A. Kenny, *Wyclif*, Oxford, University Press, 1987.
14. See GW 4198-4324; P. Needham, 'The Changing Shape of the Vulgate Bible in

- Fifteenth-Century Printing Shops', in *The Bible as Book*, 53-70.
15. See H. Schneider, *Der Text der Gutenberg-bibel: Zu ihrem 500jährigen Jubiläum untersucht*, Bonn, Bonner Biblische Beiträge, 1954; P. McGurk, 'The Oldest Manuscripts of the Latin Bible', in P. McGurk, *Gospel Books and Early Latin Manuscripts* [Variorum Collected Studies], Ashgate Publishing, 1998, XII, 1-23; P. Needham, 'The Text of the Gutenberg Bible', in *Trasmissione dei Testi a Stampa nel Periodo Moderno II, Il seminario internazionale Roma - Viterbo 27-29 giugno 1985*, ed. G. Crapulli, Rome 1987, 43-84.
 16. The first publication to include this Catalogue is the Sweynheim and Pannartz Bible, Rome 1471 (GW 4210); see also P. Needham, 'The Changing', in *The Early Medieval Bible*, 64.
 17. See p. 250; also de Hamel, *La Bible*, 224-228.
 18. See p. 250; also, in general, J.H. Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ: New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance*, Princeton N.J., Princeton University Press, 1983.
 19. See J.G. Oro, *El cardenal Cisneros: vida y empresas*, 2 vols., Madrid, Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1993.
 20. See Abad, I, 222 (28A).
 21. See p. 21 herein.
 22. On Froben's edition see p. 250 herein.
 23. On Brocar's printing press see J.M. Abad, 'The Printing Press at Alcalá de Henares: The Complutensian Polyglot Bible' (trans. T. Graham), in *The Bible as Book*, 101-115.
 24. This is a codex probably written in Egypt; it came into the Vatican's possession during the pontificate of Nicholas V and is first recorded in the library catalogue in 1481.
 25. *Exsurge Domine* (15 June, 1520): see p. 192 herein. See also J. Hilgers, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher, in seiner neuen Fassung dargelegt und rechtlich-historisch gewürdigt*, Freiburg 1904, 280-283.
 26. See, for example, H. Bluhm, 'Luther's German Bible', in *Seven-Headed Luther: Essays in Commemoration of a Quincentenary, 1483-1983*, ed. Peter Newman Brooks, London, Oxford University Press, 1983, 178-194. On the reprints of Luther's Bible see H. Reinitzer, *Biblia deutsch, Luthers Bibelübersetzung und ihre Tradition*, Wolfenbüttel 1983.
 27. Brunet V/1, 754.
 28. See H. Wendland, *Deutsche Bibeln von Luther. Die Buchkunst der achtzehn deutschen Bibeln zwischen 1466 und 1522*, Hamburg 1977.
 29. See de Hamel, *La Bible*, 234-236.
 30. On the editions of Luther's Bible see T.H. Darlow and H.F. Moule, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of the Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, 2 vols., London 1911, nos. 4188-4489.
 31. See I. Bejczy, *Erasmus and the Middle Ages. The Historical Consciousness of a Christian Humanist*, Leiden, Brill, 2001, 118-119. In a letter to Erasmus, Thomas More mentions Tyndale and remarks that he is considered a heretic in England (Allen, X, 336).
 32. See generally D. Lawton, *Faith, Text and History: The Bible in English*, Hemel Hempstead, Harvester/Wheatsheaf, 1990, 67; L. Long, *Translating the Bible*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2001, 122.
 33. See Brunet V/1, 759.
 34. See Thomas, *Great Books*, 99.
 35. See C. Clair, *A History of Printing in Britain*, London, Cassell, 1965 (= Clair, *A History*), 61.
 36. See G. Bray, *Documents of the English Ref-*

- ormation, Cambridge, James Clarke & Co., 1994, 34-35.
37. See. A.G. Thomas, 'The Bible', *Great Books*, 98.
38. *Ibid.*, 99.
39. See Wh.H. Robinson, 'The Hebrew Bible', *The Bible in its Ancient and English Versions*, 1-38.
40. See J.F. Mozley, *Coverdale and his Bibles, The Library Year Book*, 1953.
41. See Clair, *A History*, 61.
42. See A. Pollard (ed.), *Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse*, Westminster, A. Constable, 1903, 215.
43. See Clair, *A History*, 61-62.
44. *Ibid.*, 62-63.
45. *Ibid.*, 63.
46. Queen Mary I believed her influence would allow her to restore Catholicism in England: see E. Cameron, *The European Reformation*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1991, 288.
47. See Clair, *A History*, 63-64; and generally R.L. Greaves, 'The Nature and Intellectual Milieu of the Political Principles in the Geneva Bible Marginalia', *Journal of Church and State* 22 (1980) 223-249.
48. See Renaudet, *Préréforme*, 131-135.
49. See. G. Bedouelle, *Lefèvre d'Étaples et l'Intelligence des Écritures*, Geneva, Librairie Droz 1976, 28ff.
50. B.N. Par. Lat. 11937. See also Armstrong, *Robert Estienne*, 11.
51. See Renouard, *Annales*, 5 (1); Renaudet, *Préréforme*, 514-517; Schreiber, 19-20 (8). See also G. Bedouelle, *Le "Quincuplex Psalterium" de Lefèvre d'Étaples: un guide de lecture*, Geneva, Librairie Droz, 1979; Id., 'The Bible Printing and the Educational Goals of the Humanists', tr. Barbara Beaumont, in *The Bible as Book*, 97.
52. See Renouard, *Annales*, 10 (1); Renaudet, *Préréforme*, 622-634; Schreiber, 25 (14).
53. See Renaudet, *Préréforme*, 623.
54. See Renouard, *Annales*, 16 (1); Schreiber, 32, 34 (22).
55. See Renouard, *Annales*, 36-38; F. Schreiber, *Simon de Colines. An annotated catalogue of 230 examples of his press, 1520-1546*, introd. J. Veyrin-Forrer, Provo, Utah, 1955, 10-13 (7).
56. See Schreiber, *Simon de Colines...*, 13.
57. See Renouard, *Annales*, 27-28 (1); Armstrong, *Robert Estienne*, 11-12, 16, 772-78; Schreiber, 48-51 (37).
58. See J. Wordsworth, *Old-Latin Biblical Texts*, I, Oxford 1883, Appendix, I, 47, 49; Armstrong, *Robert Estienne*, 12.
59. See Renouard, *Annales*, 48-49 (1); Schreiber, 64-67 (59).
60. See Renouard, *Annales*, 65 (1); Armstrong, *Robert Estienne*, 51, 120-121; Schreiber, 79-80 (82).
61. See Renouard, *Annales*, 62 (2); Armstrong, *Robert Estienne*, 78, 176-177; Schreiber, 80 (83).
62. See Armstrong, *Robert Estienne*, 167.
63. See Renouard, *Annales*, 65 (2); Armstrong, *Robert Estienne*, 38, 52, 136; Schreiber, 85-86 (90).
64. See p. 250 herein.
65. See Renouard, *Annales*, 75 (1); Armstrong, *Robert Estienne*, 136-138; Schreiber, 97 (105).
66. On the manuscripts he was 'pleading to be allowed to borrow' for use in the editing of the New Testament, see Armstrong, *Robert Estienne*, 137.
67. The story of Robert Estienne's relocation to Geneva is told by Elizabeth Armstrong, *Robert Estienne*, 211 ff.
68. See pp. 232 ff.
69. See Staikos IV, 107 ff.
70. See D. Knowles, *Bare Ruined Choirs: The dissolution of the English monasteries*, Cambridge 1976; R.W. Hoyle, 'The origins of

- the dissolution of the monasteries', *The Historical Journal* 38/2 (1995) 275-305; J.P. Carley, 'The dispersal of the monastic libraries and the salvaging of the spoils', in *LBI* I, 265-291 (= Carley, 'The dispersal').
71. See Carley, 'The dispersal', 269.
 72. This is documented by John Leland in his unpublished *Antiphilarchia*, which he presented to the King in 1541. Although this piece of information is not backed by inventories of the Greenwich and Hampton Court libraries, an inventory of Westminster's *Upper Library* contains 910 book titles; it dates to 1542 and is still extant today. See J.P. Carley (ed.), *The libraries of King Henry VII [Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues VII]*, London 2001, H2.
 73. See BL, MS Royal Appendix 69; Carley, 'The dispersal', 270.
 74. See Carley, 'The dispersal', 270.
 75. See D.G. Selwyn, 'Thomas Cranmer and the dispersal of medieval libraries: The provenance of some of his medieval manuscripts and printed books', in J.P. Carley and C.G.C. Tite (eds.), *Books and Collectors, 1200-1700: Essays presented to Andrew Watson*, London, The British Library, 1997, 281-284.
 76. See N.H. Nicolas (ed.), *The privy purse expences of King Henry the Eighth*, London 1827, 89, which records the sum paid to a footman on November 29, 1530, for delivering the books to Hampton Court.
 77. In 1553 Leland was commissioned to scour the country in search of rare and noteworthy books and make records of those he found; he presumably carried a letter of reference, perhaps signed by the king himself. His mission was similar to that of Georges de Selve, an agent of François I of France sent to track down manuscripts for the king: see p. 201.
 78. See D.N. Bell, 'Monastic libraries: 1400-1557', in *CHBB* III, 1999, 230-231. We should also note that the only complete catalogue compiled between 1500 and the dissolution of the monasteries is that of the library of Syon Abbey, a Bridgettine house (ca. 1500-1524).
 79. See Brunet III/1, 956.
 80. See J.G. Clark, 'Print and pre-Reformation Religion: The Benedictines and the press, c. 1470 – c. 1550', in Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham (eds.), *The uses of acript and print, 1300-1700*, Cambridge 2004, 76-77, who note that monks were among the earliest buyers of printed books.
 81. See J.G. Clark, 'Reformation and Reaction at St Albans Abbey, 1530-58', *EHR* 115 (2000) 297-328.
 82. See Carley, 'The dispersal', 269.
 83. *Ibid.*, 273-274.
 84. 'Fyrst I haue conserued many good authors, the whych otherwyse had ben lyke to haue peryshed, to no small incommodyte of good letters', as he himself later confessed in *The laboryouse journey*, sig. C.ii^r).
 85. See S. Keynes, 'King Athelstan's Books', in M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (eds.), *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England*, Cambridge 1985, 159-165.
 86. See J. Bale, *Index Britanniae scriptorum*, ed. R.L. Poole and M. Bateson, Oxford 1902, reprinted with a new introduction by C. Brett and J.P. Carley, New York, Woodbridge and Rochester, 1990.
 87. Leland relates sorrowfully that German humanists were seizing manuscripts from English libraries and then publishing the texts as monuments of their own intellectual heritage: see P. Bliss (ed.), *Athenae Oxonienses*, 4 vols., London 1813-1820, vol. I, 198. In the chapter on Joseph of Exeter

- in Leland's *The laboryouse journey*, sig. C.iiii^r, the author rails against the quality of printing in Josephus's *Bellum Troianum*, referring to the 1541 Basel edition by Froben, in which the work is attributed to Cornelius Nepos.
88. Grynaeus (1493-1541) had borrowed a manuscript from John Clement, on which he based his edition of Proclus's *Stoicheiosis plusike* [*Institutio physica sive De motu*] in 1531: see Carley, 'The dispersal', 280-281.
 89. See Heckethorn, *The Printers*, 121.
 90. Richard Morison (ca. 1514-1556), a humanist, propagandist and diplomat, built up his collection out of the Carmelites' library in London: see *Scriptores*, 441. On this edition see P. Petitmengin and J.P. Carley, 'Malmesbury-Sélestat-Malines: The tribulations of a manuscript of Tertullian in the middle of the 16th century', *Annuaire des amis de la bibliothèque humaniste de Sélestat* (2003) 63-74.
 91. See S.R. Cattley (ed.), *The acts and monuments of John Foxe*, 8 vols., London 1837-1841.
 92. See R.J. Roberts and A.G. Watson (eds.), *John Dee's library catalogue*, London, Bibliographical Society, 1990; Carley, 'The dispersal', 278 (n. 58).
 93. See Carley, 'The dispersal', 278.
 94. See Roberts and Watson, *John Dee's...*, 6. Cheke probably acquired other manuscripts as well from Leland's library, such as William of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum Anglorum* and Nicholas Trevet's *Historia ab orbe condita*: see T. Graham and A.G. Watson, *The Recovery of the past in Early Elizabethan England: documents by John Bale and John Joscelyn from the circle of Matthew Parker* [Cambridge Bibliographical Society Monographs, 13], Cambridge 1998, Bn 32 and J2. 6.
 95. In his *Index* Bale records one particular book that undoubtedly originated from Leland's library: the *Meditationes* of Godwin of Sarum, of which the sole surviving manuscript is in the Bodleian Library (MS Digby 96).
 96. See N.R. Ker, 'Cardinal Cervini's manuscripts from the Cambridge friars', in *Books, Collectors and libraries: studies in the medieval heritage*, ed. A.G. Watson, London/Ronceverte, 1985, 437-458; E.J. Crook, 'Manuscripts surviving from the Austin Friars at Cambridge', *Manuscripta* 27 (1983) 82-90; J.P. Carley, 'John Leland and the Contents of English pre-Dissolution libraries: The Cambridge friars', *TCBS* 9 (1986) 90-100.
 97. See generally J.G. Clark (ed.), *The religious orders in pre-Reformation England* [Studies in the History of Medieval Religion, 18], Woodbridge 2002.
 98. See Carley, 'The dispersal', 282.
 99. See C. de Hamel, 'The Dispersal of the library of Christ Church, Canterbury, from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century', in Carley and Tite, *Books and Collectors...*, 263-279.
 100. See J.P.W. Gaskell, *Trinity College Library: The first 150 years*, Cambridge 1980, 80.
 101. See R. Ranc, 'La Foire de Francfort telle que la vit Henri Estienne', *GJ* 53 (1958) 175-177.
 102. On the catalogues see pp. 338 ff herein.
 103. See Angela Nuovo, *Il commercio librario, nell'Italia del Rinascimento*, Milan 2003.
 104. On Gazis's editions of Aristotle see *Charta* I, 77.
 105. See E. Pércopo, 'La biblioteca di Gioviano Pontano: memoria', in *Atti della Accademia Pontaniana*, vol. LVI [= ser. 2a, XXXI] (1926), 140-152; 'La biblioteca di Gio-

- viano Pontano', *La Bibliofilia* XXX (1928) 73-74.
106. See Ester Pastorello, *L'epistolario Manuziano inventario cronologico-analitico 1483-1597*, Venice/Rome, Istituto per la Collaborazione Culturale, 1957, 81.
107. The *Ars grammaticae secunda* was printed in 1503 at Fano by Hieronymus Soncinus: see Manzoni, *Annali Tipografici*, III, 41-47 (9).
108. See L. Donati, 'La Biblioteca Privata di Paolo III (3. X. 1534-10. XI. 1549)' *GJ* (1977) 369-374.
109. See pp. 124-125 herein.
110. See Staikos III. 226.
111. On the merchants and bankers of Genoa living in the Kingdom of Naples, see G. Brancaccio, 'Nazione genovese': consoli e colonia nella Napoli moderna, Naples, Guida, 2001.
112. See Angela Nuovo, 'Gian Vincenzo Pinelli's Collection of Catalogues of Private Libraries in Sixteenth-Century Europe', *GJ* (2007) 129-144 (= Angela Nuovo).
113. See Enrica Stendardo, *Ferrante Imperato: collezionismo e studio della natura a Napoli tra Cinque e Seicento*, Naples 2001.
114. See Pinelli's letters to Clusius, published by Giovan Battista de Toni, *Il carteggio degli Italiani col botanico Carlo Clusio nella biblioteca Leidense*, Modena 1911.
115. See A. Favaro, *Galileo Galilei a Padova. Ricerche e scoperte, insegnamento e scolari*, Padua 1968; M. Bucciattini, *Galileo e Keplero. Filosofia, cosmologia e teologia nell'Età della Controriforma*, Turin 2003, esp. Ch. 2, 'Padova, Pinelli, Tycho, Galileo'.
116. See Chiara Lastraioli, 'Une correspondance érudite: les lettres de Giovan Vincenzo Pinelli', in *L'épistolaire au XVI^e siècle*, Paris 2001, 165-178.
117. See Angela Nuovo, 131. On Peiresc see Cecilia Rizza, *Peiresc e l'Italia*, Turin 1965; Agnès Bresson (ed.), *Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc: Lettres à Claude Saumaise et à son entourage (1620-1637)*, Florence 1992, which also contains the most up-to-date bibliography on Peiresc.
118. See Angela Nuovo, 'Testimoni postumi. La biblioteca di Gian Vincenzo Pinelli tra le carte di Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc', in *L'organizzazione del sapere. Studi in onore di Alfredo Serrai*, ed. Maria Teresa Biagetti, Milan 2005, 317-334.
119. See Angela Nuovo, 'Dispersione di una biblioteca privata: la biblioteca di Gian Vincenzo Pinelli dall'agosto 1601 all'ottobre 1604', in *Biblioteche private in età moderna e contemporanea. Atti del convegno internazionale Udine, 18-20 ottobre 2004*, ed. ead. Milan, 2005, 43-54.
120. See Angela Nuovo, 132.
121. See M. Rodella, 'Fortuna e sfortuna della biblioteca di Gian Vincenzo Pinelli: la vendita a Federico Borromeo', *Bibliotheca. Rivista di studi bibliografici* 2 (2003) 87-125.
122. See P. Gualdo, *Vita Ioannis Vincentii Pinelli, Patricii Genuensis. In qua studiosis bonarum artium, proponitur typus viri probi et eruditi*, Augustae Vindelicorum (Augsburg), Ad Insigne Pinus, 1607. The press founded by a team of local scholars including Markus Wesler, a friend of Pinelli's, published important first editions, like Photios's *Bibliotheca*: see G.W. Zape, *Augsburgs Buchdruckergeschichte nebst den Jahrbüchern derselben*, Augsburg 1786, 173-179.
123. See the relevant information from Pinelli's correspondence: *Gian Vincenzo Pinelli & Claude Dupuy: Une correspondance entre deux humanistes*, ed. with introd. by Anna Maria Raugei, Florence 2001.
124. See Angela Nuovo, 132; and esp. A. Rivol-

- ta, *Catalogo dei Codici Pinelliani dell'Ambrosiana*, Milan 1933.
125. Pinelli kept in his library the catalogue of the Vatican Library's Greek manuscripts: see Ambrosiana Q 111 sup. and G. 66 inf.
126. See Angela Nuovo, 135; and esp. T. Freudenberger, 'Die Bibliothek des Kardinals Domenico Grimani', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 56 (1936) 15-45; G. Mercati, *Codici latini Pico, Grimani, Pio e di altra biblioteca ignota del secolo XVI esistenti nell'Ottoboniana e i codici greci Pio di Modena con una digressione per la storia dei codici di S. Pietro in Vaticano*, Vatican City 1948; see also p. 74 herein.
127. On Pico's library see p. 74 herein.
128. See F. Sansovino, *Venetia città nobilissima et singolare*, Venetia, appresso Iacomo Sansovino, 1581 (Liber VIII, *Delle fabbriche pubbliche. Librerie*).
129. See Angela Nuovo, 136. The catalogue of his library is preserved in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana (R 110 sup.). See also P. Lucchi, 'Un trattato di crittografia del Cinquecento: le Zifre di Agostino Amadi fra cultura umanistica e cultura dell'abaco', in *Matematica e cultura*, ed. M. Emmer, Milan 2004, 39-50.
130. See Angela Nuovo, 136; Francesca Pitacco, 'Un prestito mai rifiuto: la vicenda del "Liber de simplicibus" di Benedetto Rini', in *Figure di collezionisti a Venezia tra Cinque e Seicento*, ed. L. Borean and S. Mason, Udine 2002, 11-23.
131. The physician Roccabonella worked on this codex for forty years, initially at Venice (1415-1448) and then at Zara (1449-1453). On Andrea Amadio, the miniaturist who painted the floral illuminations, we only know that one Giovanni Amadio of Padua maintained a shop at Zara specializing in botany: see *Biblioteca Marciana*, Venezia, ed. Marino Zorzi, Florence, Nardini Editore, 1988, 146-147 (pl. LXXXII).
132. See Pitacco, 'Un prestito...', 5. The catalogue is now in Venice, in the Archivio delle Istituzioni di Ricovero e di Educazione, DER E 189. 3 (April 10, 1604).
133. See Angela Nuovo, 136.
134. See P.M. de Nolhac, *La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini. Contributions à l'histoire des collections d'Italie et à l'étude de la Renaissance*, Paris 1887; Giuseppina Alessandra Cellini, *Il contributo di Fulvio Orsini alla ricerca antiquaria*, Rome 2004.
135. See M. Danzi, *La biblioteca del Cardinal Pietro Bembo*, Geneva 2005.
136. See Angela Nuovo, 136-137.
137. *Ibid.*
138. *Ibid.*, 138.
139. See Maria Muccillo, 'La biblioteca greca di Francesco Patrizi', in *Bibliothecae selectae: da Cusano a Leopardi*, ed. E. Canone, Florence, Leo. S. Olschki, 1993, 73-118.
140. See Muccillo, 'La biblioteca...', 73; and generally A. Paredi, *Storia dell'Ambrosiana*, Milan 1981.
141. On Mercuriale see R.J. Durling, 'Girolamo Mercuriale's "De modo studendi"', *Osiris* 6 (1990) (Issue title: *Renaissance Medical Learning: evolution of a tradition*), 181-195; G. Novara, *Girolamo Mercuriale ed il suo trattato sull'arte ginnastica*, Trapani 1966.
142. See J.-M. Agasse, 'La bibliothèque d'un médecin humaniste: L'Index librorum de Girolamo Mercuriale', *Cahiers de l'Humanisme* 3-4 (2002/2003) 201-253.
143. See P.L. Rose, *The Italian Renaissance of Mathematics: Studies on humanists and mathematicians from Petrarch to Galileo*, Geneva, Librairie Droz, 1975, 159-184.
144. See Angela Nuovo, 139; P.L. Rose, 'Maurolico and the Renaissance of Greek Mathematics', in Rose, *The Italian...*, 159-184.

145. On the Barozzi codices that ended up in the Bodleian Library, see p. 426 herein.
146. See L. Geiger, *Johann Reuchlin: Sein Leben und seine Werke*, Leipzig 1871; Id., *Johann Reuchlins Briefwechsel*, Tübingen 1875. See also *Johannes Reuchlin 1455-1522. Festgabe seiner Vaterstadt Pforzheim zur 500. Wiederkehr seines Geburtstages*, ed. V.M. Krebs, 1955.
147. On the beginnings of Hebrew studies in Europe during the Renaissance, see generally J. Friedman, *The Most Ancient Testimony: Sixteenth-Century Christian-Hebraica in the Age of Renaissance Nostalgia*, Athens (Ohio), Ohio University Press, 1983.
148. See Greswell, *A View* I, 99.
149. On Guillaume Fichet's printing house see pp. 111, 182 herein.
150. Reuchlin himself mentions the time he spent studying under Argyropoulos in the introduction to his *Rudimenta Hebraica*, vol. I, Pforzheim, Thomas Anshelm, 1506, 20; see also G. Cammelli, 'Ιωάννης Ἀργυρόπουλος (= *I dottori bizantini e le origini dell' Umanesimo II: Giovanni Argiropulo*, tr. D. Arvanitakis), Athens, Kotinos, 2006, 116-118.
151. Apart from the fact that he taught at Basel between 1473 and 1477, we possess very few biographical data on Andronikos Kontovlakes (Kontovlakas). See *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit VI and Graecogermania: Griechischstudien deutscher Humanisten: die Editionstätigkeit der Griechen in der italienischen Renaissance (1469-1523)*, ed. D. Harlfinger et al. in memory of Rudolf Pfeiffer, Wolfenbüttel, 1989, 311-322.
152. Giovanni da Ragusa (ca. 1380-1443), a Dominican theologian from Croatia who had studied theology in Paris, moved to Rome during the pontificate of Martin V and received many honours and distinctions from the Pope and the College of Cardinals. He presided over the Council of Basel, served as papal legate in Constantinople and as Bishop of Argos, and was also a zealous man of letters. He learnt Greek in Constantinople to acquire a balanced view on the doctrinal differences that separated the two Churches. He left behind a rich oeuvre, but some of his works are not extant today: see A. Reinhart, 'John of Ragusa', *CE* VIII, 476-477.
153. See Heckethorn, *The Printers*, 30.
154. Johann Amerbach originally published Thomas Bricot's abridgement of the Aristotelian works on logic: *Textus abbreviatus in cursum totius logicae Aristotelis*, 14/92 (GW 5530), and in ca. 1498 a miscellaneous volume containing Francesco Filelfo's Latin translation of the *Rhetorica* (*Indice* 3909).
155. See Renaudet, *Préréforme*, 640.
156. *Ibid.*, 366. See also pp. 200, 207, 208 and 212, herein. On Reuchlin and Lefèvre, see Bedouelle, *Lefèvre d'Étaples...*, 83-87.
157. See M. Brod, *Johannes Reuchlin und sein Kampf*, Stuttgart 1965, 80.
158. Reuchlin's most important work on the Cabbala (a mystical Jewish theological tradition developed in the Middle Ages) and Pythagorean philosophy was published after years of research with the title *De verbo mirifico* (an allusion to the name of God). It was dedicated to Johann Dalberg and printed at Amerbach's press after 1494 (*Census*, R. 154).
159. The first edition was printed at Hagenau by Thomas Anshelm (Brunet, IV/2, 1253). Reuchlin dedicated this publication to Pope Leo X, the son of Lorenzo de' Medici; in the preface he expresses his hope that it would please and gratify him, for it brings

the views of Pythagoras and his followers to the fore once again, as well as Pythagorean writings that were preserved in the Hebrew Cabbala. See J. Reuchlin, *On the Art of the Kabbalah: De Arte Cabalistica*, tr. M. and Sarah Goodman, introd. G. Lloyd Jones, Lincoln/London, University of Nebraska Press, 1993; and generally Moshe Idel, 'Defining Kabbalah: The Kabbalah of the Divine Names', in *Mystics of the Book: Themes, Topics and Typologies*, ed. Robert A. Herrera, New York, Peter Lang, 1997, 97-122.

160. Brunet, IV/2, 1253.

This is the first Christian attempt to provide a complete overview of the Hebrew language, with a grammar and dictionary. The book was arranged in three chapters: the third, on grammar, relies largely on a similar work by David Kimchi. Besides compiling this essential textbook, Reuchlin was sufficiently confident of his knowledge to point out errors in the Vulgate. Expressing his satisfaction for this, he cites Horace's boast: *Exegi monumentum aere perennius* ('I have raised a monument more lasting than bronze', *Odes*, III.30.1).

In the exhibition accompanying the symposium on *Graecogermania*, a copy of the Hebrew grammar from Erasmus's private library (containing the handwritten inscription *Sum Erasmi*) was put on display; this may very well have been a gift from Reuchlin.

161. See Elisheva Carlebach, 'Critical Introduction', in J. Reuchlin, *Recommendation Whether to Confiscate, Destroy and Burn All Jewish Books*, tr. P. Wortsman, New York, Paulist Press, 2000; P. Wortsman, 'Foreword', *ibid.*

162. See *STCGB*, 732.

163. See S.A. Hirsch, 'John Pfefferkorn and the

Battle of Books', in S.A. Hirsch, *Essays*, London, 1965.

164. See *STCGB*, 733. This volume, published by Reuchlin in 1514, included letters written chiefly by Crotus Rubeanus and other humanists, between 1510 and 1513 mainly. These letters were intended to provide support for Reuchlin against Pfefferkorn and his followers. This is an ingenious instance of 'simulated epistolography', i.e. letters allegedly written by Reuchlin's detractors which highlight their extreme scholasticism and their ignorance of Latin; through a series of satirical devices, these persons are ridiculed and their ineptitude is established.

165. See *STCGB*, 732. This second collection, which is signed by friends of Reuchlin's like Ulrich von Hütten and Hermann von dem Busche, introduced the genre of satire into German literature.

166. See Allen, II, 10-11 (epist. 300).

167. See Allen, II, 657-658 (epist. 562).

168. See Ktziah Spanier, 'Christian Hebraism and the Jewish Christian Polemic', in *Hebrew and the Bible in America: The First Two Centuries*, ed. Shalom Goldman, Hanover (New Hampshire), Brandeis University Press, 1993, 8.

169. See Renouard, 17; Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce*, 114.

170. See *Der Briefwechsel des Konrad Celtis*, ed. H. Rupprich, Munich 1934, 517. On Aldus's Academy in Germany see M. von Kleehoven, 'Aldus Manutius und der Plan einer deutschen Ritterakademie', *La Bibliofilia* LII (1950) 169-177; L. Donati, 'La seconda Accademia Aldina ed una lettera ad Aldo Manuzio trascurata da bibliografi', *La Bibliofilia* LIII (1951) 54-59.

171. See U. Christ, 'Die Bibliothek Reuchlins in Pforzheim', *ZB* 52 (1924) 27 ff.

172. *Ibid.*, 32.
173. *Ibid.*, 36-51.
174. *Ibid.*, 40.
175. *Ibid.*, 51-81.
176. See Christ, 'Die Bibliothek...', 51-81; on Aldus's edition see also p. 158 herein.
177. On Ianos Laskaris and his involvement in Greek publishing at Florence, see p. 153 herein.
178. On Kalliergis and Vlastos see p. 153 herein.
179. See *Charta* I, 234.
180. *Ibid.*, 236-238.
181. See *Catalogue des Incunables de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1981.
182. See P. Aquilon and Denise Hillard, 'La bibliothèque de Michel de Chamelet, Juriste Bourbonnais', in *Le Livre et L'Historien, Études offertes en l'honneur de Professeur Henri-Jean Martin*, Geneva, Librairie Droz, 1997, 95-107 (= Aquilon and Hillard).
183. Chamelet probably belonged to the Bourbon court; according to archival sources, he was head of notaries and comptroller/commissaries: see Aquilon and Hillard, 95.
184. *Ibid.*, 96.
185. See Émile Picot, 'Les professeurs et les étudiants de langue française à l'Université de Pavie au XV^e et au XVI^e siècle', *Bulletin philologique et historique*, 1915, 8-86.
186. See Aquilon and Hillard, 101-106.
187. *Ibid.*, 101.
188. *Ibid.*, 101-106.
189. See P. Louis Jacob, *Traité des plus belles bibliothèques*, Paris 1644.
190. See pp. 21, 24 herein.
191. See B. Bennassar, *L'inquisition espagnole, XV^e-XVI^e siècle*, Paris 1983, 284 ff.
192. See generally Virgilio Pinto Crespo, *Censura inquisitorial en la segunda mitad del siglo XVI*, dissertation written at a private university in Madrid, 1977.
193. See K. Wagner, *El doctor Constantino Ponce de la Fuente: el hombre y su biblioteca*, Seville 1979; Dominique de Courcelles, 'Le Livre, le Feu et le Temps. "La Confesión de un picador" du Sévillan Constantino Ponce de la Fuente brûlée en 1560 et l' "Histoire de Martyrs" du Genevois Jean Crespin (1608)', in *Le Pouvoir des Livres à la Renaissance, Actes de la journée d'étude organisée par l'École nationale des Chartes et le Centre de recherche sur l'Espagne des XVI^e et XVIII^e siècles* (Paris, 15 Mai 1997, réunis par Dominique de Courcelles), Paris, École des Chartes, 1998 (= Courcelles, 'Le Livre'), 143-156.
194. See F. Schreiber, *Simon de Colines: An annotated catalogue of 230 examples of his press, 1520-1546*, introd. J. Veyrin-Forrer, Provo, Utah, 1955, 62-63 (61).
L. de Carvajal (1501-1552), a Spanish scholar and member of the Franciscan order, disagreed with Erasmus over the *Apologia monasticae* (Salamanca, 1528) and Erasmus replied in his *Responsio* (Basel, 1529), thus prolonging the quarrel with new blasts and counterblasts.
195. See Courcelles, 'Le Livre', 144.
196. *Ibid.*, 143.
197. This *Privilegio* is dated 1548 and pertains to the fifth edition of the *Suma de doctrina christiana*, 1551.
198. See Wagner, *El doctor...*, op. cit.
199. *Ibid.*; see also Courcelles, 'Le Livre', 144-145.
200. See the full text of the verdict, published in Benitez de Lugo, 'Constantino Ponce y la Inquisición de Sevilla', *Revista de España* 104 (1885) 199-200; and for a French translation see Courcelles, 'Le Livre', 144-145.
201. See Courcelles, 'Le Livre', 145.
202. See T. Graham, 'Matthew Parker's manu-

- scripts: an Elizabethan library and its use', in *LBI* I, 322-341.
203. On the libraries of Fisher and More, see pp. 292 and 257 respectively herein.
204. See pp. 326 ff herein.
205. See *Statuta Academiae Cantabrigiensis*, Cambridge 1785, 137; K. Jensen, 'Universities and colleges', in *LBI* I, 346.
206. See S. Jayne, *Library Catalogues of the English Renaissance*, Berkeley/Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1956 (= Jayne, *Library*), 41.
207. *Ibid.*, 41-42.
208. See H. Swinburne, *Wills*, London 1803⁷, II, 764-766, 770-797.
209. See *Cambridge University Inventories 1556-1581*, Cambridge University Archives; Jayne, *Library*, 9.
210. See J.A. Griffiths, *An Index to Wills Proved in the Chancellor's Court at Oxford*, Oxford 1862; [Anonymous], *Calendar of Wills Proved in the Vice Chancellor's Court at Cambridge 1501-1765*, Cambridge 1907.
211. See Jayne, *Library*, 40.
212. *Ibid.*, 41.
213. See J.C.T. Oates, *Cambridge University Library: A history, 1: From the beginnings to the Copyright Act of Queen Anne*, Cambridge 1986, 81.
214. See Jayne, *Library*, 42.
215. See *Cambridge University Wills*, vol. I, fols. 13^v-14^r; Jayne, *Library*, 14, 186.
216. See the catalogue of Abraham Tilman (ca. 1589-1592), in Jayne, *Library*, *Appendices*, 187-188.
217. See generally R. Weiss, *Humanism in England in the Fifteenth Century*, Oxford 1941; Id., 'The Library of John Tiptoft', *Bodleian Quarterly Review* VIII (1936) 157-164; R.J. Mitchell, 'A Renaissance Library: The Collection of John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester', *The Library. Transactions of the Bibliographical Society*, 4th ser., XVIII (1937) 67-83.
- Of Grey's codices, 98 have survived in the Balliol College Library at Oxford: see H.O. Coxe, *Catalogus Codicum Mss qui in Collegiis...*, Oxford 1852, I: Balliol.
218. See C.R. Elrington (ed.), *The whole works of the Most Rev. James Ussher, D.D. (1847-1864)*, XVI, 46-47; and on Archbishop Tobie Matthew, who founded the public library at Bristol in 1614, see A.I. Doyle, 'The printed books of the last monks of Durham', *The Library*, 6th ser., 10 (1988) 217-218.
219. See Hoffmann II, 406.
220. On the first Greek book printed at Oxford (John Chrysostom's *Homiliae*, ex officina typographica Josephi Barnesii), see N. Barker, *The Oxford University Press and the Spread of Learning, 1478-1978*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1978, 7.
221. See *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain*, ed. D. McKitterick, vol. 6, 1830-1914, Cambridge University Press 2009.
222. On Oxford see N.R. Ker, 'The provision of books', in *HUO* III, 441-486; J.P.W. Gaskell, *Trinity College Library: The first 150 years*, Cambridge 1980.
- The situation with the so-called 'Latin Trade' at Oxford reflects, more or less, the totality of book trade between the great universities: see G. Pollard and A. Ehrman, *The Distribution of Books by Catalogue from the Invention of Printing to A.D. 1800*, Cambridge, Roxburghe Club, 1965.
223. See pp. 421 ff herein.
224. See R.J. Roberts and A.G. Watson (eds.), *John Dee's Library Catalogue*, London 1990; J. Roberts, 'Extending the frontiers: Scholar collectors', in *LBI* I (= Roberts, 'Extending'), 295-302.
225. See Roberts, 'Extending', 300.

226. See p. 330 herein.
227. See N.H. Clulee, *John Dee's Natural Philosophy: Between science and religion*, London/New York, 1988; W.H. Sherman, *John Dee: The politics of reading and writing in the English Renaissance*, Amherst, MI, 1995.
228. See J. Benzing, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. Und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet*, Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1963, 224-225. Arnold Birckmann maintained a bookshop in London from 1515 to 1518; during his stay there he occasionally acted as an intermediary promoting books by Erasmus and persons belonging to his circle, such as Fisher and More: see *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, vol. I, ed. P.G. Bietenholz and T.B. Deutscher, Toronto, University of Toronto, 1985, 149.
229. See Roberts, 'Extending', 301.
230. See Roberts and Watson, *John Dee's library catalogue*, 197.
231. See Roberts, 'Extending', 302.
232. See D. McKitterick, 'Andrew Perne and his books', in D. McKitterick (ed.), *Andrew Perne: quatercentenary studies* [Cambridge Bibliographical Society Monographs, II], Cambridge 1991.
233. On Pinelli see p. 342.
234. See E. Leedham-Green, 'Perne's Wills', in McKitterick, *Andrew Perne...*, 79-119.
235. See Roberts, 'Extending', 304; and on his contribution to the university library see Oates, *Cambridge University...*, 89-141.
236. See esp. E.I. Samurin, *Geschichte der bibliotekarisch-bibliographischen Klassifikation*, 2 vols., Leipzig 1964-1967; M.N. Malclès, *La bibliographie*, Paris 1956; A. Rey, *Encyclopédies et dictionnaires*, Paris 1982.
237. See H. Fischer, 'Conrad Gesner (1516-1565) as bibliographer: A study in humanism', *The Library*, Vth series, XXI (1966) 269-281; L. Balsamo, 'Il canone bibliografico di Konrad Gesner e il concetto di biblioteca pubblica nel Cinquecento', in *Studi di biblioteconomia e storia del libro in onore di Francesco Barberi*, Rome, Associazione Italiana Biblioteche 1976, 77-95; A. Moreni, 'La Bibliotheca Universalis di Konrad Genser e gli Indici dei libri proibiti', *La Bibliofilia* 2 (1986) 131-150.
- The *Bibliotheca Universalis* did not simply preserve diverse and largely obscure works, but was also employed as a tool for compiling the lists of books the Church considered unfit for publication. The inventories of heretical books at printing presses in Milan and Venice, compiled in 1554, were used five years later for the compilation of Paul IV's *Index*.
238. See H.J. Martin, 'Classements et conjonctures', in *Histoire de l'édition française*, eds. R. Chartier, H.J. Martin et al., vol. I, Promodis 1982, 437.
239. See F. Roth, *Wilibald Pirckheimer. ein Lebensbild aus dem Zeitalter des Humanismus und der Reformation* [Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte, no. 21], Halle, 1887; *Willibald Pirckheimer 1470/1970*, Nürnberg, Glock und Lutz, 1970.
240. Bilibaldi Pirckheimeri, *Opera*, Franf., 1610, 63-92.
241. See M. Kerney, 'Bilibald Pirckheimer', in *Contributions toward a Dictionary of English Book-Collectors*, vol. I, London, 1892.
242. See *Opera*, 48; E. Offenbacher, 'La Bibliothèque de Wilibald Pirckheimer', *La Bibliofilia* XL (1938) 241-263 (= Offenbacher, 'La Bibliothèque').
243. See E. Klüpfel, *De vita et scriptis Conradi Celtis Protucii*, vol. II, Freiburg 1827, 82-83; Offenbacher, 'La Bibliothèque', 243.
244. See Offenbacher, 'La Bibliothèque', 243.

245. See W.P. Eckert and C. Imhoff, *Willibald Pirckheimer, Dürers Freund: Im Spiegel seines Lebens, seiner Werke und seiner Umwelt*, Köln, Wienand, 1982.
246. See H. Rupprich, *Wilibald Pirckheimer und die erste Reise Dürers nach Italien*, Vienna 1930.
247. See M. Thausing, *Dürer. Geschichte seines Lebens und seiner Kunst*, Leipzig 1876, 388-391.
248. See G. Pauli, 'Bücherzeichen von Albrecht Dürer', *Imprimatur. Ein Jahrbuch für Bücherfreunde*, IV (1933) 40-41.
249. See Offenbacher, 'La Bibliothèque', 245.
250. See A. Reimann, *Pirckheimer-Studien*, Berlin 1900; Offenbacher, 'La Bibliothèque', 250-251.
251. See A. Németh, 'Willibald Pirckheimer and his Greek codices from Buda', *GJ* (2011) 175-198.
252. *Ibid.*, 177.
253. See Hoffmann II, 319.
254. See Németh, 'Willibald Pirckheimer...', 178-180.
255. See Offenbacher, 'La Bibliothèque', 250-251.
256. See *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, New Series, ed. J. Forshall, vol. I, first section, *The Arundel Manuscripts*, London 1834.
257. See Offenbacher, 'La Bibliothèque', 251.
258. See p. 370 (fig. 39) herein.
259. On Beatus, see mainly A. Horawitz, 'Beatus Rhenanus. Ein biographischer Versuch', *Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften* 70 (1872) 189-244; *Annuaire 1985. Spécial 500^e anniversaire de la naissance de Beatus Rhenanus*, Sélestat, Les amis de la bibliothèque humaniste de Sélestat, 1985; and esp. J. Sturm, 'Vie de Beatus Rhenanus', tr. C. Munier, H. Meyer, in *Annuaire 1985*, 17-18; N. Holzberg, 'Beatus Rhenanus

(1485-1547). Eine biographischforschungs-geschichtliche Bestandsaufnahme zum 500. Geburtstag des Humanisten', in *Annuaire 1985*, 19-32; P. Adam, *L'humanisme à Sélestat. L'école. Les humanistes. La bibliothèque*, Sélestat 1987 (= Adam, *L'humanisme*), 51-67.

260. On Reuchlin see pp. 343 ff.
261. Hieronymus Gebwiler (1473-1545), was born in Kaysersberg, studied at Basel and then at Paris, where he attended Lefèvre d'Étaples's philosophy courses (see below, n. 263). Deeply influenced by Italian humanism, he taught Greek at the humanist school of Sélestat from 1501 to 1509: see J. Knepper, *Das Schul-und Unterrichtswesen im Elsass von den Anfängen bis gegen das Jahr 1530*, Strasbourg 1905, 329-335.
262. On his studies at Paris and his circle of acquaintances, see S. Musial, 'Beatus Rhenanus étudiant de philosophie à Paris (1503-1507)', in *Annuaire 1985*, 271-279; C. Vecce, 'Il giovane Beato Renano e gli umanisti italiani a Parigi all'inizio del XVI secolo', in *Annuaire 1985*, 134-140.
263. 'Ce dieu des philosophes Lefèvre d'Étaples': see Musial, 'Beatus Rhenanus...', 272. On Lefèvre d'Étaples see pp. 160, 182, 190, 200, 208 herein.
264. Georgios Hermonymos Spartiates was the first to teach Greek in Paris and, among others, he tutored Erasmus: see pp. 181, 186 herein. There is no monograph on Hermonymos: see *Charta I*, 292-293.
265. Johannes Cuno (Norimontanus or Conon) was born between 1462 and 1467 at Nürnberg and died in 1513. A passionate Hellenist who studied under Ioannes Grigoropoulos, he was the only Northern humanist to make his presence felt in the printing houses producing Greek books in Italy. He assimilated the method of

- work imposed by Aldus on his press in Venice and the circle of scholars who worked for it. In fact, he used the famous printing house as a model for the establishment of a similar academy in Germany. On Cuno see the monograph by Martin Sichterl, *Johannes Cuno, ein Wegbereiter des Griechischen in Deutschland. Ein biographisch-kodikologische Studie*, Heidelberg 1978; see also *Charta* I, 370-371.
266. See p. 248 herein.
267. See Adam, *L'humanisme*, 56. Froben was born ca. 1460 at Hammelburg and died in 1526. He became one of the foremost humanist printers in Northern Europe. He was especially meticulous in providing a sound recension for his editions and followed Aldus's example in the way he organized his printing press. He gave German books their distinctive character by commissioning eminent artists, such as Dürer and Urs Graf, to design the title pages and produce the illustrations. On Froben see Heckethorn, *The Printers*, 84-112; P.G. Bietenholz, *Basle and France in the Sixteenth Century*, Geneva 1971; Geldner, I, 123-124. See also p. 248 herein, on his collaboration with Erasmus.
268. See Adam, *L'humanisme*, 56. On Beatus's friendship with Amerbach's son, Bonifacius, see J.-C. Margolin, 'Beatus Rhenanus et Boniface Amerbach: une amitié de trente ans', in *Annuaire* 1985, 157-175.
269. See pp. 229-230 herein; also *Charta* I, 371-372.
270. For a list of his works see A. Horawitz and K. Hartfelder, *Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus* (Leipzig, 1886), repr. Hildesheim, G. Olms, 1966, 592-618; see also Adam, *L'humanisme*, 59-67.
271. The fact that Beatus published Paterculus's manuscript containing his *Compendium of Roman History* betokens his dedication to producing trustworthy editions; this manuscript had been copied in the tenth century and was riddled with errors. The scribe who copied it introduced new errors and omissions of his own, and it took years of painstaking personal effort before he eventually completed this edition in 1522: see Adam, *L'humanisme*, 61-62. On *Rerum germanicarum* see Adam, *L'humanisme*, 65-67.
272. Conrad Peutinger was born at Augsburg in 1465 and died there in 1547. He studied in Italy and remained there for forty years. He was initiated into the humanist ideals and especially into the book world by Pomponio Leto, that idiosyncratic figure who taught in Rome. His love of the classical world led him to collect numerous ancient artefacts, ranging from coins to statues and inscriptions: see R. Pfeiffer, 'Conrad Peutinger und die humanistische Welt', *Augusta* (1955) 179-186.
273. See Adam, *L'humanisme*, 58; H. Kaiser, 'Aus den letzten Jahren des Beatus Rhenanus', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 31 (1916) 30-52.
274. See Adam, *L'humanisme*, 86.
275. See Adam, *L'humanisme*, 86; G. Knod, 'Aus der Bibliothek des Beatus Rhenanus: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Humanismus', in J. Géný and G. Knod, *Die Bibliothek zu Schlettstadt*, Part II, 11-19, 47-55.
276. See A. Horawitz, 'Die Bibliothek und Correspondenz des Beatus Rhenanus zu Schlettstadt', *Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften* 78 (1874) 313-340; Adam, *L'humanisme*, 89.
277. See Knod, 'Aus der Bibliothek...', 81-85; on Rhenanus's relationship with Cuno, see Horawitz and Hartfelder, *Briefwechsel...*, 5, 30, 39, 43, 45-50, 68, 72, 599, 629.

278. See Adam, *L'humanisme*, 88.
 279. *Ibid.*
 280. On Pirckheimer see pp. 364 ff herein.
 281. See Knod, 'Aus der Bibliothek...', 81-85; Adam, *L'humanisme*, 89.
 282. See Adam, *L'humanisme*, 9-36.
 283. Dringenberg was a very gifted teacher who taught at Sélestat for decades. His views on the teaching method were the product of serious thought and in this he influenced the humanist school of Sélestat: see Adam, *L'humanisme*, 12-14.
 284. See Adam, *L'humanisme*, 18-21.

285. See Adam, *L'humanisme*, 77-83.
 286. These literary societies, or small academies, were already being established by the late fourteenth century in Italy, especially at Florence. Examples of such societies are those of Acciaiuoli and Pomponio Leto, Cardinal Bessarion's *Chorus Accademiae Florentinae* and Pordenone's *Liviana*: see *Charta* I, 463. On the Sélestat literary society see J. Gény, *Die Reichsstadt Schlettstadt und ihr Anteil an den social-politischen und religiösen Bewegungen der Jahre 1490-1536*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1900, 56.

VII

THE NEW LITERATURE
FILLS LIBRARY SHELVES;
AND
A HISTORICAL LIBRARY

Pantagruel.

Les horribles et espouventables

faictz & prouesses du tresrenome

Pantagruel Roy des Dipsodes/

fils du grand geant Gargantua

tuant & disposant nouvelles

ment par maistr

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pres nostre dame de Confort.

THE NEW LITERATURE FILLS LIBRARY SHELVES; AND A HISTORIC LIBRARY

*New forms of literature in the aftermath of the Italian Renaissance,
the influence of the classics; of Petrarch and the Pléiade,
and an exemplary university library: the Bodleian*

The new literature fills library shelves. The humanist movement, which was born in Italy early in the fifteenth century and gathered enormous momentum in the middle of that century, nurtured European thought in Northern Europe; and by about 1530 it had swamped the centres of learning, both public and private, in every European country. Classical literature was re-established in its position of supremacy and the great libraries that came into being in monasteries, universities and the palaces of local rulers contained the entire surviving corpus of Graeco-Roman literature. The invention of printing, too, gave a new dimension to the reproduction and distribution of books from 1470 onwards and gave a decisive boost to the formation of libraries by anyone with a mind to do so, even people who were not particularly well off. The book trade did not long remain exclusively in the hands of printers: it was soon taken over by professional booksellers, who gradually ‘internationalized’ the market by attending the regular annual book fairs, such as those of Lyon and Frankfurt. Indeed, Robert Estienne described the Frankfurt Book Fair as a reincarnation of classical Athens.

From the early sixteenth century onwards the range of subjects covered by books coming from the presses was no longer limited to Graeco-Roman and Christian literature, new vernacular translations of the Bible and the Greek New Testament and the writings generated by the Reformation and Counter-Reformation: it was extended to include the new literature of writers from Petrarch and Boccaccio to Ariosto, Fernando de Rojas and Machiavelli.¹ Many of those works were instrumental in creating a particular perspective on the literary tradition, because either they influenced the way books were written or else they were adapted, like Ariosto’s *Orlando Furioso*, which ends with the eponymous hero being restored to sanity while Astolfo takes Orlando’s place as the man driven mad by love.² Ariosto had

1. Title page of *Rabelais*, Pantagruel, 1532.

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fills library shelves;
and a historical
library*

*Publishing advances
in a new direction*

his admirers abroad as well as in Italy: most of them were in France and Spain, where his work was highly acclaimed, translated into French and Spanish and widely imitated. He was taken as a yardstick by the literati, and in 1572 a collective volume published containing all the imitations of his odes, which exerted a manifest influence on French writers. Montaigne makes no attempt to conceal his admiration for Ariosto's lively imagination and his gift for skipping from one story to the next, and many of Ariosto's heroes and heroines, like Olympia, reappear in the work of the poets of the Pléiade. All these literary preoccupations brought forth a spate of new books and provided the stimulus for new approaches to literature.

In addition to this creative literature, a new genre of writing came into being in the early sixteenth century: it was in a manner of speaking a continuation of the medieval tradition, at first with a tendency to popularization. The works in question were pseudo-historical romances or 'novels', full of incident and dealing with the lives of knights-errant, which were very popular with the general public. One such was *Le Roman d'Alexandre*, in circulation from the thirteenth century, which was translated into many languages, even Polish, and was first published in print in 1510; the Greek version, again in verse, first appeared in print in 1525 in Venice, as part of a new publishing programme. The issues and reissues of these works of popular literature, amounting to an extremely large corpus, had a readership of their own and formed a separate section in every library. *Les Quatre Fils Aymon*, for example, a romance with Renaud de Montauban as its hero, was reprinted twenty-seven times and its success led to translations and adaptations which pushed up both the size of the print runs and the number of readers. A case in point is the romance *Amadís de Gaula*, written by Montalvo in Spain in 1518, was adapted as early as 1524 by Nicolas Herberrey de Essarts, and no less a person than Montaigne had a copy of it (Seville, 1549) in his library.

This peaceful humanist atmosphere prevailing in Europe, with Erasmus touring all the centres of learning from Rome to Oxford to promote Christian humanism, began to be soured in the 1530s, when, at the political as well as the religious level, it started to show signs of degenerating into serious dissension and conflict. The Roman Church was doing everything in its power to uphold its prestige and guard Catholic doctrine against all challenges to papal infallibility. The first challenge came from the humanist approach to the truth, which sought to subject everything derived from the medieval tradition to a re-examination according to the principles of textual scholarship. Among the fruits of this approach were Erasmus's edition of the Greek New Testament, which directly challenged St. Jerome's Vulgate, and the vernacular translations of Coverdale and Luther, which poured oil upon the flames

of theological dispute and created a divergence of opinion which was to lead to the schism between Catholics and Protestants. The Reformers carried the day and Geneva came to be a bastion of the Protestant theologians, while the so-called Counter-Reformation attempted to win back the adherents of Catholicism by means of plausible arguments and the threat of eternal punishment.

From the middle of the sixteenth century, Europe was a battleground. Religious wars were raging, nationalism was on the rampage, dissidents were being persecuted and accounts being settled, the Ottomans were advancing into the Balkans and threatening the frontiers of Western Europe, the dread of the plague was in everyone's mind, and everywhere there lurked an indefinable fear stemming from those in any kind of authority, casting gloom over the whole landscape. This being the case, both contemporary literature and every move to translate the Scriptures into the vernacular of the country were subject to constant censorship by the representatives of the Roman Church: it often happened that books were placed on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* and eventually consigned to the flames. The mid sixteenth century was a period when the 'cross-border war' against books intensified to a pitch not seen before or since: paper, the rebellious pen and its ally, the printing press, were ranged against censorship, dogmatism, the Inquisition and the disgrace of the sentence of death by public burning passed on so many books. The free humanist spirit was subject to strict supervision and constraints.

Italian literature under constraint. The Council of Trento (1543-1563) demonstrated the intellectual and 'political' character of the Counter-Reformation, for the Roman Church imposed new measures and set new rules to counteract the Refor-



2. Title page of Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*, printed in Venice in 1600.

mation. New religious orders were founded, including the Oratorians, the Ursulines, the Lazarists and, above all, the Jesuits, all of which made it their mission to restore the authority of the Catholic Church. In spite of the anti-papist campaign launched by Juan de Valdés, no Italian city apart from Venice dared to dispute the Pope's authority. And so, although it had had to resort to censorship to maintain control, the Roman Church had succeeded in imposing a discipline that curbed freedom of expression and shackled all nonconformist thinking.

Turning now to the field of literature, which is reflected in the publishing map, one finds signs of staleness and lack of spontaneity even before 1550, and the new

books being written by Italian intellectuals have no genuine heroes. This was mainly due to the fact that the 'art of poetry' of Aristotle and Horace was regarded as gospel, and its acceptance by Torquato Tasso (*Arte poetica*, 1565) and J.C. Scaliger (*Poetices libri septem*, 1556) left no room for the romantic approach, as Tasso and Scaliger had set the framework of the commonly accepted poetic form. Only a few men of letters managed to break out of the bonds of classicism, like the Florentine comic playwright Gian Maria Cecchi (1518-1587), the poet Anton Francesco Grazzini, known as Il Lasca (1503-1584), and, of course, Giordano Bruno in his *Candelaiio* (1587).

In the realm of lyric poetry, the models followed by Italian poets were not Theocritus or Pindar but Petrarch. However, the poetic form arising from

this tendency shows an affinity with the medieval romance and is imbued with Christian beliefs; and this latter trend was encouraged by the Church, for it amounted to a school of Christian epic poetry. In these epic verses the anti-Catholics are castigated while local rulers and civic dignitaries are fulsomely praised, and so a climate of unity in the ranks of the Roman Church is created. A typical example is Tasso, who from an early age had dreamed of writing an epic



3. Title page of Giordano Bruno, *Del infinito universo et Mondi*, printed in Venice in 1584.

account of the recovery of Jerusalem: eventually he completed that work in 1575 and entitled it *Gerusalemme liberata* (*Jerusalem Delivered*).³ This Christian epic telling the story of the liberation of Jerusalem by the Crusaders was well received by a large section of the reading public, who found echoes of Homer and Virgil – and of Ariosto, too – in the plot, with the result that it was soon selling extremely well and became one of the most popular works of Italian literature.

Giordano Bruno followed different paths in looking for a way of putting his thoughts into words. An intransigent and belligerent man, he sang the praises of knowledge based on experience and reason, and in his book *Della causa, principio ed uno* (1584) he railed against Aristotelianism and all kinds of dogmatism.⁴ But one of his works, *Spaccio della bestia Trionfante* (1584), in which he describes a firmament cleansed of the constellations of evil, with astral symbolisms alluding to the house of Prudence and Truth, was to result in his being led to the stake. Even in the face of death by burning, however, his ready wit did not desert him, for he proclaimed as he was being led to the stake, ‘Perchance you who pronounce my sentence are in greater fear than I who receive it.’



4. Portrait of Joachim Du Bellay.

The intellectual atmosphere in Catholic France. An insatiable thirst for knowledge, a sceptical mind, a scorn for established institutions and an expression of the authentic Gallic

satirical spirit were characteristics to which French readers were introduced in the two great prose epics by Rabelais, *Pantagruel* (1532) and *Gargantua* (1534).⁵ The heroes of his books are not his own inventions, for they have their roots in the medieval tradition, and more specifically in the action-packed chivalrous romances; however, they differ to the extent that they embody the ideals of humanism, the more so since his heroes become steadily more humane from one book to the next. Although his contemporaries could not bring themselves to acknowledge his genius and his views were strongly condemned after his death, his influence spread and his heroes and his satirical style were already being imitated by 1575 in Germany, the Netherlands, Portugal and even England. Nevertheless, the quintessential literary genre of France in the second half of the sixteenth

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fills library shelves;
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century is represented not by Rabelais and other like-minded writers, but by Ronsard and his circle.

A number of young writers of a humanistic turn of mind, some from the Loire valley and some from Lyon, converged on Paris and formed a group which they called La Brigade, in the conviction that they were in a position to create a genre of 'national' poetry.

Their names were Pierre de Ronsard, Joachim du Bellay, Étienne Jodelle, Antoine de Baïf, Jacques Peletier du Mans, Rémy Belleau and Ponthus de Tyard:⁶ seven members, the same as the number of stars in the star cluster of the Pleiades. Their movement calls to mind the Alexandrian period and the circle surrounding the Ptolemies' Universal Library. This initiative, dating from 1556, adopted the motto 'Creativity, not Versification'.

The mentor of some members of the Pléiade, including Ronsard himself, was Jean Dorat (1508-1588), who had a gift for writing elegant verses in three languages – Greek, Latin and French – and received his rightful reward by being appointed 'the King's Poet' (*poeta regius*). Besides composing enormous quantities of verses, he made a name for himself as a translator and interpreter of classical poetry.⁷

Dorat was the first person to publish commentaries on all the Greek dramatists – the tragedians and Aristophanes – and he helped François Tissard with his French translation of the tragedies of Euripides. Under his guidance the members of the Pléiade rediscovered the art of writing dramatic and lyric verses in the manner of ancient Greek and Latin poets; and it was they who supplied the key to the understanding of Callimachus's poems, though Politian had tried earlier. At the same time, Dorat opened a new chapter in the reading of Callimachus's contemporaries Aratus and Theocritus, as well as Apollonius Rhodius and Lycophron. By his teaching and his commentaries the French scholar-poet paved the way for a revival of interest in a body of Greek poetry hitherto unknown in France or anywhere else in Northern Europe. His rhetorical skills, allied to his brilliance as a teacher, filled his lecture halls to capacity and an outstanding pupil of his, the Dutchman Willem Canter, called him the *unicum et optimum Homeri interpretem* with reference to his lectures on Homer's *Odyssey*. His contemporaries credited him with having written more than 50,000 lines of Greek and Latin verse.

Dorat did not start publishing his poems in French until near the end of his life, as his chief motivation was not so much a desire to win public recognition for

*The members
of the Pléiade*

5. Title page of Ronsard's *Oeuvres*, printed in Paris by N. Buon in 1623, with an imposing print by Léonard Gaultier.



LES
OEVVRES
DE PIERRE
DE RONSARD
GENTILHOMME
VANDOSMEYERIN
CE DES POETES
FRANCOIS
*Recueil de ses oeuvres
et des autres de son temps
re. et remarques.*

A PARIS
Chez Nicolas Buon
dans la rue de la Harpe
à l'enseigne de la
Maison de la Harpe.

avec privilège du Roy
M. DC. XXIII

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his poetic gifts through publication of his verses, as his love for and devotion to textual studies and the interpretation of classical literature: Pfeiffer called him 'a poet as well as a critical scholar' and compared him with Philitas. In 1586, two years before Dorat's death, his complete works were published in Paris under the title *Poematia hoc est poematum, epigrammatum, anagrammatum, Funerum, odarum...* But some of his compositions, such as the *Odae triumphales, ad Carolum Lotharingium...*, had been sent to press separately from as early as 1558.

A striking comment on the intellectual atmosphere then prevailing in the Italian centres of learning and the lack of inspiration in such historic cities as Florence, Rome and Naples, can be found in the deep disenchantment felt by Joachim du

Bellay (1522-1560). Du Bellay, living in Rome as secretary to his diplomat uncle, voiced his nostalgia for his homeland in collections of elegiac poems like *Regrets* and *Le songe (The Dream)*, which are reminiscent of Ovid's *Tristia*:

*When I left France to come here –
France and my Anjou, for which
I feel the pricking of desire.*

The poet sings of his loneliness in Rome, a city enmeshed in the machinations of the Holy See, and bemoans his lack of inspiration: 'And my Muses, like strangers, leave me.'

Pierre de Ronsard (1524-1585) devoted himself to poetry more than any other member of the Pléiade, as he con-

sidered it the noblest form of human expression. His *Odes*, published in 1550, were inspired by Pindar, and his *Amours de Cassandre* (1552) by Petrarch.⁸ But the collections of his poems that won over the public are written in a simpler poetic form: they include *Le Bocage (The Grove)*, *Mélanges* (1554) and the second book of *Amours* (1556), which together won him the title of 'the King's Poet' (*poeta regius*). He then retired to the Monastery of Vendômois, where he spent his time



6. François Rabelais in a contemporary engraving.

7. Title page of an anonymous *Volksbuch* entitled *Historia von D. Johann Fausten*, Frankfurt/Main 1587.

HISTORIA

Von D. Johann
Fausten/dem weitbescheynten
Zauberer vnd Schwartzkünstler/
Wie er sich gegen dem Teuffel auff eine be-
nandte zeit verschrieben / Was er hierzwischen für
seltsame Abentheur gesehen / selbst angerich-
tet vnd getrieben / biß er endlich seis-
nen wol verdienten Lohn
empfangen.

Mehrertheils auß seinen eygenen
hinderlassenen Schrifften/ allen hochtragen-
den/ fürwitzigen vnd Gottlosen Menschen zum schreckli-
chen Benspiel/ abschewlichem Exempel/ vnd trew-
herziger Warnung zusammen gezo-
gen/ vnd in Druck ver-
fertiget.

IACOBI IIII

Seyt Gott vnderthänig/ widerstehet dem
Teuffel/ so fleuhet er von euch.

CVM GRATIA ET PRIVILEGIO.

gedruckt in Franckfurt am Mayn/
Durch Johann Spies.

M. D. LXXXVII.

revising his poems for the sole purpose of bequeathing them to future generations with as few imperfections as possible.⁹ Ronsard also exerted a powerful influence on poets outside France, an influence visible in the work of the Polish poet Jan Kochanowski (1530-1584).

German, Danish and Dutch literature find their identity. The revival of poetry-writing in Germany, England and the southern parts of the Low Countries was signalled by the emergence of the gifted poet Jan van der Noot (ca. 1539 – ca. 1600). A committed Calvinist, van der Noot was forced to leave Antwerp and went first to London and then to Köln, where his work set in motion a process of radical



8. Portrait of Jan van der Noot, from a contemporary engraving.

renewal in the literary world. Inspired at first by Petrarch and du Bellay, he wrote poems, including *Het Theatre oft Toon-neel* (*A Theatre for Worldlings*), with notes in prose and illustrations depicting the calamities that can befall mortals. The publication of his sonnets entitled *Het Bosken* (*The Grove*), which came out in London in 1570, coincided with his Dutch translation of the Psalms. But van der Noot's great masterpiece is the epic poem *Das Buch Extasis* (1576), which runs to over 2,000 lines. This was the first major work written in German during the Renaissance.¹⁰

After the collapse of the Holy Roman Empire and the long-running wars with the Swedes, Germany and Denmark sought to establish their national identity through their respective popular literary traditions. The means whereby the national consciousness was brought into being was the Volksbuch. Later scholars viewed the Volksbücher as popular readers, and indeed those collections of comic anecdotes were written to poke fun at persons and things and the way of life of the small-town bourgeoisie.¹¹ In *Die Schildbürger* (*The Burghers of Schilda*, 1598), for example, the citizens of an imaginary town, known for their good sense, pretend to be idiots to avoid the attentions of the powerful local nobility so that they can be left at home in peace, carrying on quietly with their work and the chores of everyday life.¹² It so happened that in 1587 a novel in the Volksbuch tradition was published in Frankfurt and went on to become a best-seller throughout the length and breadth

of Europe. It retells the legend of Georg or Johann Fausten, who falls into the twofold temptation offered by sensual pleasures and bad books.¹³ He invokes evil spirits in the hope of obtaining supernatural powers and strikes a bargain with Mephistopheles, but afterwards he is overcome by remorse and despair and dies a miserable death without having a chance to do penance. This tragedy was enormously successful and was a source of inspiration for Christopher Marlowe, Goethe and others.

Danish literature is heavily indebted to Anders Sørensen Vedel (1542-1616), who in 1575 made a Danish translation of the *Gesta Danorum* by Saxo Grammaticus. This greatly strengthened the people's sense of national identity and laid firm foundations for the development of a national literature.¹⁴ Vedel was elevated to the post of Historiographer Royal and his collection of folk songs entitled *Ej hundrede Danske Viser* (1591) brought the popular tradition into every Dane's library.

The birth of Renaissance poetry in England. Though it may be true that lyric poetry in England did not reach its full flowering until the twilight of the Elizabethan age, late in the sixteenth century, leaving the theatre as the principal medium for the airing of dreams and fantasy, nevertheless the influence of the ancients and Petrarch had been felt by English poets since before the middle of that century. Thomas Wyatt, for example, familiarized English readers with the sonnet form,¹⁵ and

Thomas Watson started his career as a translator of Petrarch before publishing in 1580 a collection of love poems entitled *The Hecatompethia or Passionate Centurie of Love*.¹⁶ These were isolated instances, of course, otherwise Philip Sidney would not have written *An Apology for Poetry* (or *The Defence of Poesie*) in 1579 (published 1586).¹⁷ In this manifesto he set out to castigate his compatriots for their dilatoriness, compared with the other peoples of Europe, in taking up the writing of poetry. In about 1582 Sidney wrote *Astrophel and Stella*, published in 1591, which included 107 sonnets laying the foundations of chivalrous poetry. Lastly, Edmund Spenser (1549/1552-1599), in his twelve-volume poem *The Faerie Queene*,



9. Portrait of Sir Thomas Wyatt by Hans Holbein.

stated that his purpose in writing it was purely and simply to ‘fashion a gentleman or noble person’, in other words to set out the rules that ought to be binding on the nobles, with reference both to their behaviour and to the virtues they should cultivate.¹⁸

The great works of English literature written in the second half of the sixteenth century, with the exception of works for the theatre, were addressed to the aristocracy, like Spenser’s *Faerie Queene* and especially *Euphues, or the Anatomy of Wit* by John Lyly (ca. 1514-1606), which sold extremely well.¹⁹ The latter work exemplifies the tendency, noticeable in the Elizabethan period, to coin unusual expres-



10. Portrait of Luís Vaz de Camões by François Gérard.

sions – neologisms that would help to breed wit. The success of *Euphues* turned Lyly away from the academic career he had hoped for at Oxford: from then on he devoted himself to literature and joined the ‘University Wits’, a group of writers close to Oxford and Cambridge academic circles, who wrote mainly prose works and plays and were noted for their bantering style.

European literary masterpieces of the late sixteenth century. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the European intellectual firmament was dominated by four writers: Camões, Montaigne, Cervantes and Shakespeare. All four of them, active in different parts of Europe, were seekers after

wisdom in accordance with the precepts of Erasmus and Pico concerning the human ideal; but at the same time the heroes they created were often far removed from humanistic models and closer to the realities of everyday life.

Luís Vaz de Camões. Luís Vaz de Camões (ca. 1524-1580), scholar and humanist and a troubadour in the old sense of the word, was a man who travelled with an open and enquiring mind, seeking out the experiences of an entire civilization, observing its contradictions at first hand, trying to overcome them and smooth them over in his writing.²⁰ Following in the steps of the Portuguese explorers and seafarers, he described his adventures in the eastern seas in his great epic *Os Lusíades* (*The Lusíads*, 1572). In this, his life’s work, written in the true spirit of the Renais-

sance and in conformity with Pico's humanistic ideals, Camões hails the greatness of the human race and its triumph over the natural environment. The epic evolves into a metaphysical drama in which gods and mortals fight for immortality, with the mortals emerging as victors! It also describes natural phenomena and places and makes use of geographical terms based on the Ptolemaic geographical tradition, with the result that it can truly be described as an encyclopaedic work.

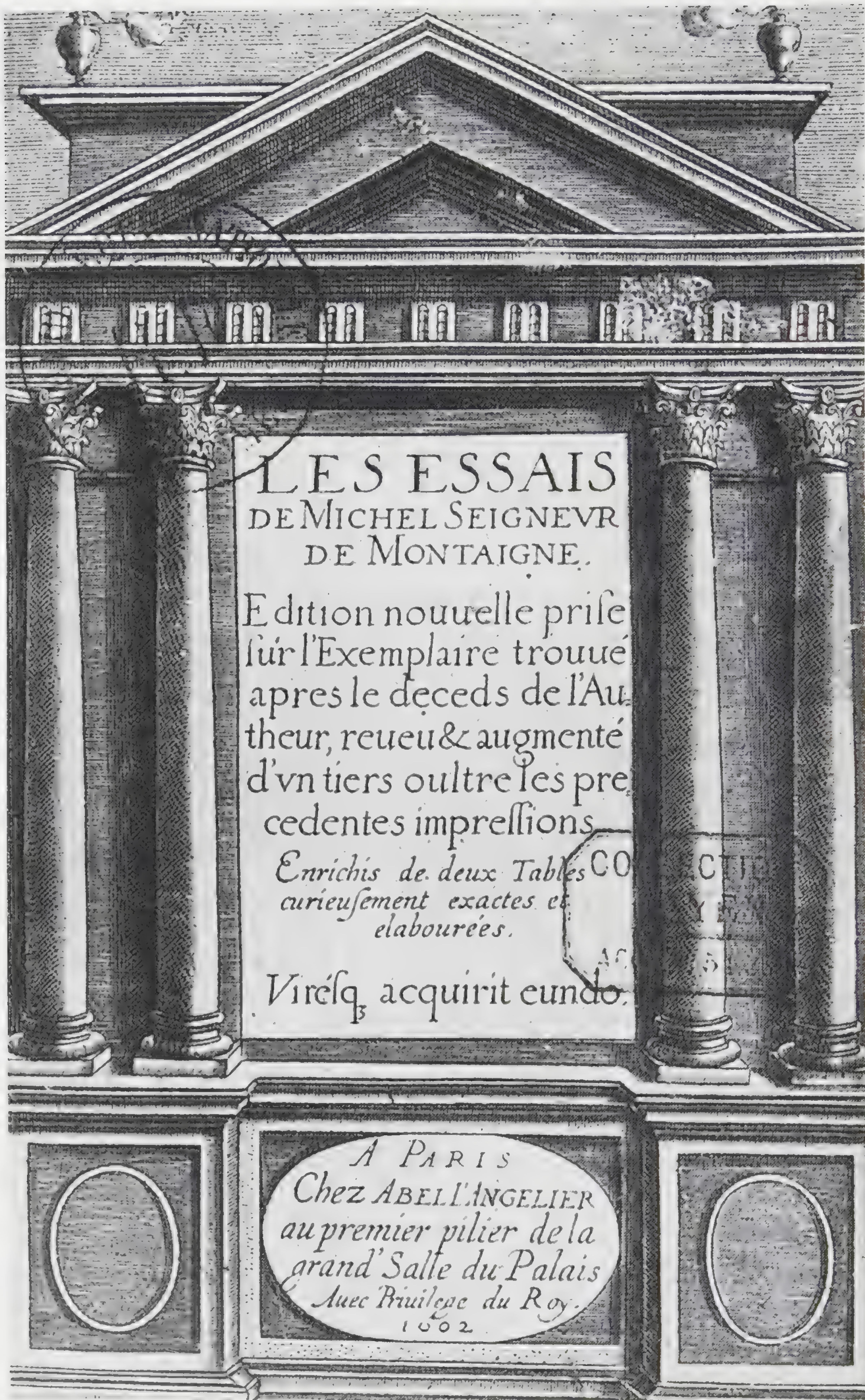
Montaigne. Michel Eyquem, seigneur de Montaigne (1523-1592), had such an excellent library (over a thousand volumes) that he was able to sit in his study, make a leisurely tour of the whole world and document his experiences in the pages of his writings.²¹ His titles include a Greek edition of Homer's *Odyssey* (1535), Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* (1560), Munster's *La Cosmographie Universalle* (1525) and *De rebus gestis Alexandri Magni* by Quintus Curtius (1587). The last of these includes 168 of his own marginal notes. His travelling companion on these armchair wanderings was his keen intellect, his enquiring mind: nothing was outside the scope of his interests, he enjoyed the diversity of the universe and he was often surprised at human disasters. Ignoring the distances of space-time, he makes use of anecdotes, essays, thoughts and speculations in approaching his sole target: humankind and its activities.



11. Montaigne in a print used as the frontispiece of the first edition of his *Essays*: *Essais de Montaigne*, 4 vols., n.d., n.p.

'We are born to seek the truth,' says Montaigne; and as time went by and he continued with his objective study of human behaviour, he wrote and rewrote his essays, deleting and adding passages in a determined effort to work out a way of thinking far removed from the inhibitions that keep free expression in check. This new humanistic approach of his, as recorded in his essays, made an enormous impact both in France and beyond its frontiers.²²

Montaigne studied, observed and listened to people and published essays on a wide variety of topics, such as 'On cannibals', 'On glory', 'On friendship', 'On the education of children' and 'On a speech by Cato', passing all his material through the filter of his brain. Whether writing about persons or things, he relied not so much on his limited experiences from his brief travels as on his reading. He did not



LES ESSAIS
DE MICHEL SEIGNEVR
DE MONTAIGNE.

Edition nouuelle prise
sur l'Exemplaire trouué
apres le deceds de l'Au-
teur, reueu & augmenté
d'un tiers oultre les pre-
cedentes impressions

Enrichis de deux Tables CO
curieusement exactes et
elabourées.

Viresq; acquirit eundo.

A PARIS
Chez ABELL'ANGELIER
au premier pilier de la
grand' Salle du Palais
Avec Priuilege du Roy.
1602.

know Greek, but that did not prevent him from reading Homer in translation and Plutarch in Amyot's translation, and he was deeply influenced by the thinking of Sextus Empiricus. He did, however, have a good knowledge of Latin, which enabled him to read Seneca in the original, as well as Cato, whom he aspired to imitate. Of the Latin poets, his preferred authors were Lucretius, Horace, Virgil, Martial and, of course, Ovid. Nor was it only the classics that supplied him with the wherewithal for the development of his all-embracing thought, but also contemporary works on a wide range of subjects: Lopez de Gomara's *Brief History of Persia* (1583), for example, or *The History of the Great Kingdom of China* by Gonçales de Mendoza (1588).

Not content with expanding his knowledge by reading, Montaigne went one step further and made a point of writing notes on everything he read, without exception: he would criticize the books, clarify their meaning and note every instance of plagiarism. All this great haul of knowledge he stored in a permanent thinking machine which he hoped would give him the answer to the question: 'What is man?' It is no mere chance that on one of the beams of his library's wooden ceiling he had carved, 'Que sais-je?' ('What do I know?').

Very soon after his death his *Essays* were in print and available to the French reading public.

New editions came out one after the other, and the translations by John Florio (into English) and Marco Girammi (into Italian) were published in the early years of the seventeenth century. Shakespeare loved the essays and 'pirated' passages from Montaigne's work were often to be heard in London theatres.

Cervantes. Miguel Cervantes (1547-1613) was born in Spain's most famous university city, Alcalá de Henares, and his teacher was a follower of Erasmus, López de Hoyos.²³ During his years of captivity in an Algiers prison he underwent the most appalling hardships and plumbed the depths of misery and humiliation, experiences he described briefly in 'The Captive's Tale', one of the early chapters



13. The printer's mark of Simon Millanges in the first edition of Montaigne's first two essays: *Essais de Messire Michel Seigneur de Montaigne*, Bordeaux 1580.

12. Title page of Montaigne's *Essays*, printed in Paris by Abel Langelier in 1602.

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of *Don Quixote*. On his return to Spain he entered the service of the Crown in 1585 and devoted himself to writing. He published the novellas *El Coloquio de los perros* (*The Conversation of the Dogs*), containing sarcastic sketches of scholars, poets and prose writers of his acquaintance. At the same time he admits, 'Great poetry, like divine grace', can be served only by people gifted with rare qualities which I do not possess.



14. An engraving from the German edition of *Don Quixote* by Cervantes, printed at Köthen in 1621.

Cervantes wrote other genres of literature, too, in both prose and verse, and had no hesitation in including verses in his prose works, like the *Song of Calliope* in *La Galatea*. His friendship with the actor-manager Lope de Rueda brought him into contact with the world of the theatre and he started writing plays of various genres from the traditional repertoire, such as the *comedia de santos* (hagiographical play) and the *comedia de picares* (picaresque comedy), and ranged over the whole spectrum from tragedy and comedy to minor works (*Interludes*, 1615) in which he presented scenes from everyday life viewed from a comic or light-hearted angle.

But the work that ensured his immortality was *Don Quixote*, the masterpiece for which he is famed throughout Europe, though in Spain he is honoured for the whole corpus of his writings. Cervantes does not follow the familiar formula of the chivalric romance: rather, he parodies and

mocks it. The comic turn he gives to that genre went down extremely well with the aficionados of the chivalric romance, who thereafter showed the utmost interest in similar parodies. *Don Quixote* is the only work of its kind that has survived, inasmuch as the juxtaposition of the two contrasting worlds – the imaginary and the real world of everyday life – simultaneously shows up human failings and

weaknesses clothed in the mantle of chivalry. The connecting link between those two worlds is the hero's madness, an idea Cervantes borrowed from Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* and other medieval romances. The parody of knightly chivalry, the meeting with Sancho and the conversations between them provide the poet with the setting he needs to enable him to pass on to his own message: 'You should realize that life is but a shadow and a dream, but you should live it as if that were not so.'

Both the first and the second part of *Don Quixote*, published in 1605 and 1615, were resounding commercial successes. New editions and translations came out one after the other, and Cervantes had the pleasure of witnessing the publication of the spurious *Don Quixote Part 2*, which appeared under the pseudonym 'Avelaneda'. French and English critics analysed the work in minute detail and so paved the way for the immortality of its hero and of the author himself, rising to a climax in the Romantic period.

Shakespeare. William Shakespeare (1546-1616) began to make his reputation as an actor and playwright in London in 1592, and in 1594 he joined one of the city's most famous theatre companies, which performed for the members of the royal court. By 1599 he had his own theatre, the Globe, where he put on plays that were popular not only with theatre-goers but also with cultivated members of the aristocracy and, most important of all, with Queen Elizabeth herself. An example of the type of play he chose is *As You Like It*, in which Shakespeare adapts the script that seems necessary to him as a dramatist to the demands of the commercial theatre.²⁴

Shakespeare's output for the theatre is divided between four traditional genres: comedies, tragedies, histories and melodramas. Humour is often used to relieve tension, as in the case of Mercutio's nurse in *Romeo and Juliet* (1594). This clearly shows how comedy has influenced Shakespeare's plays through the medium of the Latin comedies performed in the Middle Ages.

This is no place to discuss Shakespeare's plays: in any case, so much ink has already been spilt on the subject that any further attempt would be quite superfluous. One point worth noting, however, is that the work of Shakespeare, alone among the writers mentioned here, did not become widely known in the original until over a hundred years had passed, as if to vindicate the opinion of his first publisher, Ben Jonson, that 'He was not of an age, but for all time.' However, during those years when Shakespeare's voice was not heard there was another, anonymous Shakespeare doing the rounds of the theatres, for adaptations and paraphrases of his plays, very different from the originals, were in circulation. *The*

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Merchant of Venice, for instance, was staged at Passau in 1607 and again at Dresden in 1626 with the title *Comedia von Josepho Juden von Venedigh* (*The Comedy of Joseph, the Jew of Venice*). And Nathum Tate's adaptation of *King Lear*, performance at Lynemburg in 1666, has a completely different ending: Lear does not die, Cordelia marries Edgar and there is no part for the Fool.

What is the first conclusion to be drawn from the enormous spate of book-writing and publishing from the mid sixteenth century onwards, throughout the length and breadth of Europe? The printed book has been transformed into the



15. Portrait of William Shakespeare from the title page of the First Folio, printed in London in 1623.

credentials and identity document of every intellectual, which amounts to exactly what Montaigne declared in his *Essays*: 'So, dear reader, I myself am the substance of my book.' Then, if that sentence is turned the other way round, my book is my own self, and in that case anyone who has another person's book in his or her hands can judge with absolute certainty exactly what the poet was saying and what he meant.

It is easy to dispute or parody another author's ideas and books when conditions are not right for access to the original works, and it is easy for someone to build his own reputation on another person's thinking by plagiarizing and hoarding his books for his own eyes only. But printed books, available in multiple copies in libraries, leave no room for anything more than temporary gloating. By their presence and their wide distribution they come to haunt literary pirates and can be used as incontrovertible evidence in the hands of anybody seeking the truth.

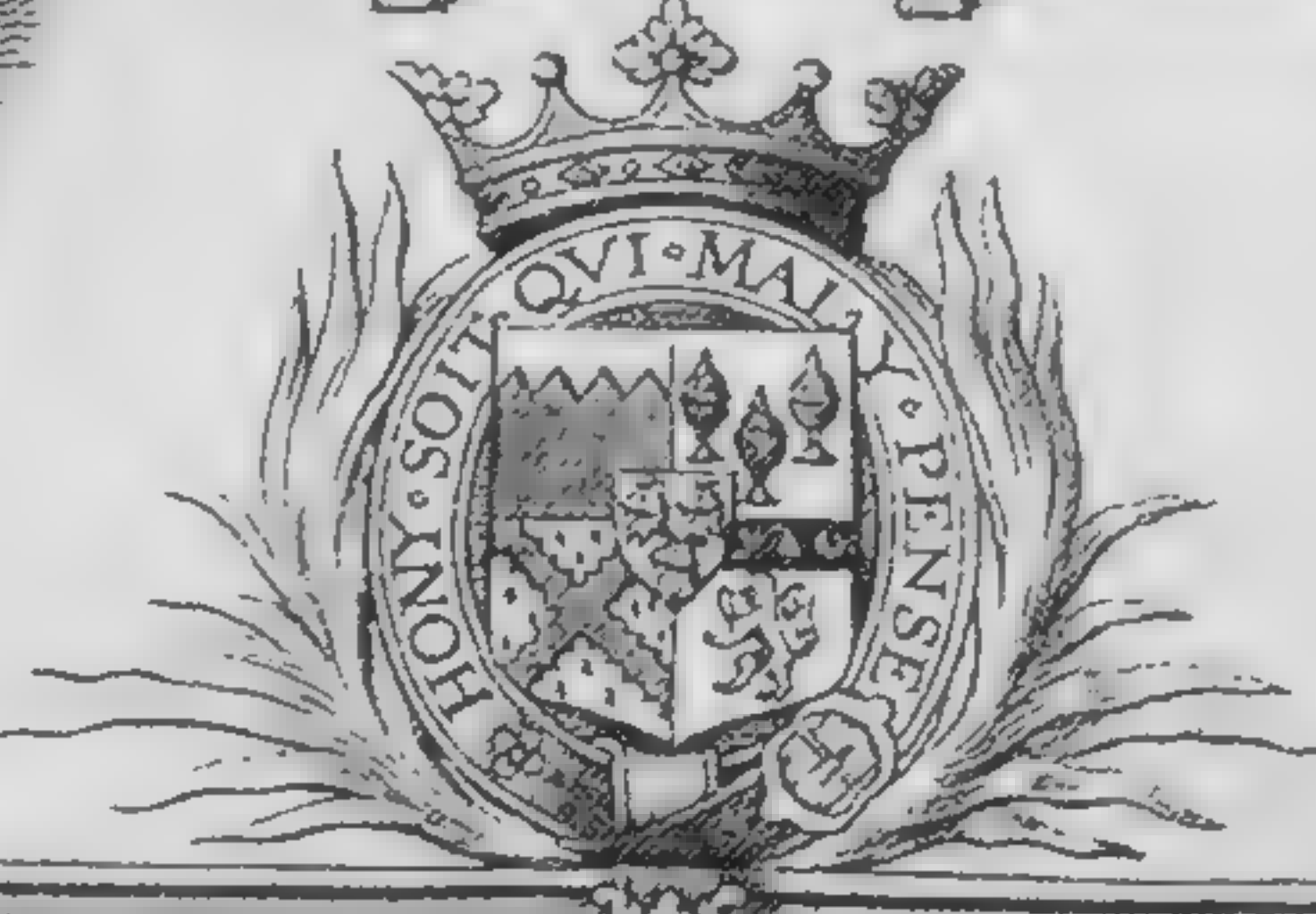
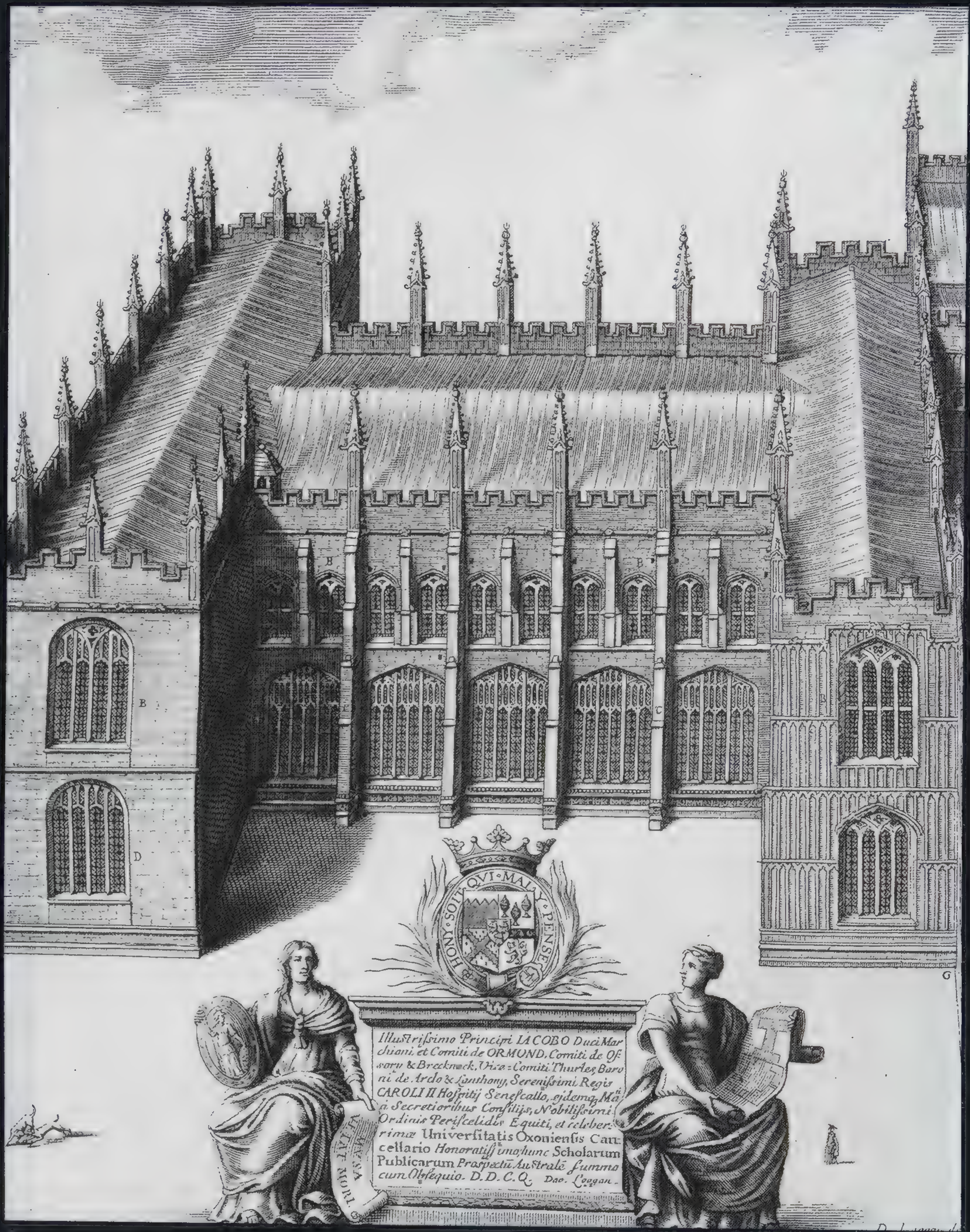
16. A page written in Shakespeare's handwriting with his suggestion for a new opening to Scene 6 of *The Book of Sir Thomas More*.

[illegible]

att. Lingo

1200 £.

fourthly, I have better ~~to~~ as we may be done by
 words be made by your mother's mouth if you stand out
 friend to serve our ~~and~~
 Submit you to his noble gentleness
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 you up the best to your dear father's instructions
 and spend no doubt, but more than he find. if it be best



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imæ Universitatis Oxoniensis Can
cellario Honoratissimæ hunc Scholarum
Publicarum Prospectu Australe summa
cum Obsequio. D. D. C. Q. Das. Lagan.

The Bodleian Library. The quintessentially humanistic notion that everybody should take an active part in public affairs, to the best of his ability and in accordance with his own particular bent, was engraved on the minds of all who used their gifts in the service of culture during the Renaissance, especially those who amassed large libraries and demonstrated a love of books in general. I can think of no more conspicuous instance of this attitude being put into practice, to bring this fifth volume of *The History of the Library in Western Civilization* to a fitting end, than the case of Thomas Bodley, whose benefaction was essentially the starting-point in the history of Oxford's university library, the Bodleian.

The initial nucleus of the Bodleian Library was a collection of books to meet the needs of a small number of schools situated round St. Mary's Church in High Street, Oxford.²⁵ Taking this collection as his foundation, Thomas Cobham, Bishop of Worcester, decided in 1320 to construct a new library above the church of Convocation House to accommodate the College's books and to pay for all its furniture and fittings.²⁶ His death in 1327, however, meant that the project could not be completed; and not only that, but the inefficient administration of his funds meant that the building was still unfinished and his creditors instituted foreclosure proceedings on the manuscripts in his collection, which he had 'bequeathed' to the University. The dispute with the University authorities lasted about ten years, until 1337, whereupon work was resumed on the building of the library Cobham had envisaged. Construction work was completed some thirty years later, in 1376, but the furniture and fittings – mainly desks – were not delivered until 1410.²⁷ Once the construction work had been completed, the University drew up regulations stipulating that Cobham's manuscripts were to be chained to the desks and that the library was to be open to students and men of letters at prescribed hours of the day. The authorities also decided to sell off some particularly valuable manuscripts from Cobham's collection to raise enough money to pay a custodian.²⁸

This little collection of books was to acquire added weight and a humanistic dimension thanks to a patron of literature imbued with humanist ideals: Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester.²⁹ Duke Humfrey, born in 1390, was the youngest son of King Henry IV; his dukedom was conferred on him by his brother in 1414. It is not known exactly where he was educated nor who taught him the classics, gave him his humanistic learning and instilled in him his great love of books. He won for himself the nickname 'Good Duke Humfrey' by the generous support he gave to poets and men of letters. He provided funds for the Divinity School and the gift of

17. *Oxford University in an engraving by David Loggan.*

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his personal collection of at least 281 manuscripts to the College of Oxford put the small university library (as it had been until then) on a very different footing.³⁰

The Duke's very valuable collection has not survived, but information has come down to us about its contents and about Pier Candido Decembrio's contribution to its growth, for he copied manuscripts for the Duke and advised him on ways of obtaining others.³¹ In this way Duke Humfrey started building up a library with a strictly humanistic orientation, the like of which had not been seen before



18. Portrait of Duke Humfrey, drawn by Jacques Le Boucq.

in England, containing such writings as Plutarch, Pliny the Younger's *Letters* and works by Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio and many others. Plato's *Republic* was copied by Decembrio from a codex brought from Constantinople by Chrysoloras, which was used for the first Latin translation.³² Duke Humfrey took care to mark his books with his standard ex libris, written in his own hand: *C'est livre est moy Homfrey duc de Gloucestre*.³³

From the year when Duke Humfrey's books started coming into the possession of the university library, some time between 1435 and 1444, they gave a unique humanistic dimension to book collections in England, and more space was then needed to accommodate them.

The decision was therefore taken in 1444 to add an upper storey to the Divinity School to house the collection. Work on the project proceeded slowly and the new library was not completed until 1488, and then only with financial assistance from the Bishop of London, Thomas Kempe.³⁴ This new library was destined to be short-lived, as the University authorities were outrageously negligent and took no care of the manuscripts, showing no interest even in their monetary value. They allowed indiscriminate borrowing, with the result that before long the library presented a picture of desolation. The manuscripts were sold for the value of the parchment they were written on, usually to bookbinders but sometimes even to tailors. So in 1556 the management committee, confronted with a library almost empty of books, recommended the sale of what was left of Duke Humfrey's library – not only the books but the furniture and fittings as well, to one of the college,

Christ Church; and thus Oxford University was without a library for the next forty-two years!³⁵

The resuscitation of Oxford's university library was due to the humanistic principles of Thomas Bodley, who in February 1598 wrote to the Vice-Chancellor offering to bear all the costs of maintaining the university library, making a gift of his personal fortune and his collection of books: 'I was to think, that my duty towards God, the expectation of the world, my naturall inclination, & very morality, did require, that I should ... doe the true part of a profitable member in the State: whereupon ... I concluded at the last to set up my Staffe at the Library doore in Oxford; being throughly perswaded, that in my solitude and surcease from the Common-wealth affaires. I could not busy my selfe to better purpose, then by reducing that place (which then in every part lay ruined and wast) to the publique use of Students.'³⁶

Thomas Bodley was born in 1554 at Exeter, a city with a strong tradition in the study of the humanities and the teaching of Greek. His parents were Protestants, and when Queen Mary ascended the throne they fled to Geneva to escape persecution. There Thomas was able to broaden his intellectual horizons when, from the age of twelve, he started having theology lessons from Calvin himself and Théodore de Bèze. At the same time he studied Hebrew language and literature with Filippo Beroaldo, who had succeeded Frangiskos Portos as Professor of Greek at the College of Geneva.³⁷

On the accession of Elizabeth I to the English throne, Bodley went back to Oxford and matriculated at Magdalen College. Then, for twelve years from 1563, he continued his studies as a Fellow of Merton College. His knowledge of Greek was such that he was able to give public lectures in that language, and at the same time he pressed on with his study of natural philosophy. He had a high reputation in the university: at the early age of twenty-five he was made a Proctor (one of the officials charged with enforcing university discipline) and soon after he was appointed Public Orator. In spite of the public recognition he was gaining in his

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19. Sir Thomas Bodley. Engraving after a painted portrait (Mrs. R. Lane Poole, Catalogue of Portraits in the Bodleian Library, 71).

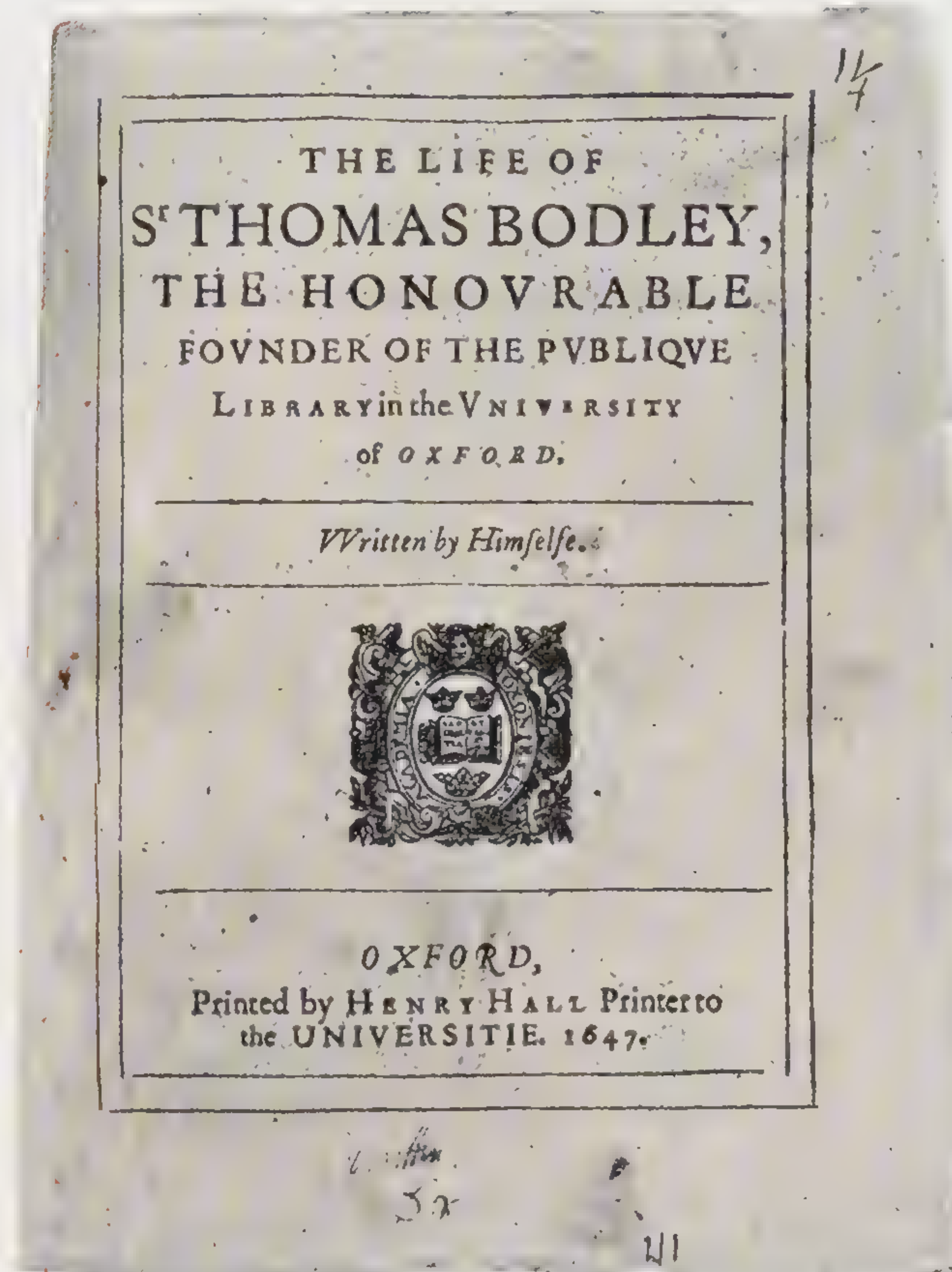
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home country, the Continent still held its lure for him; and since he had political ambitions he left England in 1576. In his capacity as an envoy of the Crown, he undertook to champion the Protestant views of the Church of England in a number of countries, including Denmark, France, Germany and the Netherlands. He was based in the Hague and spent most of his time there, and while busy on his diplomatic affairs he systematically expanded the range of his learning. Although

Bodley had more than enough talent and knowledge for high political office, he had absolutely no inclination for court intrigues or the infighting between members of the nobility, and so in 1597 he decided to give up his political career.³⁸

On 2nd March, 1598, immediately after his written offer to fund the construction of a new library for Oxford University, Convocation accepted his offer and work started forthwith on the rehabilitation of the library. Bodley's partner in this great project was Sir Henry Savile, a friend from his days as a Junior Fellow at Merton.²⁹ Two years after this grand gesture, in 1600, the structural restoration and fitting-out had been completed, but not enough progress had been made towards obtaining the books required for the nucleus of the library. The open-



20. *The Life of Sr Thomas Bodley, Oxford, Henry Hall (Printer to the University), 1647.*

ing was therefore delayed for about two years, so that the first impression given to the public would be commensurate with the magnitude of the benefaction and the

21. *St. Peter from a Greek manuscript of the New Testament written in Constantinople, early 12th c. (Auct. T. infra 1.10, fo. 292v).*
22. *Historiated initial: King David enthroned, playing the harp. From the Ormesby Psalter, England (English school, late 13th/early 14th c., Douce 366, fo. 10r).*
23. *Dante seated at his desk. Historiated initial in a manuscript of the Inferno, Venice, early 15th c. (Canon. ital., 107, fo. 1).*
24. *Initial letter illuminated for Filippo Strozzi. From Pliny the Elder, Historia naturalis, Venice, Nicolaus Jenson, 1476.*

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*The rationale of the
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prestige of Oxford University. By 1602, when the library was officially opened, it contained 299 codices and 1,700 printed books. Bodley was knighted by James I and the university authorities named the library after him: the Bodleian. Francis Bacon, a personal friend of Bodley's, in a letter of dedication accompanying a complimentary copy of his book *The Advancement of Learning*, praised Bodley for 'having built an ark to save learning from the deluge'. And by the time the new library's first catalogue was compiled in 1605, three years after its opening, the number of volumes it contained had tripled to 6,000.⁴⁰

The aspirations of the library's founder were universal in their scope, for Bodley was interested in acquiring books on every branch of learning written not only in the classical and modern European languages but in oriental languages as well, these being outstanding products of great civilizations. The bulk of the collection Bodley donated obviously reflected his own interests: theological writings, mainly connected with the Reformation, as well as books on law, medicine and the liberal arts. Two well-known London booksellers, John Bill⁴¹ and John Norton,⁴² were engaged to cross over to the Continent and buy such books as they thought appropriate from the European printing centres; these Bodley himself evaluated before putting them into the library. Another acquaintance of his from his Oxford days, Paul Pinder, consul of the Company of English Merchants at Aleppo, undertook to buy for him books written in Arabic, Syriac, Persian, Turkish or any of the other languages spoken in the Near East and North Africa. Equally important was Bodley's gesture in forming a small 'Chinese library' even though in his day there was hardly anybody in England, and very few people anywhere else in Europe, who could read Chinese.⁴³

The Bodleian has a particularly fine collection of Greek manuscripts, probably the most valuable in England. The chief part of it is a collection of 244 codices that had belonged to Francesco Barozzi (1537-1604),⁴⁴ a resident of Canea in Crete who was well versed in mathematics and philosophy and made a systematic study of the progress of scientific and scholarly thought as manifested in ancient Greek and Latin writings. Barozzi bequeathed his manuscript collection to his nephew Jacopo (1562-1617), who went on adding to it until eventually it came into the hands of an English bookseller. In 1629 the latter showed it to the Earl of Pembroke, who bought it and donated it to the Bodleian. Before long the Greek collection had grown by the addition of twenty-nine manuscripts from Thomas Roe's collection and ninety-four donated by Archbishop Laud, between 1635 and 1641. The Barozzi collection of codices is notable for its fine holding of works by great twelfth-century Byzantine writers, such as Michael Psellos.⁴⁵

Bodley was not one to be careless about his selection of a librarian, and the person he appointed to look after and arrange all these fine books was a highly gifted man, Thomas James. James was born and bred in the environment of educational institutions. A former scholar of Winchester College, he became a Fellow of New College, Oxford, and nursed an insatiable thirst for knowledge and a passion for broadening the reach of education. He edited the first English edition of a classic manual of librarianship, Richard de Bury's *Philobiblion*, and in close collaboration with Bodley he compiled and published one of the oldest surviving library catalogues, which helped to publicize the treasures of the Bodleian Library. This catalogue is basically and alphabetical guide to the manuscripts and printed books, arranged according to their positions on the bookshelves. Not content with this approach to cataloguing, James compiled another one classified by subject.⁴⁶

In his correspondence with James, who shared his devotion to the library, Bodley mentions a corpus of books that he wishes to acquire: they are the manuscripts and printed books that had belonged to Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham (1536-1624), who had appointed Theodore Price (1570?-1613) to arrange for their disposal. The outcome was that the register of benefactors for the year 1604 lists fifty-two books coming from that source.⁴⁷

The Howard collection contained a variety of books ranging from valuable old manuscripts to printed books of no great pretensions in temporary bindings.⁴⁸ Outstanding among were books in ornate bindings bearing the arms of Henry VIII and sixteen medieval codices, of which eleven had been alienated from the libraries of monasteries dissolved in Henry's reign. When they came into Bodley's possession, some of them were bound in the red and black velvet characteristic of royal bindings.



25. The portrait of Thomas James which hangs in the Curators' Room with the portraits of other Bodley's Librarians. It is unsigned. From the inscription at the foot of the portrait it can be deduced that it must have been painted after 1620 and before James's death in 1629.

Many of the printed books from the Nottingham Benefaction had also passed through Henry VIII's royal library and were likewise distinguished by bindings bearing the royal coat of arms. According to Anthony Hobson, they came from an unidentified bookbinder in Cambridge, known to modern scholars as King Henry's Binder. Most of the books in the Nottingham collection came from printing houses on the Continent. Only five of them were incunabula, one of those being *Valentius super Psalterium*, London, 1481.⁴⁹

The subjects covered by these books are varied. Most of them are works by Western Church Fathers (such as St. Augustine and St. Jerome), psalters and other liturgical books, and books annotated by Lefèvre d'Étaples and Melanchthon, including the *Letters* of Pliny the Younger.

The Bodleian Library's first printed catalogue. James, with Bodley's support and financial backing, compiled a catalogue listing all the manuscripts and printed books on the library's shelves. The publication of the catalogue was based on the initial idea of printing the titles listed in the Tables attached to all the book-cases. The number of books listed makes it, if not the oldest, at any rate the fullest printed catalogue of its time.⁵⁰

The Oxford printer Joseph Barnes was unwilling to bear all the publication costs on his own, but he agreed to print the catalogue when in June 1604 Bodley promised his unqualified support; in fact Bodley undertook to compile the catalogue of the Hebrew books.⁵¹ Printing started towards the end of July and within two months 426 pages had been printed, giving bibliographical particulars of more than 6,000 titles. However, when the proofs were shown to the bookseller John Norton, he noticed that many of the books he had supplied to the library were not included in the catalogue; and he also mentioned that he had at his disposal a further 1,600 books earmarked for the library, and others as well from other sources. Bodley then decided to stop printing the catalogue until such time as an up-to-date inventory listing the new accessions was compiled. The additions came to a total of 2,600 new titles filling a further 200 pages, so James drew up a general index of authors to link the two parts of the catalogue. What is more, he incorporated in the published catalogue a number of entries he had written with the names of authors who wrote about the Scriptures, Aristotle, law, medicine and other subjects.⁵²

26. *Theodoros Komnenos Doukas Synadenos and his wife Eudokia, from the Greek codex containing the typikon of the Convent of Bebaia Elpis in Constantinople, 1327-1342. Oxford, Lincoln College (gr. 35, fo. 8r).*



ΚΑΙ ΟΥΝ
Η ΟΥΝ ΟΥΝ
ΡΑΤΕΙ ΚΑΙ
ΟΕΤ ΝΕΚ
ΤΗ ΤΟΡΩΝ

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The catalogue was completed and published in June 1605, with a dedication to young Prince Henry. Despite its unwieldy bulk, it was universally acclaimed by academics and book-lovers, as it advertised and aroused public interest in the unrivalled treasures contained in the library of a university of the calibre of Oxford.

Of the monumental books in the Bodleian Library's possession, some of the most noteworthy are: a manuscript Latin grammar by Eutychius (6th cent.), part of a composite volume, written in the ninth century in Carolingian minuscule;⁵³ a man-



27. Manuel Philes, *Bestiary*. Greek manuscript copied by Angelos Vergikios (1564), with illuminations probably by his daughter.

uscript copy of Boethius, *Consolatio Philosophiae*, which is an exceptionally fine specimen of English calligraphy of the late tenth century;⁵⁴ a codex of works by Manuel Philes, probably illuminated by the daughter of Angelos Vergikios;⁵⁵ and an incunabulum of Aesop's *Fables* (Strasbourg, Heinrich Knobloch, ca. 1481) with manuscript English translation, among many others.⁵⁶

Thomas Bodley realized that if he wanted to create a great, prestigious library, his personal fortune was not enough on its own. He therefore set out to attract further donations and benefactions from scholars and would-be patrons of art and literature, and so by 1600 he had already opened a Register of Benefactors. Before long it was considered a feather in one's cap to be listed on the Register, especially

as the first name to figure on it was that of Thomas Sackville, the Chancellor of the University. Besides the titles of the books and the sums of money recorded in witness of the various gifts, special bronze seals bearing the donors' coats of arms were cast and sewn on to the velvet and silk covers of the books bought with their money.⁵⁷ Extant seals include those commemorating the donations of George Carey Lord of Hudson, Sir Robert Sidney, Sir Robert Raleigh and, of course, Sackville himself. Among the other benefactors on the Register are Lord Lumley, High Steward of Oxford University, who was perhaps the greatest book collector of his day; William Cambay; Sir Robert Cotton, a friend and business associate of Bodley's; and Thomas Allen. Yet more books were donated by the two London booksellers, Norton and Bill, and books were bought in considerable numbers from the Frankfurt Book Fair and other great book centres like Seville, Paris and Rome. And finally, the Bodleian was supported by writers and well-known printers who offered their services free of charge in the cause of learning.⁵⁸

By the time he died, Sir Thomas Bodley had ensured that the library's endowments were enough to make it self-sufficient, both in keeping its internal organization running efficiently and in making new acquisitions. In fact a new law, enacted in 1610 and strongly supported by Bodley, assured the Bodleian of a constant inflow of new accessions.⁵⁹ When the Stationers' Company was founded, all publishers were obliged to give one copy of each of their publications to one of the six selected libraries, one of which was the Bodleian. Bodley, not content with this 'gift' offered by the new law, negotiated an agreement between the University and the 'Arte or Mistery of Stationers' of London whereby the University would receive an unbound copy of every new book published.

Sir Thomas Bodley died in 1613 and was buried at the public expense in Merton College chapel. By his personality and his patronage he left his distinctive mark on the end of an era, having given to the cause of higher education more, perhaps, than any other man of his time. His qualities and his life's work were a source of inspiration to poets and philosophers, as Robert Burton makes clear in his *Anatomy of Melancholy*.

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NOTES

1. The main works I have consulted in writing this section are the following multi-author volumes: A. Benoît, G. Fontaine and Anne Varty (eds.), *Les Lettres Européennes*, Paris, Hachette, 1992; F. de Sanctis, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, Florence, Salani, 1965; E. Cecchi and N. Sapegno, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, 9 vols., Garzanti 1956-1969; A. Piromalli, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, Cassino, Carigliano, 1994²; *Histoire de la France littéraire, Naissances, Renaissances, Moyen Âge-XVI^e siècle*, ed. F. Lestringant and M. Zink, vol. I, Paris, Puf, 2006; D.E. Wellbery (ed.), *A New History of German Literature*, Harvard University Press 2005; *Kindlers Literatur-Lexikon*, ed. G. Woerner and R. Geisler, 7 vols., Zürich, Kindler Verlag, 1965; Aubrey F.G. Bell, *Portuguese Literature: History and criticism*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1922; *The Cambridge History of Spanish Literature*, Cambridge University Press 2008; M. Hattaway (ed.), *A Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture*, Blackwell 2000; A. Hass, D. Jasper and Elizabeth Jay (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of English Literature and Theology*, Oxford University Press 2007.
2. See G. Paparelli, *Da Ariosto a Quasimodo*, Naples, Società Editrice Napoletana, 1978; M.A. Balducci, *Rinascimento e anima: Petrarca, Boccaccio, Ariosto, Tasso: spirito e materia oltre i confini del messaggio dantesco*, Florence, Le Lettere, 2006.
3. See L. Ugolini, *The Poet of Sorrento: Torquato Tasso*, Società Editrice Internazionale 1995.
4. See Dorothea Waley Singer, *Giordano Bruno: His Life and Thought, with annotated translation of his work, On the Infinite Universe and Worlds*, New York, Henry Schuman, 1950; M. White, *The Pope and the Heretic: The True Story of Giordano Bruno, the man who dared to defy the Roman Inquisition*, New York, William Morrow, 2002.
5. See M. Bakhtine, *L'oeuvre de François Rabelais et la culture populaire au Moyen Âge et sous la Renaissance*, Paris, Gallimard, 1970; M. Bideaux, 'Le roman au XVI^e siècle', in *HFL*, 999-1002.
6. See H. Chamard, *Histoire de la Pléiade*, Paris, Didier, 1961-1963²; see also p. 185 herein.
7. See Geneviève Demerson, *Dorat en son temps, culture classique et présence au monde*, Clermont-Ferrand, 1979; also, more generally, J. Jehasse, *La renaissance de la critique. L'essor de l'humanisme érudit de 1560 à 1614*, Saint-Étienne, Publication de l'Université, 1976.
8. See generally J. Balsamo (ed.), *Les poètes français, de la Renaissance et Pétrarque*, Geneva, Librairie Droz, 2004.
9. See R. Laumonier, *Ronsard, poète lyrique, étude historique et littéraire*, Paris, Hachette, 1923²; D. Ménager, *Ronsard, le roi, le poète et les hommes*, Geneva, Librairie Droz, 1979.
10. See C.A. Zaalberg, "Das Buch Extasis" van Jan van der Noot, Assen, Van Gorcum, 1954.
11. See K.J. Simrock, *Sammlung deutscher Volksbücher*, 13 vols., Frankfurt 1845-1847.
12. See Peter Jerusalem, *Deutsche Volksbücher. Die schöne Magelone; Die Schildbürger; Fortunatus; Doktor Faust; Melusine. Nach den frühesten Drucken mit den alten Holzschnitten herausgegeben*, Munich 1912.

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13. See C. Kieseewetter, *Faust in der Geschichte und Tradition*, Berlin 1921; K. Theens, *Geschichte der Faustgestalt vom 16. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart*, Meisenheim 1948.
14. See K. Friis-Jensen (ed.), *Saxo Grammaticus: A medieval author between Norse and Latin culture*, Museum Tusculanum Press, 1981.
15. See E.M.W. Tillyard, *The Poetry of Sir Thomas Wyatt: A selection and a study*, London, The Scholartis Press, 1929.
16. See W.M. Murphy, 'Thomas Watson's "Hecatompethia" [1582] and the Elizabethan Sonnet Sequence', *JEGP* 56/3 (1957) 418-428.
17. See R. Kimbrough, *Sir Philip Sidney*, New York, Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1971; D.H. Craig, 'A Hybrid Growth: Sidney's theory of poetry in An Apology For Poetry', in *Essential Articles for the Study of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. A.F. Kinney, Hamden, Archon Books, 1986.
18. See Jennifer Rust, 'Spenser's The Faerie Queene', Saint Louis University, St. Louis, 2007.
19. See John Lyly, *Euphues, The Anatomy of Wit. Editio princeps 1579...*, ed. Edward Arber, London, Alex. Murray & Son, 1868.
20. See I.G. Girard, *Camoens, Central Figure of Portuguese Literature*, Haldeman-Julius, 1924; L. Bacon, *The Lusiadas of Luiz de Camões*, 1966.
21. See P. Bonnefon, 'La Bibliothèque de Montaigne', *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, 1895, 313-371; P. Villey, 'Note sur la bibliothèque de Montaigne', *Ibid.*, 1910, 335-353, and 1916, 211-215; L. Desgraves, 'La librairie de Montaigne', in *HBF* II, 94-97.
22. See M. de Montaigne, *Les Essais*, ed. P. Villey, Paris, RUF, 1978; J. Starobinski, *Montaigne en mouvement*, Paris, Gallimard, 1982; A. Tournon, *Montaigne, la glose et l'Essai*, Lyon, Presses universitaires, 1983.
23. See J. Montero Reguera, *El Quijote y la crítica contemporánea*, Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 1997; *Estudios sobre la recepción de un mito*, ed. Begoña Lelo, Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, 2007.
24. See K. Brown, *Sightings: Selected Literary Essays*, ed E. Tønning, Peter Lang 1931; *Shakespeare Studies*, Volume XXIX, L. Barroll (ed.), Book Review Editor, Susan Zimmerman, 2001.
25. See Staikos IV, 420; also p. 499 ff herein.
26. See p. 499.
27. See D. Rogers, *The Bodleian Library and its Treasures 1320-1700*, Aidan Ellis, 1991, 9 (= Rogers, *The Bodleian*).
28. *Ibid.*
29. See S. Gibson (ed.), *Statuta antiqua Universitatis Oxoniensis*, Oxford, Clarendon, 1931, 259-262 and more generally 499 ff.
30. See Rogers, *The Bodleian...*, 11.
31. Pier Candido Decembrio was an inspirational figure of early Italian humanism and an exceptionally gifted man. According to A. Corbellini, 'Appunti sull'Umanesimo, in Lombardia', *Bolletino della Società Pavese di Storia Patria* 17 (1917) 5-13, he was born at Pavia in 1392 (1399 according to other accounts) and died at Milan in 1477. He may have learnt Greek from Manuel Chrysoloras himself. He served as secretary to Pope Nicholas V for a time, and later as secretary to the ducal court of Milan. He was one of the scholars commissioned by Nicholas V to make Latin translations of Greek classics (see p. 94): he started with Appian's *Historia Romana* and continued with Plato's *Republic*, which he dedicated to Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan. See M. Borsa, *Pier Candido Decembrio e l'Umanesimo in Lombardia*, Milan 1893; E. Ditt, 'Pier Candido Decembrio', *Memorie del R. Istituto Lom-*

bardo di Scienze e Lettere 24 (1931) 21-108; and, on his translations of Plutarch and Plato, see V. Zaccaria, 'P.C. Decembrio traduttore di Plutarcho e di Platone', *IMU* 2 (1959) 194-195. Duke Humfrey had great confidence in Decembrio and paid him an annual retainer of 100 ducats to buy classical manuscripts for him, mainly Latin, on a regular basis; but he could not be persuaded to fulfil Decembrio's heart's desire by buying for him, as remuneration for his services, the villa that had once belonged to Petrarch.

32. See p. 49.

33. See Rogers, *The Bodleian...*, 11.

34. See p. 499.

35. See Rogers, *The Bodleian...*, 9.

36. See his autobiography: *The Life of Sir Thomas Bodley, The Honourable Founder of the Publick Library in the University of Oxford*, Oxford 1647.

37. See p. 265.

38. See *The Life...*, 4-5.

39. Sir Henry Savile, a highly cultured man who was Warden of Merton College and Provost of Eton, rendered sterling service to education and literature. Perhaps his greatest achievement was his eight-volume edition of the works of John Chrysostom, printed in Greek at his own press at Eton (1610-1613). In 1619 Savile gave his Greek types to the University: they are not noted for their clarity and fell far short of his initial desire to obtain the famous *Greco du roi* of François I, designed and cut by Claude Garamont and modelled on the handwriting of Ange Vergèze (Angelos Vergikios). See N. Barker, *The Oxford University Press and the Spread of Learning 1478-1978*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1978, 10. His first Greek book was John Chrysostom's *Homilies*, in Greek with a Latin translation, printed in Britain at Reginald Wolfe's press in

1543. Wolfe, born in Gelderland, Germany, went to live in Britain in 1530 and set up in business as a printer in 1542. He had the most complete set of Greek types, which may have come from matrices from presses in Basel: see C. Clair, *A History of Printing in Britain*, London, Cassell, 1965, 81-82.

40. See Rogers, *The Bodleian...*, 51.

41. See R.J. Roberts, 'The Latin Stock (1616-1627) and its library contacts', in *Libraries and the Book Trade: The formation of collections from the sixteenth to the twentieth century*, ed. R. Myers, M. Harris and G. Mandelbrote, New Castle, Delaware, Oak Knoll Press, 2000, 16 ff.

42. *Ibid.*

43. See Rogers, *The Bodleian...*, 44.

44. See p. 343; also 'Barozzi, Francesco', in *DBI* 6 (1964), 495-499.

45. See H.O. Coxe, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Bodleianae pars prima*, Oxford 1853, coll. 9-416.

46. Rawlinson Ms. Miscell 730.

47. See G.W. Wheeler (ed.), *Letters of Sir Thomas Bodley to Thomas James*, Oxford 1926.

48. See generally R.W. Kenny, *Elizabeth's Admiral: The political career of Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham 1516-1624*, Baltimore/London, Johns Hopkins Press, 1970; and esp. J.P. Carley, 'Sir Thomas Bodley's Library and its Acquisitions: An edition of the Nottingham Benefaction of 1604', in J.P. Carley and C.G.C. Tite (eds.), *Books and Collectors, 1200-1700: Essays presented to Andrew Watson*, London, The British Library, 1997, 357-386.

49. See Carley, 'Sir Thomas Bodley's...', 361-363.

50. See T. James, *Catalogus librorum Bibliothecae publicae quam vir ornatissimus Thomas Bodleius eques auratus in Academia Oxoniensi nuper instituit*, Oxford, Joseph Barnes,

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1605 (reprinted as *The First Printed Catalogue of the Bodleian Library 1605: A facsimile*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1986.

51. Barnes was the first printer to the University of Oxford, from 1586 onwards, and was the only printer at the University Press until 1617. It is on record that he printed the first English edition of Richard de Bury's *Philobiblon*: see Clair, *A History of Printing*, 138; N. Barker, *The Oxford University Press*, 6-8, 10.
52. See T. James, *Catalogus universalis librorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana...*, Oxford 1620.
53. See Rogers, *The Bodleian...*, 30 (pl. 23).
54. See Rogers, *The Bodleian...*, 32-33 (pl. 25).
55. MS. Auct. F. 4. 15, fo. 22v.
56. See K. Jensen et al. (eds.), *Bodleian Library*

Oxford: Incunabula in the Bodleian Library, Kulturstiftung der Länder and Fritz Thyssen Stiftung, Oxford 1992.

57. Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst (1536-1608), was a career politician who was also active as a poet and playwright: see Rogers, *The Bodleian...*, 25; and more generally *Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst and Earl of Dorset, containing Gorboduc, and Induction and Legend of Henry Duke of Buckingham*, London, C. Chapple, 1820.
58. Rogers, *The Bodleian...*, 25-27.
59. The Stationers' Company was granted the royal privilege in 1557 and no one who was not a member of the Company was allowed to print books: see Clair, *A History of Printing*, 107-111.

VIII

ARCHITECTURE



ARCHITECTURE

The evolution of library architecture from the Middle Ages to the Late Renaissance

Architecture. The architectural design of libraries during the Renaissance was different from the normal practice of the Middle Ages, owing to the new views on the purpose of a library which came in around the middle of the fourteenth century. From the early decades of the fifteenth century the idea of setting up public libraries started to gain currency; and we should not forget Petrarch's initiative in donating his books to the Venetian Republic (*circa* 1372) and Palla Strozzi's gesture of bequeathing part of his collection to the library of the Abbey of Santa Giustina in Padua, an act which epitomizes the ruling classes' aim of facilitating the spread of knowledge to a broader section of the population.¹

In this humanistic climate, monastic book collections were systematically expanded by ruling princes, noblemen and men of letters, with the object of turning them into university-level libraries open to the public. What is more, as this trend took hold, the monasteries started opening schools of higher education, using their well-stocked libraries as databases, so to speak. Another important point is that the libraries of universities like Bologna, Salerno, Padua, Turin, Pisa and Ferrara, among many others, never built up book collections capable of serving the needs of humanist studies in every branch of learning or, more to the point, of competing with the princely libraries in the main Italian academic centres: those of the Medici and d'Este families, the Duke of Urbino, Novello Malatesta, Domenico Grimani, Cardinal Bessarion and so many others.

The archetypal Renaissance library design is represented by university and college libraries set aside by the authorities of those institutions to accommodate book collections and serve as libraries within the strict framework of the rules and regulations of each school: one such was the *communis libraria* of the Sorbonne, formed towards the end of the thirteenth century.² The main architectural features of those libraries were two blocks of reading desks or carrels, one on either side of

1. *The vestibule of the Biblioteca Laurenziana before the flat ceiling was put in. Engraving by V. Spinazzi (18th c.).*

a central aisle, with windows along the side walls level with the rows of carrels, and with the roof beams showing. It was probably the architect Michelozzi di Bartolomeo Michelozzo, generally known as Michelozzo,³ who altered the appearance of library interiors when he was working for Cosimo de' Medici 'il Vecchio', who wished to found a public library; but Michelozzo may have been influenced by Brunelleschi's design for the Basilica of San Lorenzo in Florence. Whether Brunelleschi had already prepared the drawings, or whether Michelozzo (having been commissioned to start construction work on the basis of Brunelleschi's drawings after the latter's death in 1446) then worked from his own drawings, the similarities between the San Marco library and San Lorenzo are undeniable.⁴

The new type of library was not attached to any school or university: either it was purpose-built, or else existing rooms in a monastery were suitably adapted. Nearly all fifteenth- and sixteenth-century libraries in Italy conformed to this pattern, with only a few exceptions such as the library of San Barnaba at Brescia⁵ and, of course, the one Michelangelo designed for the Medici in Florence.⁶ Three other very important libraries deviated from the norm: the Vatican in Rome and the Marciana in Venice,⁷ which were in a different category from any of the libraries attached to an ecclesiastical institution, and the library and studiolo of the Duke of Urbino.⁸

Things were different in northern and western Europe, as libraries of all kinds continued to follow the medieval pattern without the addition of any new elements to their architectural design. Only towards the end of the sixteenth century were two libraries opened featuring design elements related to the production and marketing of printed books. One, that of the Monastery of El Escorial,⁹ was built on the initiative of King Philip II of Spain and opened in 1584; the other, situated above the Divinity School at Oxford, was funded by a donation from Thomas Bodley and was completed in 1600.¹⁰ The former falls into the category of princely libraries, while the Bodleian grew to be the richest university library in England and one of the most important in Europe, as it still is today.

A distinctive and innovative feature of the design – especially the interior design – of these 'new' libraries was the installation of wall bookcases and additional bookcases rising high above the medieval-style carrels. In this way the amount of space available for storing manuscripts, incunabula and other early printed books was multiplied many times over, keeping pace with the fast-growing needs. In none of the libraries designed until then had there been enough room for all the books in the library's possession, and in the rooms set aside as reading rooms only a small part of each collection was made available to readers. It is worth remembering that Cardinal Bessarion's library, an exceptionally fine one for

his time, contained 870 manuscripts and incunabula,¹¹ whereas that of Cardinal Domenico Grimani in Venice eventually numbered 15,000 titles.¹²

The iconography of library decoration. The new approach to the pictorial decoration of libraries during the Renaissance was an Italian matter: it was due to initiatives of the Holy See and the Pope himself, and its hallmark was the prominence given to compositions by great contemporary painters like Titian and Veronese, taking as their central figures personages from Greek mythology (such as Heracles and the Muses – especially Urania and Erato), Greek philosophers like Socrates, Aristotle and Plato and scenes from the Old Testament, usually with Moses in the foreground. The murals and ceiling paintings had complementary themes expressing the religious situation existing at the time: the climate of opinion created by the Reformers, for instance, with the Holy See trying to assert its authority over them in scenes alluding to the Ecumenical Councils. In this way the library reading room was turned into a ‘temple of knowledge’, and hence also of humanist philosophy, which sought to bridge the gap between ancient Greek philosophy and Christian humanism as propounded by Ficino and Pico della Mirandola, and by Erasmus in the North. In other words, the pictorial *mise en scène* juxtaposed ancient philosophy with the Christian hagiographical tradition, while not overlooking scenes from the Old Testament.

The origins of this iconography in Italian libraries are to be found in the wall frescoes and ceiling paintings of the Vatican Library under Pope Sixtus IV, the work of Melozzo da Forlì and the Ghirlandaio brothers. This lavish mural decoration with its characteristic pictorial motifs, which follow the course of the Italian decorative tradition from Roman times onwards and its evolution through medieval manuscript illuminations, finds its perfect expression in Pope Pius III’s library in Siena Cathedral. There Pintoricchio painted triumphal scenes from the life of the Pope, who before his elevation was none other than Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini, a great book collector. These are painted on the walls of alcoves framed by pilasters, arches, sections of cross-vaults and other architectural elements.

A few years after Sixtus IV’s initiative, in about 1476, Federico da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino, commissioned a design for a reading and contemplation room following Plato’s concept of the ‘philosopher King’ as the ideal person to govern a city-state. The thinking underlying the design of this studiolo, as it is called, was based on a two-tier layout with a wall-painting crowning the ornate wooden panelling.

Another design conforming to the same philosophy was prepared in 1537 for the library of St. Mark’s in Venice by Sansovino, commissioned by the Doge himself. On entering the library, the first painting one sees is an apotheosis of the mar-

riage of mythology with theology: Theology is surrounded by the three Christian virtues (Faith, Hope and Charity), with Zeus enthroned holding the symbols of his power. Titian, who played a pivotal role in the library's painted decoration, chose to focus on the 'affinities' of Christianity with paganism, implying the existence of a continuous mystical theological dialogue between them.

The pictorial decoration of the imposing new Vatican Library, conceived by Pope Sixtus V as a library worthy of the prestige of the Holy See, was on the same artistic wavelength. It was designed by Domenico Fontana. Cesare Nebbia and Giovanni Guerra executed the murals and ceiling paintings around the same central theme and in accordance with the design concept of the library's custodian, Federico Ranaldi: that the popes should be depicted as representing knowledge and the library as an institution, and as monitors of heretical tendencies keeping a watchful eye on the actions of the Reformers. To put it another way, the heads of the Catholic Church who convened Councils to safeguard the true faith are identified with the persons who left their mark on Western civilization in matters of language, writing, philosophy and speech: the Seven Sages of the ancient Greeks, the Muses and the Sibyls.

Contrary to the Catholic Church's library design philosophy and its tendency to object to proposed designs, Michelangelo was given free rein by Clement VII to do as he liked in the designing the Medici Library in Florence. The monumental staircase up to the reading room, an object of universal admiration, leads into a room dominated by architecture pure and simple, with no pictorial decoration whatsoever and with only the stained-glass windows adding a touch of colour. The whole idea underlying the design puts one in mind of 'square logic', with Renaissance elements of Florentine architecture.

At about the same time as the Vatican Library was being beautified with pictorial compositions, another Italian, Pellegrino Tibaldi, was commissioned to do the painted decoration of the Escorial library in Spain. Following the iconographic programme laid down for him by Fray José de Sigüenza, which consisted, briefly, in choosing scenes and compositions that prove the validity of the equation Philosophy = Theology, he portrayed Socrates, Plato, Aristotle and Seneca on one side and the Western Church Fathers on the other. Of the latter, St. Jerome and St. Augustine have their heads turned to look at a representation of the Council of Nicaea.

Furnishings. The furnishings of libraries with 'classic' reading desks underwent no real change, except that sometimes a pair of desks facing each other would be separated by two, three or more bookshelves. Ordinary cupboards were also used sometimes as bookcases, mainly in the Vatican Library, but the first place where the

bookcases were radically redesigned to meet the needs of libraries from the sixteenth century onwards was in the Escorial library.

Libraries on the Italian model. As early as the 1430s Michelozzo had designed two libraries, both more or less at the same time, for the monasteries of Santa Annunziata and San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice. Nothing now remains of either of these last two libraries – not even the architectural drawings or detailed descriptions – and so the only evidence for their probable form is the reconstruction drawing of the library Michelozzo designed for the Monastery of San Marco in Florence in the late 1430s, which was destroyed by the 1453 earthquake and rebuilt in 1457 exactly as it had been originally.

*Michelozzo's
influence*

This design consists of a rectangular room with two longitudinal ranges of columns along the outer ends of the rows of desks on either side of the central aisle, and with cross-vaults over the side aisles and a semicircular barrel-vault over the transverse corridor giving access to them. The room was lit by windows along the side walls. The columns were crowned with capitals of various types, incorporating elements taken from the Ionic and Corinthian orders. These were the principal design features of most libraries built in Italy up to the late sixteenth century.

The library of Santa Annunziata in Florence. This Servite monastery was founded in 1250, and references to the existence of a library there go back to at least 1339, though there is no evidence of its position or its contents. In the middle of the fifteenth century the church and the rest of the monastery were rebuilt to designs by Michelozzo; construction work was completed in 1455.¹³ However, there are good grounds for believing that the design concept for the library dates back to the mid 1430s.¹⁴

The library no longer exists, but it has been reconstructed on paper by Tauci from the masses of archival material that still survives. It occupied the upper floor of a building south of the first cloister, above the *Foresteria* (guest quarters), which faced the forecourt in front of the church and the arcade, both of which give access into the Ospedale degli Innocenti, designed by Brunelleschi.¹⁵ The reading room, which has a high ceiling leaving the roof beams visible, had painted walls. Light was admitted through a row of double lancet windows and nine smaller round windows.¹⁶ The furnishings included thirty-one reading desks and fifty-eight benches arranged in two rows of carrels (fifteen or sixteen on each side). A pen-and-ink drawing by Fra Bartolomeo, dating from shortly after 1500, shows the monastery buildings and one side of the library.¹⁷



The library of San Marco in Florence. The San Marco library played an extremely important part in Florentine intellectual life at the time when the city was developing into the foremost centre of humanism. It is worth mentioning the priceless collection of Niccolò Niccoli, which was housed there along with the monastery's other fine collections.¹⁸

The old Silvestrine Monastery of San Marco was ceded to the Observant Dominicans by a bull of Pope Eugenius IV in 1436 and was immediately taken over by monks from San Domenico, Fiesole. The existing buildings were urgently in need of repair and the necessary action was taken two years later with a grant from Cosimo 'il Vecchio' de' Medici and his brother Lorenzo:¹⁹ work started in 1438 with the rebuilding of the old dorter. The starting date of construction work on the library is not attested by the sources, but Lapaccini records that the building was completed in 1443.²⁰ That library was short-lived: it was destroyed by the 1453 earthquake and then rebuilt in its original form, but not until 1457, when a small room for use as the Greek library was added on its north side.

The reading room occupies the upper floor of a building in the east wing of the Cloister of St. Dominic and extends northwards along the axis of the dorter in the Cloister of St. Anthony. The room, measuring 45×10.45 metres, is divided into three aisles by two ranges of eleven Ionic columns. The column bases and capitals, the arches above their springing and the cornices at the foot of the central semicircular barrel-vault were made of *pietra serena* (blue-grey sandstone), making a contrast with the white plaster of the walls and vaults, in typical Florentine style. The side walls were broken by a row of tall windows in the bays between the aisle columns. The library in its present form is as it was restored after the damage done to it in the Second World War. The original furnishings consisted of 64 cypress-wood reading desks, which had the manuscripts chained to them.²¹

The design of the San Marco library epitomizes the difference between libraries in Italy and those in the North. If Michelozzo had not previously used this design concept for the library of San Giorgio Maggiore, as we shall see, the San Marco library would have been of great importance in the history of library architecture.²²

*The first
three-aisled
library*

2. *The library of the Monastery of San Marco, commissioned by Cosimo de' Medici and based on Michelozzo's designs.*



3. Engraving of the main entrance of Novello Malatesta's library at Cesena, designed by Muccioli.

The Biblioteca Malatestiana at Cesena. The Monastery of San Francesco at Cesena, founded in the thirteenth century, had been running a studium from the middle of the fourteenth century, with a collection of books for the use of the teachers. The ruler of Cesena, Novello Malatesta, a great bibliophile, commissioned the architect Matteo Nuti to design a library that would enhance his public image.²³

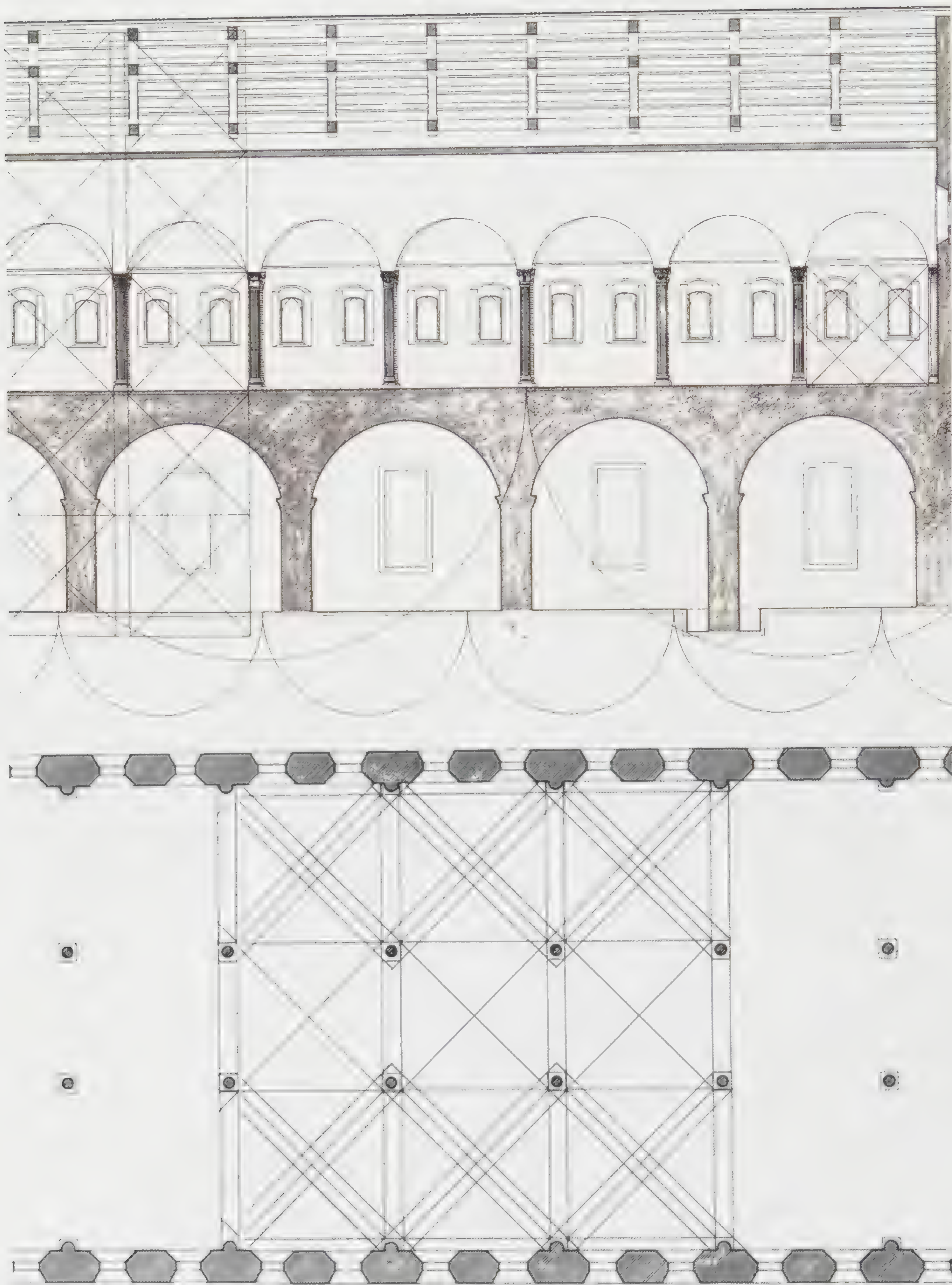
Nuti, who called himself Daedalus,²⁴ had been a pupil of Leon Battista Alberti. The library he designed followed the general principles of Michelozzo's concept, but its distinctive style and its combination of Doric elements with Renaissance aesthetics set it apart from all others.²⁵ The monumental entrance gate, the dimen-



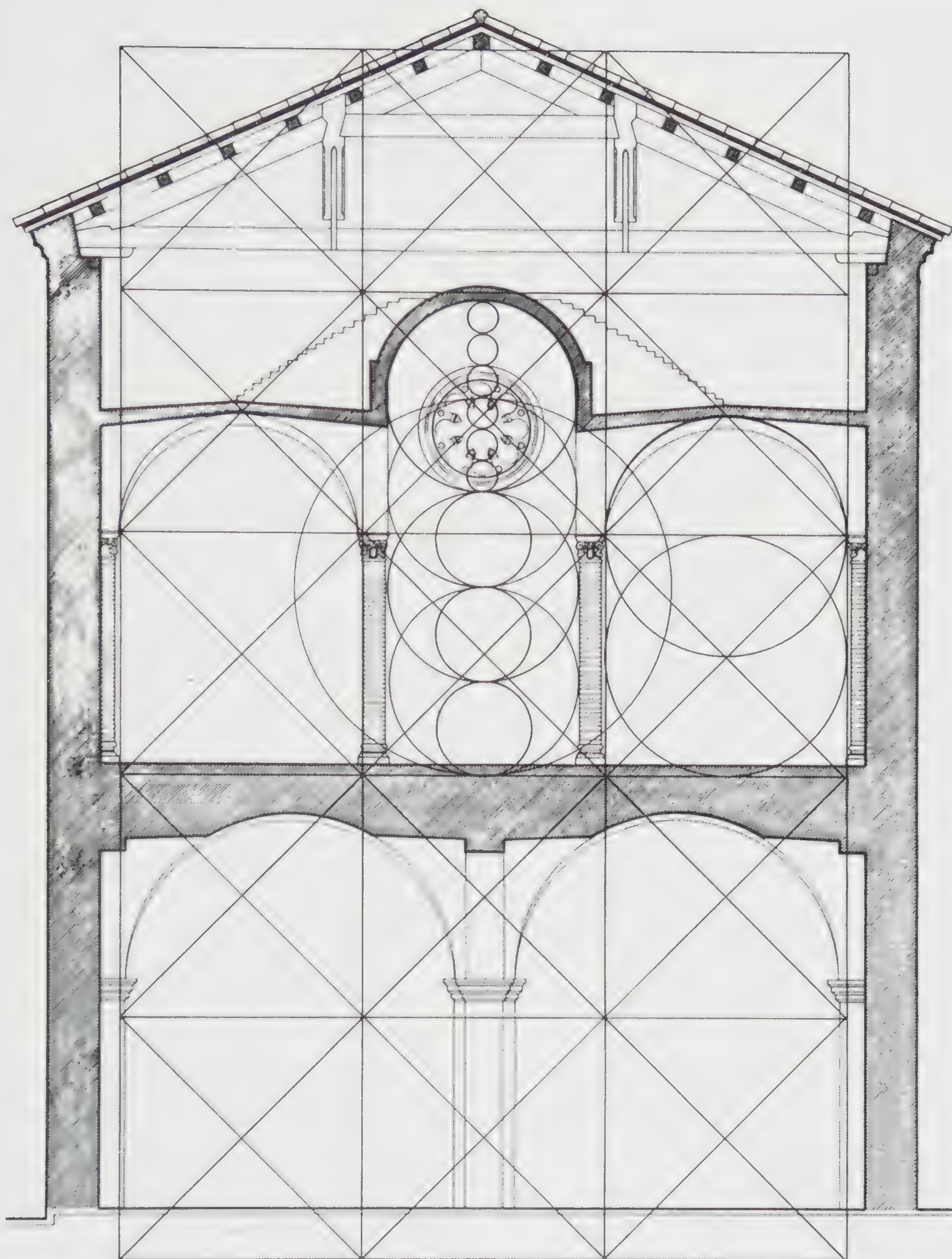
4. Looking through the main entrance of the *Biblioteca Malatestiana* at the arrangement of the colonnades in the interior.

sions of the reading room, the height of the colonnade in relation to the central vault and cross-vaults, and the height of the windows above the reading desks meant that by the standards of its time it was an ideal place for study and reflection, as indeed it has been ever since.

The monumental entrance doorway was designed by Agostino di Duccio and its single wooden door was carved by Cristoforo da San Giovanni in Persiceto.²⁶ The capitals of the fluted pilasters on either side of the door are surmounted by two escutcheons with the armorial bearings of the Malatesta family, and the whole portal is crowned by a pediment with a relief of the Malatesta family crest in the tympanum: an elephant, with the motto *Elephas indicus culices non timet* ('The

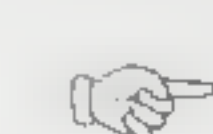


5. Ground plan and longitudinal section of the library, with geometrical markings and showing relative proportions.



6. Vertical section of the library, showing the geometrical relationships of the spaces at the two levels.

7. General view of Novello Malatesta's library from the main entrance.







Indian elephant fears not mosquitoes’). Inside the room, on the floor to the right of the door, is a stone plaque incised with an inscription commemorating the founder’s beneficence: MAL. NOV. PAN. F. HOC DEDIT OPUS (‘Novello Malatesta, son of Pandolfo, donated [the funds for] this project’). And on the outside wall to the right of the door there was another plaque commemorating the architect who designed the library, which was later moved inside the library:

MATHEVS. NVTIVS.
FANENSI EX VRBE. CREATVS.
DEDALVS ALTER. OPVS.
TANTVM. DEDVXIT. AD. VNGVEM.²⁷



8. Details of column capitals in the reading room, showing the Malatesta family coats of arms.

The reading room, measuring 40.85×10.4 metres or four times as long as it is wide, is notable for its exquisite plasticity. It is divided into three aisles by two ranges of fluted stone columns with capitals that are all of different design and incorporate features borrowed from the Ionic and Corinthian orders, but the dominant motif of each of them is a coat of arms of the Malatesta family.²⁸ The arches springing from the columns terminate in a semicircular barrel-vault in the central aisle and cross-vaults in the two symmetrical side aisles. Along the side walls is a series of engaged columns made of bricks, and in each of the bays between them were three rows of



9. Drawing of part of a bookcase, showing how the manuscripts were chained to it (Clark, *The Care of Books*, 202).

desks and two windows. A rose window is set high up in the far wall of the central aisle and the floor is paved with square ceramic tiles laid in diagonal rows.²⁹

Ranged along the side walls are the desks, twenty-nine on each side. The ends of the desks facing the central aisle are carved and painted with the coats of arms of the Malatesta family. Each desk consists of a bench and a book-rest with the manuscripts kept on shelves below it, and the front of each desk served as a back-rest for the desk in front. A metal rod running from one side to the other on the inside of the desk was used for chaining up the manuscripts. These were not separate, individual desks: they were unitary structures for several people, joined together by a false floor which gave the readers a foot-rest.³⁰

Libraries in Italy following the lines of Michelozzo's design. The architectural design concept created by Michelozzo and Nuti at San Marco in Florence and San Francesco in Cesena was followed by nearly all other architects commissioned to build or adapt similar rooms in monasteries in the principal cities and towns of Italy. Some of the products of this architectural approach survive to this day, while others are documented in archival sources.

Florence. Besides the libraries of Santa Annunziata and San Marco, already mentioned, monastic libraries were built and came into service at the Badia Fiorentina, Santa Croce, Santa Maria del Carmine, Santa Maria Novella, Porta San Gallo, Santo Spirito and elsewhere. Two of those deserve special mention.

The library of Badia. This abbey was founded by the Benedictines in the tenth century, but by the late fourteenth century it had fallen into obscurity. In 1415 the community was united with that of Santa Giustina and the abbey's fortunes revived under the Portuguese Abbot Gomes Ferreira da Silva (1419-1439).³¹ The library was founded when the abbey received an extremely generous donation of about 280 Greek and Latin manuscripts from Antonio Corbinelli.³²

This library was destroyed in the seventeenth century, but we have a description of it by Puccinelli, who visited it before 1664.³³ He mentions a basilica with columns and pilasters and a central aisle between two blocks of desks, and his description, taken together with a catalogue of the library's contents dating from the early seventeenth century, makes it clear that this was a substantial library. It contained 754 manuscripts and 141 printed books, some of which were kept in thirty desks arranged in two rows: one 'from the East' (*ex parte orientis*) and the other 'from the West' (*ex parte occidentis*), presumably indicating the Greek and Latin manuscripts in Corbinelli's collection.³⁴

The library of Santa Croce. This monastery of the Conventual Franciscans, which goes back to St. Francis himself, had a library which was completely destroyed when the whole monastery burnt down. With funds from the Medici, the Pazzi, the Comune of Florence and the guild of cloth finishers and cloth merchants (Arte di Calimala),³⁵ the monastery was rebuilt – probably to Michelozzo's designs – with the exception of the church, which was built under Brunelleschi's supervision.³⁶ It is not possible to reconstruct the architectural arrangement of the reading room from the evidence now available, as it was rebuilt in the late eighteenth century. We do know, however, that it occupied the whole upper floor of the wing between the two cloisters and had a floor area of 40×8.50 metres; and we also know from a fifteenth-century inventory that it contained 785 manuscripts in two columns of 35 desks each.³⁷

Bologna. In Bologna, that great Italian university city, there were at least seven monastic libraries in the Middle Ages, of which the most important were those of San Domenico and San Francesco. Fewer particulars have survived concerning the lesser monastic libraries of San Giacomo Maggiore,³⁸ San Michelle in Bosco,³⁹ San Paolo in Monte,⁴⁰ San Procolo⁴¹ and San Salvatore.⁴²

The library of San Domenico. The Dominicans established a house in Bologna shortly after 1218, and before long the monastery was running a *studium generale* (from 1248); in the thirteenth century it was designated as the seat of Bologna University's School of Law, and in 1364 it became part of the School of Theology. To meet the needs of these academic activities the monks created a library, which by 1381 possessed 472 volumes chained to fifty-two benches arranged in two parallel columns. It was probably housed in a room about nine metres wide, with exposed roof beams, built at an unknown date, perhaps in the fourteenth century. By about 1440 the library was in need of rebuilding and the necessary plans were drawn up in 1461.⁴³ However, it was not until October 1464 that work started on the restoration of part of the old monastery buildings, and the reconstruction of the library was not put in hand until April 1466. It was completed in 1469.

The name of the architect who prepared the new design for the library is not known: the only documentary evidence we have is that Giovanni di Martino de Rossi, nicknamed Giovanni Negro,⁴⁴ is recorded as the *muratore* (mason) in charge of the rebuilding. The architect was probably Pagno di Lapo, a Florentine pupil of Michelozzo, who designed the Church of San Antonio.⁴⁵ Be that as it may, the reading room occupies the first floor of a building south of, and parallel to, the monastery church. Its dimensions are 38.30×14.50 metres and it conforms absolute-



ly to Michelozzo's design concept: it has three aisles separated by two eight-column colonnades, which terminate in the large semicircular barrel-vault over the central aisle and cross-vaults over the side aisles. The windows were placed symmetrically along the side walls; but the one visible today on the central axis of the room is a later addition.

Descriptions of the library left by visitors from as early as 1478 give us a better idea of its contents and the way it was organized. Giovanni Sabadino degli Arienti wrote about the incomparable riches of its contents and about the regulations, which stipulated that the library was open to all;⁴⁶ Fabio Vigili, writing about his travels between 1510 and 1512, recorded his impressions of the library and noted that the books were kept in two blocks of thirty-two desks each;⁴⁷ while Serafino Razzi (1572) and Johannes Lomeier both say that the total number of desks was sixty-six.⁴⁸

*Fabio Vigili's
travels*

The library of San Francesco. The Franciscans established a community in Bologna as early as 1223, and the house functioned as a *studium generale* from the outset. In 1364 the school was designated as the seat of Bologna University's School of Liberal Arts, and after 1364 it became part of the School of Theology. An inventory of the library's contents compiled in 1421 lists 649 volumes, without specifying where they were kept, while Vigili mentions 117 volumes kept in two blocks of thirteen and eighteen desks.⁴⁹

Padua. Four libraries had been founded in Padua by the end of the fifteenth century, the most important one being that of the Monastery of San Giovanni di Verdara. The other three were the libraries of San Antonio,⁵⁰ SS. Filippo e Giacomo (Chiesa degli Eremitani)⁵¹ and Santa Giustina.⁵²

The library of San Giovanni di Verdara. A particularly interesting library which does not conform to Michelozzo's pattern. This monastery of the White Benedictines was founded in 1221, but by 1423 the community had dwindled to nothing and a papal bull issued by Eugenius IV in 1436 the monastery is described as derelict. In 1446 the monastery was reconstituted, the library having already started to grow again in 1443.⁵³ In the next few decades the library received some major donations: 101 volumes from Battista dal Legname⁵⁴ in 1455, more than ninety works from Pietro da Montagnana⁵⁵ in 1478 and, most notably,

10. *The library of San Domenico, Bologna.*

11. *The library of the Monastery of San Giovanni di Verdara at Padua, formerly used as a chapel.*

521 manuscripts from Giovanni Marcanova (1410/1418-1467),⁵⁶ Professor of Medicine at the local *studium*, up to 1467, not to mention a considerable number of smaller benefactions, with the result that the decision was taken to construct a purpose-built library. The exact date of the start of work on the new building (completed in 1492) is not recorded, but it must have been after Marcanova's gift (1467) or shortly before Pietro Antonio degli Abati was commissioned to make the desks.⁵⁷ The 'architect' of the new library, who is not named, may have been Lorenzo da Bologna (1530-1577).⁵⁸

The library occupies the first floor of a building between two cloisters, lying south of the church and parallel to it. It consists of a large room roofed with a vault which joins the side walls to form round-arched recesses with pilasters below the arches; and, in the bays so formed, round-arched windows alternate with small round lights. The side walls are decorated with frescoes: the ones corresponding in size to the round-arched windows depict men of letters at work in their studies.⁵⁹ The library is entered by two doors, one on either side of what used to be the sanctuary when the room was used as a hospital chapel.

Parma. The library of San Giovanni Evangelista. A very elegant, airy library, in the style initiated by Michelozzo, was built in the Monastery of San Giovanni Evangelista, the Benedictine community dating from the tenth century which was united with the congregation of Santa Giustina in 1477.⁶⁰ In its present form the monastery dates from between 1490 and 1540, but we have no information about the precise date of construction of the library: the year 1523 is one possibility.⁶¹

On the first floor of the building, which separates two cloisters, the older Chiostro del Capitolo and the later Chiostro della Porta, a room measuring 21.20×12.40 metres was built to house the library. It has three aisles separated by two rows of Ionic columns standing on rectangular bases, which form corresponding bays in the side walls and support three longitudinal rows of uniform cross-vaults. The side walls, column bases, arches and vaults are covered with frescoes by Giovanni Antonio Paganini and Ercole Pio, dating from 1574-1576, full of striking decorative motifs reminiscent of the Roman period.⁶² Many of the decorative designs come from Alciati's *Book of Emblems* (*Emblemata*).⁶³

The work of painting the wall and ceiling decorations lasted through 1574 and 1575 and the iconography was modelled on the Polyglot Bible published by Plantin in Antwerp in 1572.⁶⁴ Of the many emblems adorning the vaults, it is worth mentioning the personification of Justice with her symbols, surrounded by sayings such as *Festina lente*.⁶⁵



12. The reading room of the library in the Abbey of San Giovanni Evangelista at Parma, showing the plasticity of the painted vaults.

As regards the contents of the library, no inventories or other information about the extent of its holdings have come down to us, apart from some references to choral manuscripts illuminated by the Da Moile brothers and Michele da Genova.⁶⁶

Piacenza. There are records of the existence of two libraries in the city, one near the beginning and one towards the end of the sixteenth century. The former was in the Monastery of San Sepolcro; the latter, in the Monastery of San Giovanni in Canale, was visited in 1572 by Razzi, who says that the books were kept in sixty-two desks, thirty-one on each side of the central aisle.⁶⁷

The library of San Sepolcro. This Olivetan monastery was founded in 1484. Four years later, in 1488, construction work was started on new buildings perhaps designed by Alessio Tramello. The library was built in 1508 or 1509, but there are no extant records of its contents. The monastery buildings now form part of the City Hospital.⁶⁸

The library – said to have been designed by Tramello, though this is disputed by Roi – occupies the first floor of a building that encloses two large cloisters.⁶⁹ It is a majestic room measuring 37.10×11.70 metres, following Michelozzo's design principles, with three aisles of equal width separated by two ranges of nine somewhat slender columns surmounted by capitals of a simplified Corinthian type. The ceiling of the central aisle consists of regular cross-vaults, whereas in the side aisles each cross-vault is extended to form a semicircular lunette in the side wall. In one of the side walls only, each bay contains a window rising to the height of the springing of the arches of the vault.⁷⁰

Perugia. The library of San Domenico. A great library was founded in Perugia in the fifteenth century: it belonged to the Monastery of San Domenico, a community dating from the thirteenth century, which since 1269 had been home to a *studium artium* of the Dominicans of the province of Romagna. The *studium* had later been expanded to include schools of philosophy and theology, and in the fifteenth century it was designated a *studium solemne*, ranking almost on a par with a *studium generale*.⁷¹

The nucleus of the library was formed not long after the monastery was founded, in 1309, and a special room was set aside for it. The continuous process of its expansion can be followed through a series of catalogues dating from 1430 onwards, which also inform us that some of the manuscripts were kept in nine desks known as the *libraria maior*, near the treasury.⁷² In 1474 Leonardo Mansueti was elected Master General of the Dominicans, and work then started on the con-

struction of a new library to house the existing manuscripts as well as his personal collection, which numbered nearly five hundred volumes.⁷³

The reading room, 28×10.50 metres in size, occupies the first floor of a building in the south wing of the Old (East) Cloister. The room in which it is housed today is later than the original, but it differs from its predecessor only in its dimensions: the general design principles remain unchanged. Once again it has three aisles, with columns supporting cross-vaults of unequal height and with a window in every other bay of the side walls.

Milan. The other great humanist centre in northern Italy, besides Venice, was Milan. That city no longer has any examples of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century library architecture that display any noteworthy architectural features. It would be interesting, of course, if we still had Bramante's drawings for the library he is said to have designed for the Monastery of Sant'Ambrogio in 1497.⁷⁴ There are documentary records of four monastic libraries being founded in Milan before 1600, as well as the monumental Biblioteca Ambrosiana funded by Cardinal Federigo Borromeo,⁷⁵ which was built between 1603 and 1609. None of the others – which include the libraries of the Dominicans of Sant'Eustorgio (the seat of the local Inquisition), Santa Maria delle Grazie and San Vittore al Corpo – show any architectural originality.

*Bramante's
library*

The library of Sant'Eustorgio. This monastery, which developed into a *studium generale* of the Dominican Order in the fourteenth century, already had a library by the late thirteenth century. An inventory of 1494 lists 722 volumes, of which 693 were kept in the library on eighteen desks arranged in two rows, one 'facing the fountain' and the other 'facing east'. This was how the library was seen by the Dominican friar and musicologist Serafino Razzi, who visited the monastery in 1572, but its appearance was drastically altered in the 1680s.⁷⁶

The library of Santa Maria delle Grazie. This Dominican monastery was founded in 1464 and had been almost completed by 1469. The library, which occupied part of the new monastery, was completely destroyed by bombing and shelling in 1943, but a detailed description of it had been published in the *Monumenti italiani* series.⁷⁷

The library housed the private collection of Pier Candido Decembrio⁷⁸ (Pope Nicholas V's secretary and a leading member of the humanist community), which contained more than 127 works and was kept in a large room designed on the lines of a basilica.⁷⁹ It measured 31×11.50 metres and was divided into three aisles by two ranges of twelve columns with Corinthian-type capitals. The ceiling was formed of

*Pier Candido
Decembrio's
collection*

cross-vaults of varying height, those in the central aisle rising above the others. Light was admitted through windows in the side walls, one in each bay. Quite possibly the library was actually designed by Michelozzo himself, who was then living in Milan; but that is no more than a conjecture. Razzi, on his visit in 1572, wrote that there were thirty-two reading desks on each side.⁸⁰

The library of San Vittore al Corpo. This was a Benedictine monastery which was handed over to the Olivetans in 1507; reconstruction work on the buildings started in 1508. The first building programme ran from then until 1523 and work was resumed in 1553 under the direction of Vincenzo Seregni. It is not known for certain whether the library was included in the first or the second phase. Parts of the monastery were destroyed in the Second World War, and the library now forms part of the Museo Nazionale della Scienza e della Tecnologia Leonardo da Vinci.⁸¹

The reading room, measuring 38.6×15.65 metres, occupies the first floor of a building situated between two cloisters. Two rows of nine columns form three aisles: the central one is wider than those at the sides, which are roofed with cross-vaults exactly like those in the library of San Sepolcro at Piacenza. The central aisle, besides being wider, is higher than the other two, making it possible for the architect to add a row of round windows in the clerestory.⁸² The name of the architect is unknown: the building was formerly attributed to Alessio Tramello.⁸³

Monte Oliveto. The library of Abbey. The Abbey of Monte Oliveto Maggiore, founded in 1313 by the Olivetan Congregation of the Benedictines, lies south-east of Siena. Between 1447 and 1451 one of the rooms was converted for use as a library and furnished with funds bequeathed to the abbey by Lodovico Petrucciani da Terni, Professor of Law in the Siena Studium.⁸⁴ Nothing is known about the design of this library, nor of the new one that replaced it between 1497 and 1501. What one sees today is the library built between 1513 and 1516 and attributed to Fra Giovanni da Verona,⁸⁵ the architect (and artist in several other media) who also designed the many-faceted wooden door.

The reading room, measuring 25.90×9.90 metres, is situated on the first floor, above the refectory in the west wing of the Great Cloister, south of the church. It was designed in Michelozzo's lifetime. Two colonnades, each consisting of six columns with Corinthian-type capitals, support a semicircular barrel-vault (over the central aisle) and two cross-vaults (over the side aisles). Each of the side walls

13. *The central aisle of the library in the Abbey of Monte Oliveto Maggiore.*



has a row of pilasters level with the columns but only the west wall has windows, one in the centre of each bay.

The library's holdings amount to a total of some 40,000 volumes, including incunabula and illuminated manuscripts.⁸⁶

Mantua. Three religious houses in Mantua are known for certain to have had libraries:

(1) The Convent of Sant'Agnese, from which there survives a catalogue recording that the books were kept in nine desks 'facing the lake' and nine 'facing the church'. The library's total holdings amounted to 185 works.⁸⁷

(2) The Priory of San Domenico: a catalogue compiled in 1417 lists 116 titles, without saying about how they were arranged or kept. In 1572 Razzi noted that the furniture of the reading room was laid out as follows: '16 banchi tutti nel mezzo, e poi d'intorno, intorno due ordine di scaffali.'⁸⁸

(3) Lastly, Razzi mentions another monastic library in Mantua, that of Santa Maria degli Angeli, which was furnished with two blocks of seven desks. None of these three houses are still in existence today.⁸⁹

Brescia. Records exist of two of the libraries that existed in Brescia before the sixteenth century: those of San Barnaba and San Domenico. Razzi visited San Domenico and noted that the library there had twelve benches on each side. No other records have survived concerning the period from then until 1609, when the reconstruction of the monastery was put in hand.⁹⁰

The library of San Barnaba. The Monastery of San Barnaba, a house of the Augustinian Hermits, was founded in the late thirteenth century and was taken over by the Augustinian Observants in 1456.⁹¹ Its library, which did not follow Michelozzo's pattern, is situated in a room on the first floor of the building to the south of the church and parallel with it. It dates from about 1490, when the Comune gave the monastery a grant of ninety ducats to build a library.

The library, measuring 24.50×10.87 metres, has a ceiling with flat coffers, rounded where they meet the walls. Each of the side walls has five rectangular windows and the remaining surfaces of those walls are covered with frescoes of geometric decorative designs, some of them framing scenes connected with the Order of Augustinian Hermits.⁹²

Venice. The library of San Giorgio Maggiore. Besides the quite exceptional library designed by Sansovino for the Venetian Republic⁹³ to house Cardinal

Bessarion's collection, to which we shall return later, Vasari informs us that Michelozzo had designed a library for the Benedictine Monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore back in 1433.⁹⁴ It is possible that the San Giorgio library (known as 'the old library'), whose construction was financed by Cosimo de' Medici, was enlarged between 1464 and 1478 with funds donated by Giovanni Lanfredini (1437-1490), a Florentine banker and friend of Lorenzo the Magnificent.⁹⁵ One can get an idea of what the 'old library' looked like from a perspective drawing of it by Jacopo de' Barbieri, done in 1500.

Vicenza. The library of Santa Corona. Just one library had been opened in the town by the end of the fifteenth century: it was built to house the collection of the Dominican Monastery of Santa Corona, dating from the thirteenth century.⁹⁶ The construction of the library was funded by Cristoforo Barbarano in 1496.

The library was completely destroyed by bombing in 1944, but its appearance is known from photographs. It was divided into three aisles by two rows of six columns standing on bases. It was roofed with cross-vaults and illuminated by large rectangular windows and its walls were covered with portraits of eminent scholars of the Dominican Order.

The architectural approach to libraries attached to monasteries highlights the part played by the clergy in supporting the humanist philosophy, their admirable harmony with laymen and men of letters and their deep-rooted faith in the unimpeded transmission of 'the entirety of Greek learning' (*pasa paideia*) to a wider public. It need hardly be said that the libraries named above – mentioned by name only for the purpose of listing the characteristic features of their architectural design – are not the only ones that existed in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: there were many others that were well to the fore in preserving and perpetuating the intellectual tradition of Western civilization. One such was the library of the Franciscan Order's mother house at Assisi, where an inventory of 1381 records that the books were arranged in two sections: the *libraria publica* and the *libraria secreta*.⁹⁷ The library of Sant'Agostino at Cremona, which was renowned for its wealth in the mid fourteenth century, was arranged – strictly in accordance with humanistic and academic criteria – in sixteen sections: Greek and Latin (Grammar, Rhetoric and Logic, Philosophy, Old Testament, New Testament, Church Fathers, etc.).⁹⁸ And Sigismondo Malatesta, who brought the mortal remains of Gemistos Plethon and reinterred them in the Church of San Francesco at Rimini, donated his own private collection of books when the monastery was rebuilt, after 1450, to be the nucleus of the monastic library.⁹⁹

*Libraries
at Assisi,
Cremona
and Rimini*

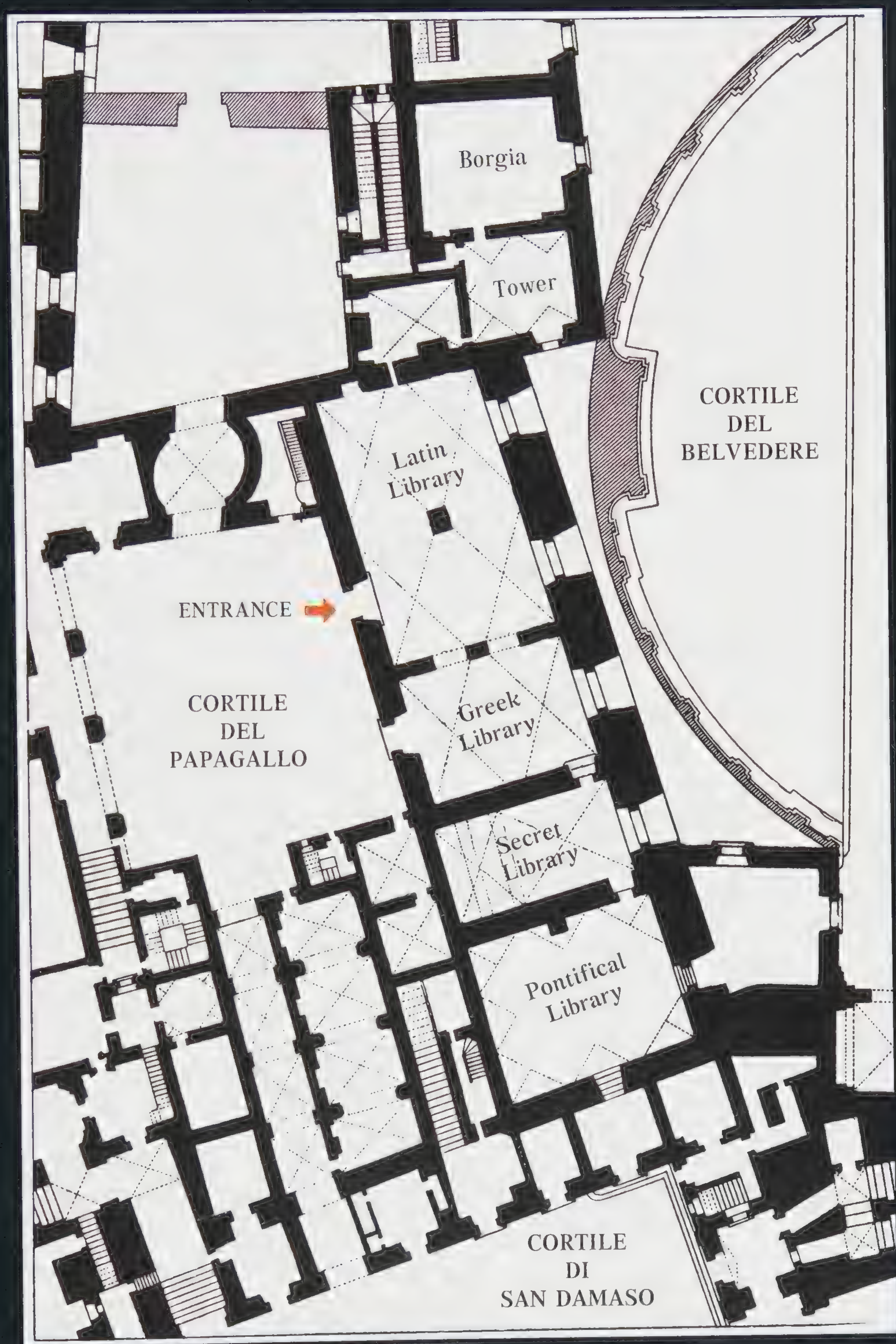
The library of the Holy See. The Vatican Library surpassed all other libraries in Italy and the North until the end of the fifteenth century, in terms of its wealth and its architectural design and in every other respect. Although Pope Nicholas V (1447-1455) is generally considered its founder, it was not until 1471 that Sixtus IV set aside a room to be used exclusively for the papal book collection.¹⁰⁰ As soon as Sixtus had ascended the papal throne, his Camerlengo commissioned five architects to design a building to be used as the library, but the plan was shelved and nothing was done about it for three years. The appointment of Bartolomeo Platina as Custodian of the Library (28th February, 1475) breathed new life into the original plan.¹⁰¹ It is worth mentioning again that under Platina the library possessed 2,527 volumes, more than any other collection in Europe.¹⁰²

The location chosen for the library was the ground floor of a building erected under Nicholas V, used until then as a storeroom.¹⁰³ The building, an oblong rectangle in plan, was divided into four rooms, two of which were interconnected by two doors. The main entrance to the library opened off the Cortile del Papagallo (the 'Court of the Parrot'): it was a massive marble-framed portal with the arms of Sixtus IV above the doorway. The four rooms are the Latin Library, the Greek Library, the Secret Library and the Pontifical Library. On the north side there were five windows facing the Cortile del Belvedere, but on the south side only one window, illuminating the Greek Library.¹⁰⁴

The first room contained the Latin manuscripts and the incunabula and adjoined the Greek section of the library; of the other two rooms, the Secret Library contained the most valuable manuscripts to keep them apart from the others, while the Pontifical Library was used for the papal archives and registers (*Regesta*). The last of these rooms, renamed the *Intima et ultima secretior bibliotheca* in 1512, apparently held all the most valuable documents relating to the Apostolic See and its history. Platina's view was that the library should be efficiently organized and at the same time aesthetically suited to its role as the 'Ark of Christendom'.¹⁰⁵

For the interior architecture and decoration of the library skilled artists and craftsmen were 'head-hunted' from all over Italy. The glass panes for the windows were ordered from workshops in Venice and a German known only as Hermannus was engaged to take charge of the construction and installation of the windows. For the wall decorations the Curia commissioned the Florentine Ghirlandaio brothers and Melozzo da Forlì.¹⁰⁶ The main entrance was framed by a marble

14. Ground plan of part of the Vatican showing the rooms of the library as they were under Pope Sixtus IV. Drawing from Letarouilly, *Le Vatican*, Paris 1882.



doorcase and studded with ninety-five ornamental bronze nails and other decorative features that have not survived.

The decorative scheme designed by the Ghirlandaio brothers is still discernible in part: the edges of the vaulting were concealed by classical mouldings painted in dark colours, and at the key of each vault there was a decorative design or the crest of Pope Sixtus IV. The overall decorative scheme was supplemented by representations of doctors of the Church or prophets incorporated in architectural members and embellished with vases of flowers against a sky-blue background.¹⁰⁷

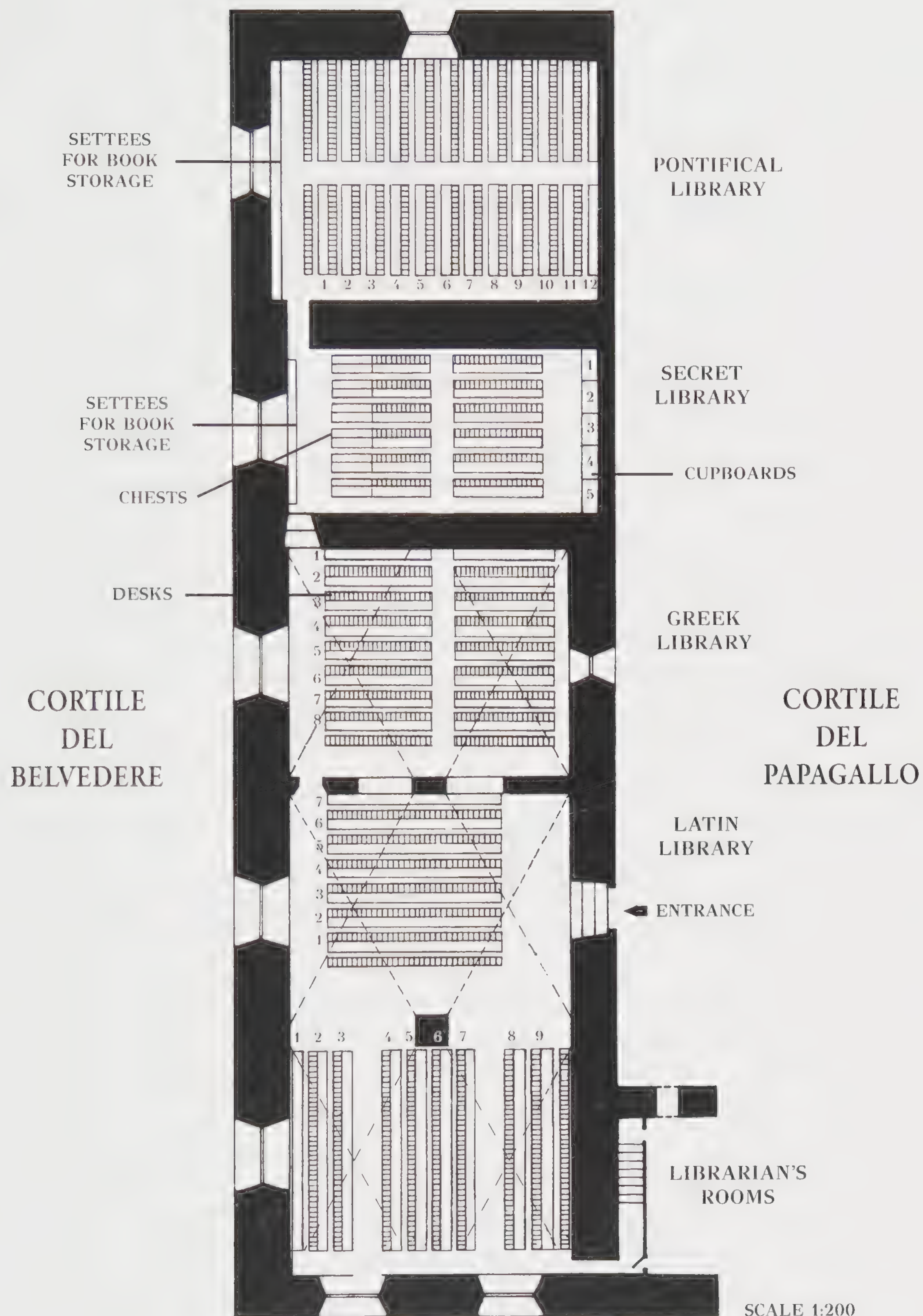
The persons depicted in the wall frescoes, starting with the one at the north-east corner above the door leading into the Greek Library and proceeding to the right, are:

- | | |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| 1. St. Jerome | 7. Cleobulus |
| 2. Gregory the Great | 8. Antisthenes |
| 3. Thomas Aquinas | 9. Socrates |
| 4. St. Bonaventure | 10. Plato |
| 5. Aristotle | 11. St. Augustine |
| 6. Diogenes | 12. St. Ambrose |

On the wall facing the entrance, between the two windows looking on to the Cortile del Belvedere, was the fresco painted by Melozzo da Forlì in 1477 to commemorate the founding of Sixtus IV's library.¹⁰⁸ It shows the Pope seated on his throne, with Cardinal Pietro Riario¹⁰⁹ and Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere¹¹⁰ on either side of him like heraldic supporters; and kneeling at his feet is the newly appointed librarian, Bartolomeo Platina, who is pointing with his finger to the following inscription:

TEMPLA, DOMUM EXPOSITIS, VICOS, FORA, MOENIA, PONTES,
VIRGINEAM TRIVII QUOD REPARARIS AQUAM,
PRISCA LICET NAUTIS STATUAS DARE MUNERA PORTÛS,
ET VATICANUM CINGERE, SIXTE, JUGUM,
PLUS TAMEN URBS DEBET; NAM QUAE SQUALORE LATEBAT
CERNITUR IN CELEBRI BIBLIOTHECA LOCO.¹¹¹

15. *Plan of the Vatican Library, showing how the rooms were arranged in the time of Pope Sixtus IV, after the drawing by E. Wilson (Clark, The Care of Books, pl. 98).*



SCALE 1:200

The fresco is now in the Vatican picture gallery. The decoration of the Greek Library is not recorded in the accounts, but what remains of the frescoes leaves us in no doubt that the lunettes between the springings of the cross-vaults were decorated with paintings following the same system as those in the Latin Library.¹¹²

The furniture of the four rooms. There can be no question but that the library was furnished with desks of the type designed by Nuti, like those still surviving intact at Cesena, even though a fresco by Melozzo da Forlì in the Ospedale di Santo Spirito in Rome shows the manuscripts laid out on lecterns: this was probably a case of artistic licence.¹¹³ What we do know is that in 1475 Platina ordered the desks for the Latin Library from Francesco de Gyovane di Boxi di Milano,¹¹⁴ and that the same work for the Secret Library was entrusted – again by Platina – to *Magister Joanninus faber lignarius de Florentia* (Master Joanninus, joiner, of Florence), who in everyday life answered to the name of Giovannino dei Dolci and was one of the builders of the Sistine Chapel. Lastly, the desks for the Pontifical Library were ordered in 1480-1481 from Giovannino and his brother Master Marco.¹¹⁵ The negotiations for the manufacture and supply of chains, rings and rods to attach the manuscripts to the desks started in 1476, and these items – 1,728 in all – were obtained from Milan. All this metalwork was done by Giovanni the chain-maker (*Joannes fabricator catenarum*).¹¹⁶

The arrangement of the desks. The positioning of the desks and of the manuscripts they contained was worked out in accordance with a detailed catalogue of the manuscripts in each of the four rooms, their arrangement in the desks and the order in which they were displayed. The layout of the rooms as shown in Fig. 98 in Clark's book would have created a practical problem because of the difficulty of access to the manuscripts in the middle of each desk. It therefore seems more likely to me – and it accords with Melozzo's fresco – that there must have been a central aisle giving access to those manuscripts, at least in the three rooms other than the Greek Library, as shown in the plan on p. 471.

The Latin Library. This room was furnished with two blocks of desks of different lengths, one consisting of seven desks and the other of nine, with access passages along the side walls and probably a central aisle as well. The first of the nine-metre-long desks contained Bibles and biblical commentaries, the second works by St. Jerome and St. Augustine, the fourth works by St. John Chrysostom, and so on.¹¹⁷

The Greek Library. This room had eight rows of desks of the same size as those in one part of the Latin Library.¹¹⁸ The front row contained manuscripts of the Old and New Testaments, the second works by the Eastern Church Fathers, the seventh and eighth works of philosophy and rhetoric.

The Secret Library. The smallest of the four rooms, the so-called *Bibliotheca Secreta* or Secret Library, was furnished with six desks (or rows of desks) as well as five cupboards and one *spalliera* (a wooden settee with storage space for books under the seat).¹¹⁹ Still following Clark's conjectural layout, the settee was placed against one of the side walls and the cupboards against the other, with passages along the walls giving access to the desks. Each desk had a book-chest (*capsa*) at each end.¹²⁰ The chests, plain boxes like those used for storing books in antiquity, were installed in 1481.

The Pontifical Library. This room was furnished with twelve desks aligned at right angles to most of those in the other three rooms, as well as a settee which is more or less a continuation of the one in the Secret Library.¹²¹ The desks contained 259 codices on subjects similar to those in the Greek and Latin Libraries; in the settees were archival records such as minute-books, bulls, codices, documents and copies of letters to bishops and dignitaries of the Catholic Church dealing with theological and administrative matters and decisions.

The Vatican Library described above, with its five blocks of 'bookcases' and its forty-two desks each about nine metres long, could accommodate some four hundred readers. These figures are fully in accordance with the specifications Sixtus IV must have had in mind when he set out to create a library capable of satisfying the research needs and other interests of 'all men of letters'. In other words, it was not a 'closed' library, nor were the Pope's declarations of intent mere rhetorical expressions, for a large number of rare manuscripts were out on loan during Platina's time as librarian, as attested by the Register of Loans. Sixtus's wishes were respected by his successors, too: Montaigne, for example, was greatly impressed when he visited the library about a century later, in 1581.¹²²

*Its functional
philosophy*

16. *General view of the Vatican Library during the pontificate of Sixtus V, showing the frescoes by C. Nebbia and G. Guerra.*





Pope Sixtus V's library. On his election to the pontificate as Sixtus V (1585-1590), Felice Peretti decided to integrate the library with the Vatican Museum and Picture Gallery and to make them all even more splendid.¹²³ Accordingly, in 1587 he commissioned Domenico Fontana to design a new library strictly in accordance with Renaissance design principles, in such a way as to reflect both the library's riches and its role in propagating learning.¹²⁴

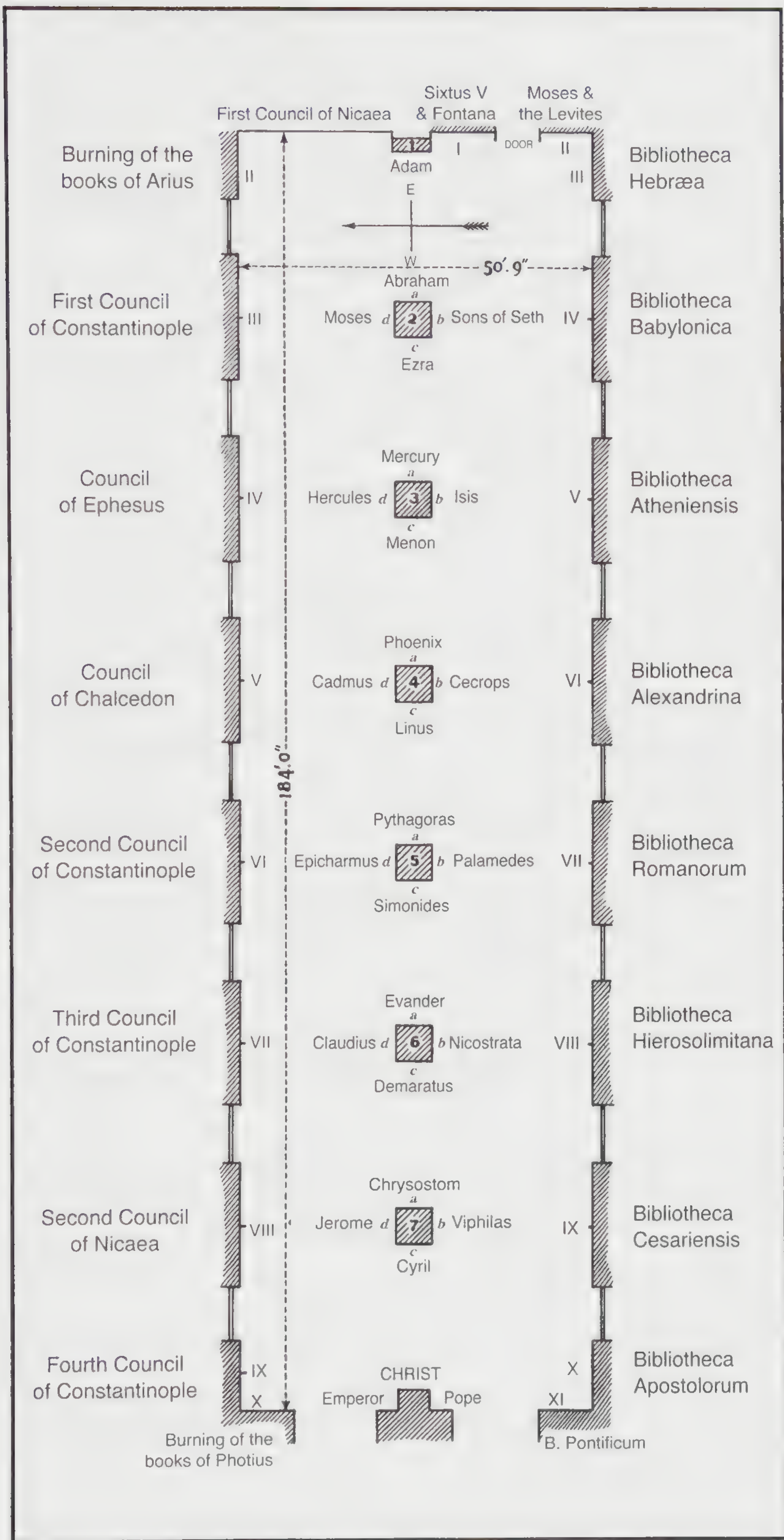
The room spans the Cortile del Belvedere from east to west and adjoins the galleries connecting the Belvedere with the Vatican Palace.¹²⁵ Its design is without precedent: in fact it might well be described as a 'hidden library'. The room is divided into two aisles separated by a row of six piers along the longitudinal axis, which support the cross-vaults, and each of the side walls is pierced by seven windows.

The thinking behind the library's design is summed up in the words 'hidden library': this is not a conventional library and reading room but a symbolic library and storage place for books. All the walls are covered with frescoes, as are the cupboards in which the books are kept. The subjects of the frescoes, which are by Cesare Nebbia¹²⁶ and Giovanni Guerra,¹²⁷ attempt a reconciliation between the Graeco-Roman and Christian traditions, for they depict mythical figures side by side with biblical persons and Church Fathers: Heracles with Moses, for example, and Abraham with Moses. The portraits are framed by pictures of historic libraries (such as those of Babylon and Alexandria) and scenes from Councils of the Church (Nicaea, Ephesus, Chalcedon and others). Overlooking the whole room from their positions in the centre of the east and west walls respectively are Adam and Christ.

The bookcases, too, are different from those in all other Italian libraries except the Urbino studiolo. They are wooden cupboards set round the piers and against all the walls wherever there is free wall space, rising to a height of nearly 2.20 metres. The panelled cupboard doors are painted with a decorative design, with the Pope's coat of arms as its central motif, and crowned by an ornate cornice; each cupboard contained several shelves where the books were stored. Behind the cupboard door there was an inner door consisting of a metal-framed wire mesh, to keep the books protected when the outer door was opened to allow ventilation.

The library of Duke Federico da Montefeltro. Federico da Montefeltro (1444-1482), Duke of Urbino, is best known to art-lovers for his famous studiolo, noted for its outstanding carved wood panelling, rather than for his collection of books or the place where they were kept.¹²⁸ The room where his priceless books

17. Ground plan of the Vatican Library, showing the location of the various frescoes on the walls and vaults.



were arranged was just an ordinary room on the ground floor of the ducal palace, quite impersonal in comparison with the studiolo: it measured 45×20 metres and was roofed with a semicircular barrel-vault and illuminated by two large windows in the north wall and one on the south side.¹²⁹ Nothing is now left of the library – not even the door leading into it from the inner courtyard or the ceiling paintings: all that remains is an outsized relief of an eagle half-way along the vault, with the initials F.D. on either side of its head and cherubim all round it, interspersed with shafts of light and flames.

The books are traditionally said to have been kept in eight shelved wall cupboards along the east and west walls. The sole source of this information is an account written in 1587 by Bernardino Baldi, a citizen of Urbino who worked for the Duke.¹³⁰

Unlike the library, the studiolo contained the manuscripts and printed books Federico da Montefeltro liked to read, which were of great value and lavishly illuminated. It was a small room, only 2.50×3.00 metres in size, with two zones of decoration: a band of ornate panelling carved with representations of manuscript codices, scientific instruments, etc., reminiscent of a temple of the Muses, and above it a painting of Federico da Montefeltro reading in the middle of the room, flanked by philosophers and Church

Fathers including Aristotle, Albertus Magnus and St. Jerome.¹³¹ The wooden panelling was the most elaborate of its time and was renowned for the almost painterly rendering of the scenes carved on it. It was made of neatly-trimmed pieces of various kinds of wood, with veneers and inlays of pine, walnut, cherry, lemon-wood and other woods, chosen for their natural colour and their grain so as to depict shading, backgrounds, natural horizons, architectural members, persons, plants and trees, animals and other things.¹³²



18. A drawing showing the layout of the subjects depicted in the two zones of decoration in the studiolo of Federico da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino.

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19. The studiolo of Federico da Montefeltro, completed in 1496.



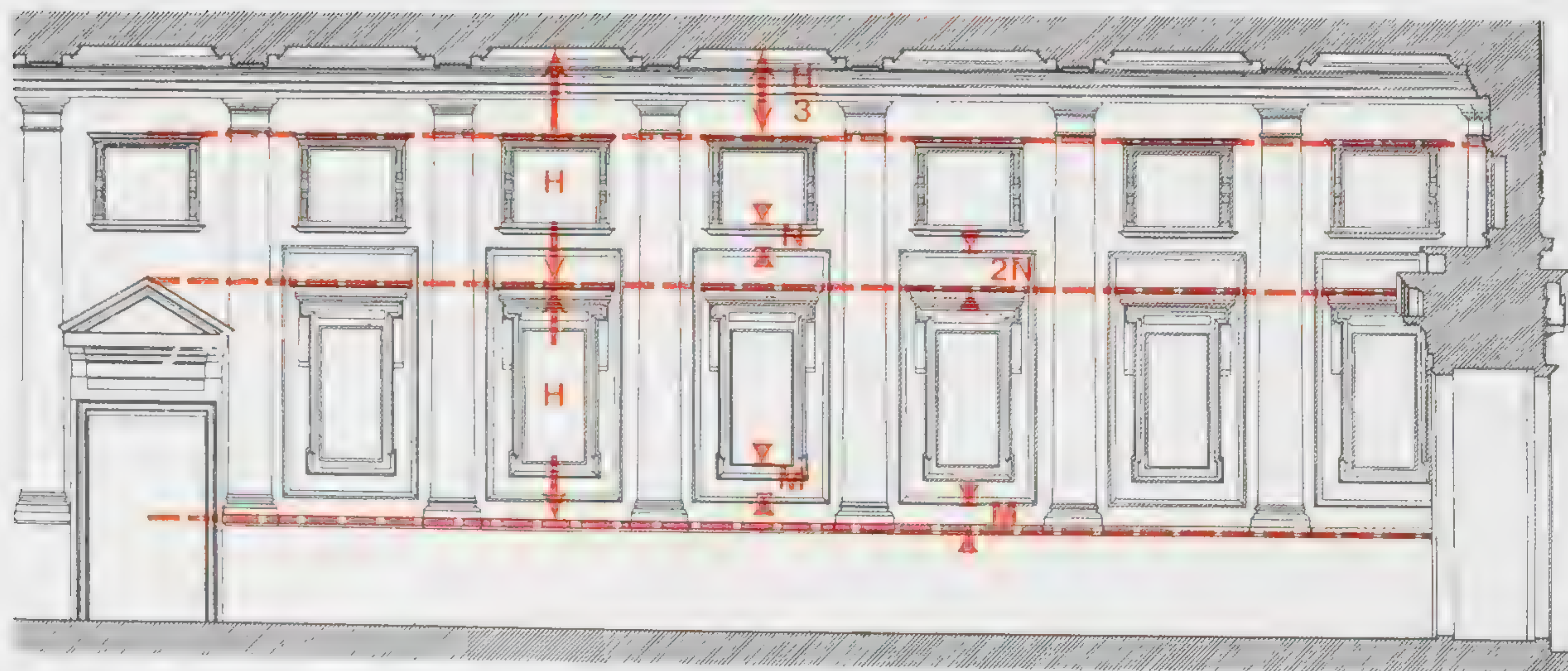
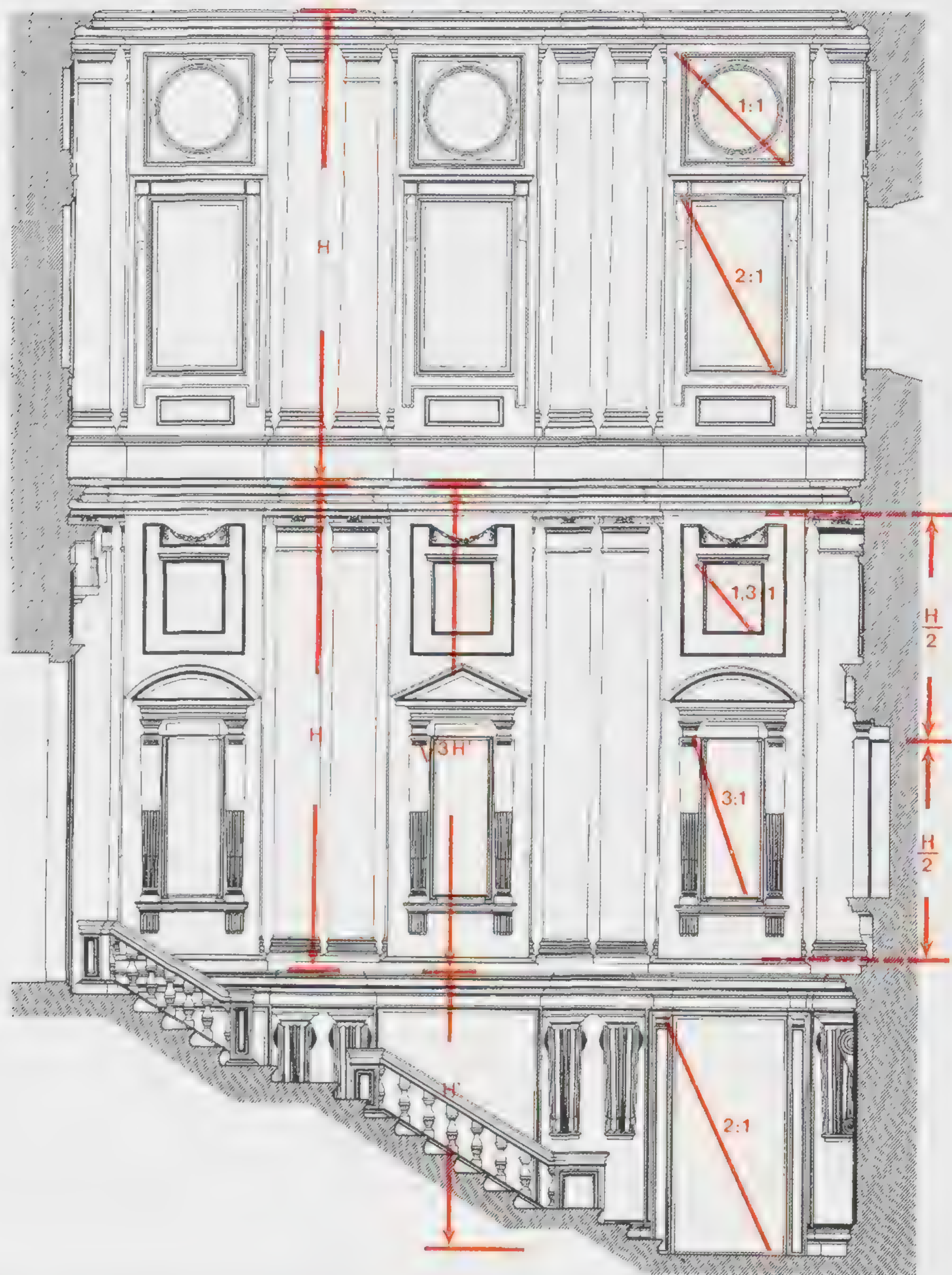
The Medici Library in Florence. The construction of a library to accommodate the Medici collections, with a history going back 150 years and to designs by none other than Michelangelo, was obviously a major landmark in the history of humanism. In the first place, the books were of pivotal importance in furthering the trend towards Neoplatonism started by Marsilio Ficino, and secondly Michelangelo designed a library the like of which had not been seen before, at the very same time as he was working on the designs for the completion of St. Peter's in Rome and the painted decoration of the Sistine Chapel. Some scholars hold that the proportions of the room, the facings of the walls and other surfaces, the design of the windows and other features of the furniture and fittings contain allusions to the doctrines, laws and symbols of Pythagorean and Platonic philosophy, as we shall see.

On the death of Pope Leo X in 1521, his nephew Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, who succeeded him as Clement VII, gathered together the books belonging to the Medici family that were in Rome and commissioned Michelangelo to design the library.¹³³ Work started in 1524, but in fact preliminary drawings had already been exchanged by 1519, even before Giulio's accession, because Leo X, another member of the Medici family and a book-lover too, was the one who had put the collection together and kept it in Rome. The correspondence between Michelangelo and Pope Clement makes it possible to follow the preparation of the designs through all its stages, as well as the two men's thinking on various problems relating to the architecture and furnishing of the library.¹³⁴

The final stages in the construction of the library turned out to be very eventful. By the time it was ready to be opened, in 1571, with Pius V on the papal throne, the moving spirit behind it, Clement VII, had been dead for several decades (†1534); and Michelangelo departed this life thirty years later, in 1564. After Pope Clement's death Michelangelo¹³⁵ left Florence, by which time only the outer shell of the room had been built. The project was taken over by Niccolò Tribolo, Vasari and Bartolomeo Ammannati on the basis of Michelangelo's plans and notes. These assistants of Michelangelo were themselves assisted by other artists and craftsmen, who worked on various parts of the library: they included Santi Buglioli and Tribolo, who designed the floor of the central aisle, Battista del Tasso and Antonio Carota, responsible for the carved wooden ceiling, Battista del Cinque and Ciapino, who worked on the construction of the desks, and Giovanni da Udine, who designed the superb stained-glass compositions in most of the windows.

20. *The vestibule of the Medici library, showing the striking wall decoration by Michelangelo and the famous staircase built to Ammannati's designs.*





The design philosophy of the Medici Library follows the medieval pattern, that is to say it was intended as a museum-type library and reading room for the safe-keeping of the most valuable and important books, especially those in the Medici family collection, without making any provision for the accommodation of new acquisitions. It was definitely not equipped to hold more than a part of Medici collection. At the same time, however, it was the Pope's wish that the family library should not be their private preserve, i.e. that it should be open to cultured members of a wider public. The initial design had the books separated into a Latin and a Greek section, following the Graeco-Roman tradition of bilingual libraries. There ensued a series of proposals and counter-proposals concerning matters of architecture and statics, the illumination of the room and the style of the staircase leading up to it. In a letter dated 8th April, 1524, the Pope finally agreed to allow Michelangelo 'to locate the library wherever he likes, even next to the old monastery'.

The staircase. The approach to the library is along a splendid cloister designed by Brunelleschi, and then up a single flight of stairs leading up into the vestibule, an extremely attractive hall most of which is occupied by the famous and thoroughly original staircase to the reading room. As initially designed by Michelangelo, this latter staircase was to be Π -shaped, with two parallel flights attached to the side walls and forming a bridge or landing in front of the entrance to the reading room. This double stairway, according to Michelangelo's plans, was to be made of wood.¹³⁶

*The famous
Scalone*

Tribolo, who took over the project after Michelangelo's departure, made no progress, and so Ammannati then undertook to put Michelangelo's ideas into practice.¹³⁷ In the first place, the vestibule is nearly twice as wide as the reading room, whose floor is at the level of the moulding separating the lowest zone of the vestibule with the one above it. The side walls are designed to resemble the façade of a two-storey building featuring blind windows which have deep reveals and pediments and are flanked by tall single or double pilasters. The zone below the windows is adorned with particularly graceful consoles placed directly beneath the tall pilasters.

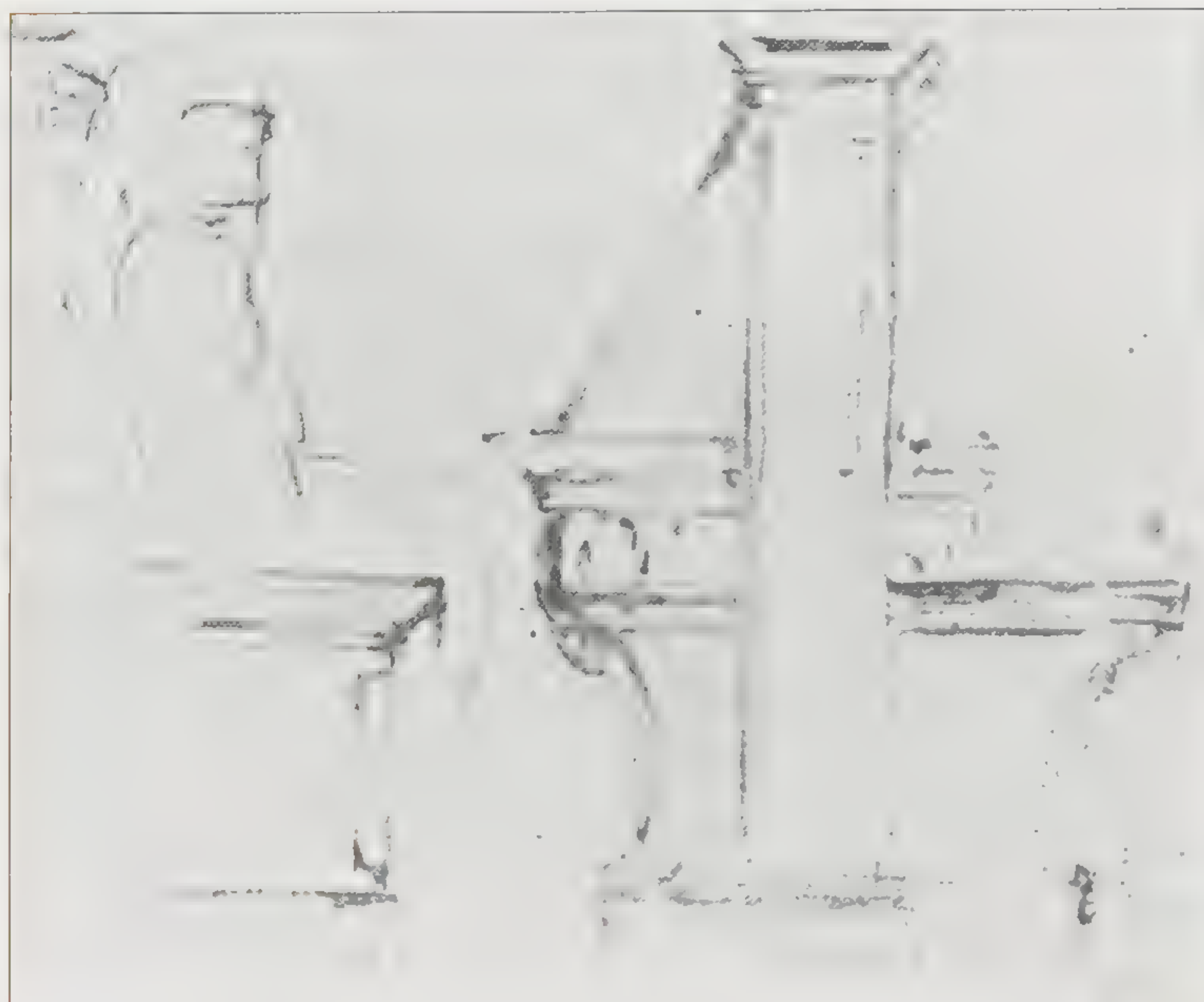
All the original architectural members were carved out of *pietra serena* (blue-grey sandstone) and, in combination with the smooth white plaster of the walls, they create the 'classic' Florentine style of architecture initiated by Brunelleschi.

21. *Elevation of the wall of the vestibule directly opposite the door leading out into the cloister.*

22. *Part of the interior elevation of the Medici library, showing all the architectural features and the calculations involved in its design.*

The triple staircase, which steals the show, has space nearly all round, like a free-standing sculpture which forms an integral part of the vestibule. The three parallel flights of steps rise together up to the height of the landing, from which the central flight continues alone to the main entrance of the reading room. The treads of the central flight are more or less oval in outline and are separated from the flights on either side by banisters supported by bottle-shaped balusters standing on square bases.

The Reading Room. The dimensions of the reading room, which measured 46.20×10.50 metres and was 8.40 metres high, were determined by the outer walls



23. Sketch by Michelangelo of a desk in the Medici library.

of the ground-floor room, which bore the load of the whole building. Directly opposite the main entrance there is another identical door leading into the *libreria secreta*, and yet another door in the side wall facing the interior of the monastery leads to the inner parts of the complex.

The wall decoration is the same as in the vestibule: above the level of the tops of the desks there is a symmetrical row of windows framed by pilasters and rectangular window-lights. Some of them are blind windows, but others are notable for their elaborate stained glass, admitting plenty of daylight into the reading room. Here again we have *pietra serena* contrasting with the white plaster that surrounds it.¹³⁸

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The floor. The floor paving is extremely complex and has two completely different designs. The central aisle is bounded on each side by the ends of the desks, while the desks, being one-piece structures with wooden false floors, covered the paved floor to left and right of the central aisle. The paving of the visible expanse of floor was designed and made between 1549 and 1554 by Santi Buglioli and Niccolò Tribolo, exactly following the design that Antonio Carota had used for the carved wooden ceiling on the basis of Michelangelo's notes and sketches.

24. The monumental reading room of the Medici library, with the elaborate floor in the foreground.



The design consists of rectangles framed by double bands, each rectangle containing an oval which in turn contains an elongated rhombus with concave sides, and in the centre of each rhombus is a rosette resembling an anthemion. Garlands, fluttering ribbons and other Renaissance decorative motifs complete the composition. All these motifs, yellow ochre in colour, are incised on a terracotta ground.¹³⁹

The ‘hidden pavements’. In 1774 one of the desks collapsed under the weight of the books, and when it was being repaired a floor of a completely design was discovered, made of the same materials but purely geometrical in its conception. The fifteen panels (one of which is called the ‘Medici panel’), arranged in sequence, have been variously interpreted as regards the laws governing their design and their philosophical underpinning. In the opinion of Jay Kappraff, the law governing the design of these panels is based on the Greek letter lambda (Λ), which was the key to the Pythagorean musical matrix.¹⁴⁰ Kappraff uses the triangular shape of the lambda, referred to by Plato in *Timaeus* as the ‘World Soul’.¹⁴¹

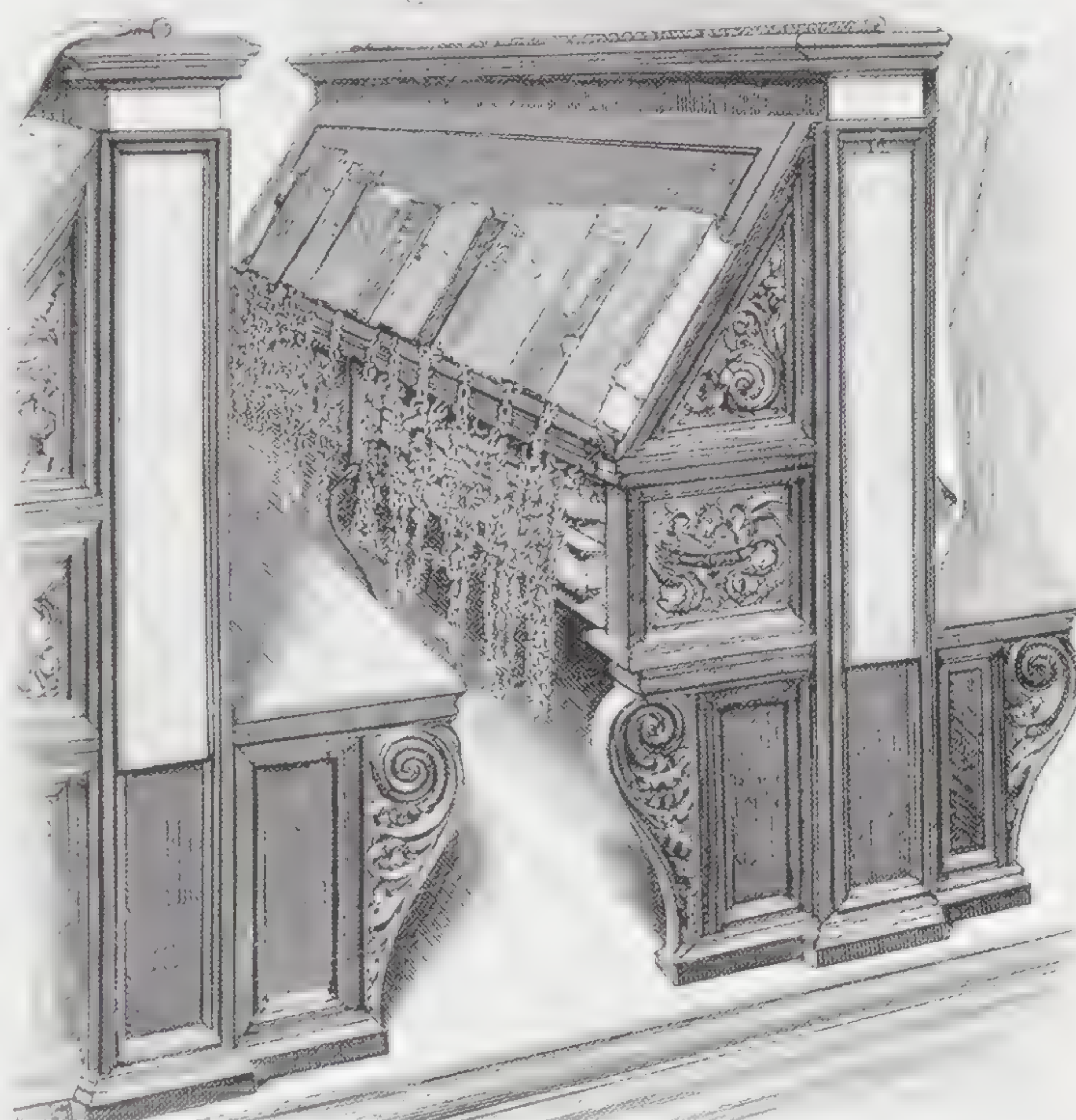
The ceiling. The ceiling was completed in 1534, the very year when Michelangelo left Florence for Rome. It is a coffered ceiling of carved wood without a trace of colour, and this design was used as the basis for the decoration of the central aisle. The work was done by Giovanni Battista di Marco del Tasso (1500-1555) and Antonio di Marco di Giano, known as ‘Il Carota’ (1485-1568). The dimensions of the coffers correspond to the dimensions of the motifs in the central aisle and extend symmetrically to right and left, covering the space occupied by the desks.¹⁴²

The stained-glass windows. The natural lighting of this monumental hall is provided by the stained-glass windows designed by Giovanni da Udine, which he completed between 1567 and 1568.¹⁴³ They are the oldest examples of stained glass in a library that have survived to the present day.

Leaden comes (grooved strips of lead joining the pieces of glass) make a framework of squares, each of which contains an oval painted in colours ranging from ochre to a light sepia. The device chosen as the central motif is the coat of arms of the Medici family, framed by a monumental gate. The composition is completed with various Renaissance motifs including putti, wreaths and other floral ornaments, vases of flowers and a chain on which the golden fleece is suspended. At the foot is the inscription SEMPER, and in some cases Clemens vii.

The desks. The only furnishings in the reading room were the two blocks of forty-four desks each, arranged in parallel columns¹⁴⁴ just as in the other libraries built in Italy at about that time, like those of San Marco (Florence) and Cesena. The arrangement of the desks divides the room into two sections, one Greek and the other Latin, in conformity with the traditional arrangement of Roman libraries from the imperial period onwards.

The design concept calls to mind Nuti's desks in the Cesena library, though here Michelangelo designed a more ergonomic seat to fit with the desktop, as shown in the extant sketch by his own hand. The desks are of walnut-wood and richly carved, in accordance with the wishes of Pope Clement VII himself, and according to Vasari they were made by Battista del Cinque and Ciapino.¹⁴⁵ On the end of each desk facing the central aisle there was a fitting for an oblong panel where the catalogue of the codices kept in that desk was hung. The codices were attached to the desks with elaborate chains and each desk contained an average of about twenty-five codices.¹⁴⁶



25. Desks in the Medici library, with the chained manuscripts laid out in a row (Clark, *The Care of Books*, 235).

The *libreria secreta*. The main reading room was not the only place where books were kept: even in Clement VII's time there was already talk of setting aside another room for the storage of the most valuable manuscripts and similar material. And so the *libreria secreta*, a small room adjoining the reading room, came into being on the model of the one in the Vatican Library of Sixtus IV. It had a triangular floor plan and was lit by skylights in the ceiling, as proposed by Michelangelo himself. This design ensured the security of the 'secret library'.¹⁴⁷

The library of St. Mark's in Venice. The library of St. Mark's, or Biblioteca Marciana, was designed by Jacopo Sansovino and forms part of the Zecca (the Mint). It was built to house Cardinal Bessarion's collection of books, which he had donated to the Venetian Republic in 1468.¹⁴⁸

Sansovino, better known for his talent as a sculptor than as an architect, was described by Lorenzo Lotto as 'a great artist, second only to Michelangelo'. He

worked mostly in Rome but moved away from there in 1527 after the sack of the city. On his arrival in Venice he dominated the Venetian architectural scene, thanks mainly to the favour shown to him by Andrea Gritti, the Doge since 1523. On his appointment as *proto* (foreman) of the Procuratia de Supra, he was in sole charge of the maintenance of St. Mark's Basilica and all the buildings on St. Mark's Square except the Doge's Palace.¹⁴⁹

The decision to rebuild the north side of the square was taken because restoration work was urgently needed after the fire of 1512. After 1530 the Venetian Republic began to recover from the wounds inflicted in the War



26. Portrait of Jacopo Sansovino, a contemporary engraving.

of the League of Cambrai and gradually emerged as one of the great European cultural centres, thanks in part to the huge output of its printing houses and especially the great prestige of the firm of Aldus Manutius. Construction of the building that was to include the library began in 1536. On the subject of its architectural features, Andrea Palladio, in his *Four Books on Architecture*, published in Venice in 1570,¹⁵⁰ wrote:

'From the time when Giacomo Sansovino, a sculptor and architect of great renown, first began to make the *bella maniera* better known, one finds notable buildings [in Venice], such as the new Procuratia building, which is probably the most sumptuous and ornate building ever erected from antiquity to the present day.'

The exquisite artistry of the Zecca's façade is continued in the interior with the imposing staircase (*scalone*) leading to the upper floor, where the library is located.¹⁵¹ It is bounded by two pilasters in the form of Caryatids, sculpted by Alessandro Vittoria between 1553 and 1555, with assistance from other artists. A single flight of stairs without any particular wall decoration is roofed with a highly ornate



27. Part of the ornate painted relief decoration of the vault leading to the vestibule of the Biblioteca Marciana. The decoration consisted of representations of myths and symbolic compositions alluding to the gods associated with learning.

vaulted ceiling. Square and octagonal coffers, joined together with a gilt moulding, contain paintings by Battista Franco and Battista del Moro and reliefs on a gilded mosaic ground by Alessandro Vittoria. The figural subjects are drawn from antiquity, chiefly mythology, and are combined with representations symbolizing the arts and sciences. Among the most notable are the earth goddess Rhea, personifi-

cations of the Sciences and various human attitudes towards astrology, such as Cronus standing beside a bearded man, with his books and an owl symbolizing melancholy.

The staircase ends at a landing before continuing up to the vestibule of the library. The vaulted ceiling over the landing features the seven liberal arts (the trivium and quadrivium), a classic decorative motif for libraries and academic institutions generally, with the personification of Poetry at the apex of the vault, soaring above all the rest.

The second flight of the staircase has the same architectural characteristics as far as the decoration is concerned, but thematically it is a hymn in praise of Wisdom: a sixteenth-century 'Prière sur l'Acropole' written by Mikhail Ivanoff.¹⁵² In the front row is Apollo, as ruler of the planets and the Muses, and then Prudence with her mirror between two unidentifiable figures, perhaps the Spirit of Poverty and Doubt. Next come Wisdom, crowned with the diadem of eternal glory, and other symbolic representations of Power and Ferocity. At the head of the stairs is a painting of the nude figure of absolute Knowledge soaring with a book in her hand, inscribed in the circle of eternity.

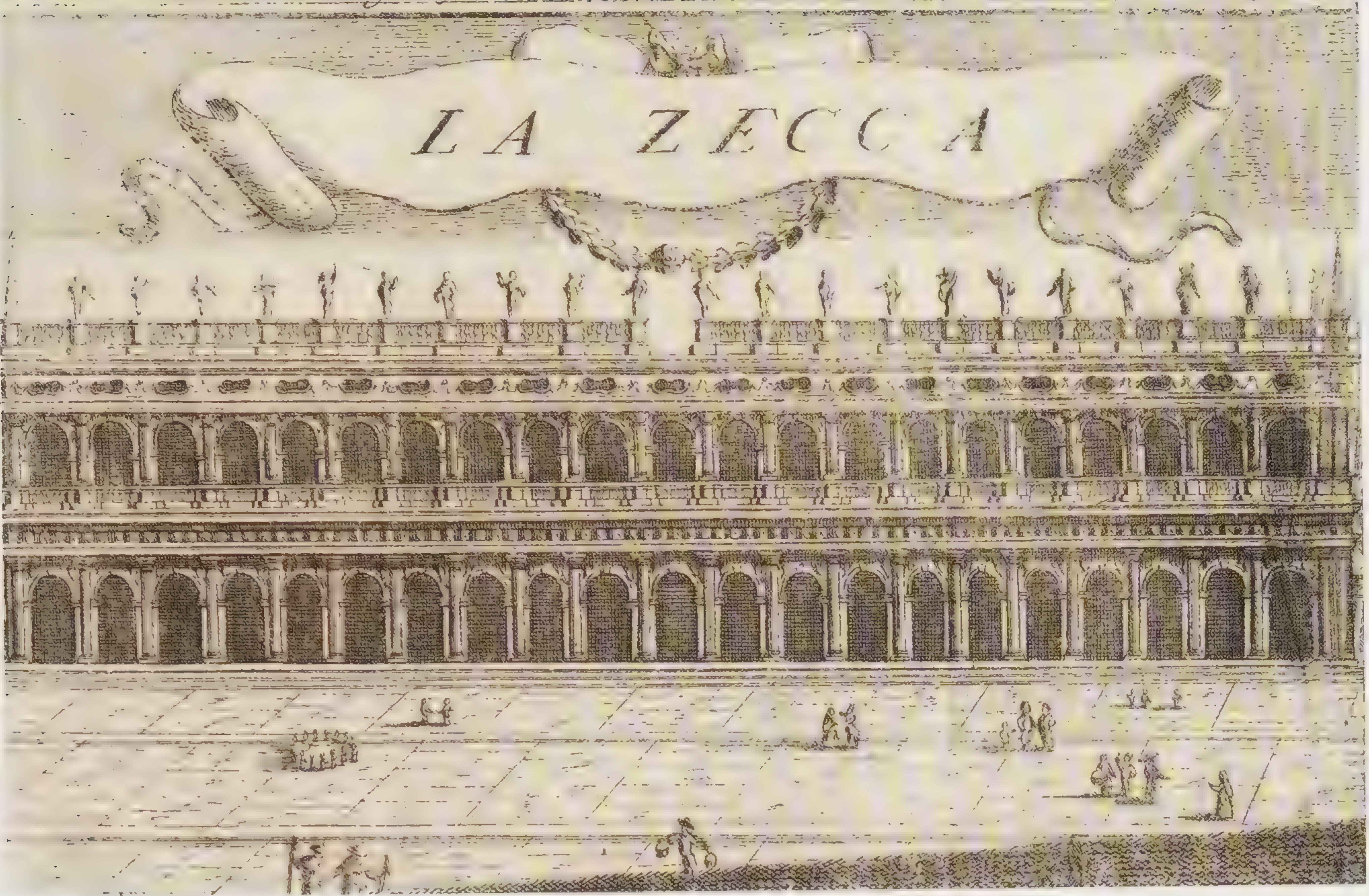
After crossing another landing with a lunette adorned with a picture of four of the Muses (Urania, Erato, Thalia and Clio), we come to the vestibule of the library, whose painted decoration has not survived in its original form. We know that it depicted scenes of Orphic rites, but all that remains is the magnificent painting of Wisdom, an outstanding example of Titian's work.

The vestibule. The *antisala* or vestibule was built in 1591-1596 by Sansovino to hold the collection of ancient statuary donated to the Republic in 1587 by Giovanni Grimani, the Patriarch of Aquileia.¹⁵³ The wall decorations consist of marble revetments, and there are recesses flanked by pilasters, with plastered surfaces which were originally decorated with paintings by artists of this period, including Tintoretto.

28. *The library, a part of the Zecca (Mint) in St. Mark's Square. Engraving, 18th c.*

29. *Engraving of the library's vestibule containing Domenico Grimani's collection of statuary (18th c.).*

LA ZECCA



The reading room. The rectangular reading room is illuminated by two rows of five arched windows. The two doors in the middle of the end walls, purely Greek in their architectural conception and each flanked by two pilasters, are crowned by pediments. The floor is paved with rectangular marble slabs laid in diagonal rows with marble borders in two different shades of grey-green.

The ceiling is extremely ornate: in its aesthetic and decorative style it exactly resembles the ceilings of the Scuola Grande di S. Rocco designed by Vincenzo Scarpagnino and others. It is a vaulted ceiling with painted plaster mouldings enclosing medallions which recapitulate all the subjects depicted on the ceiling.

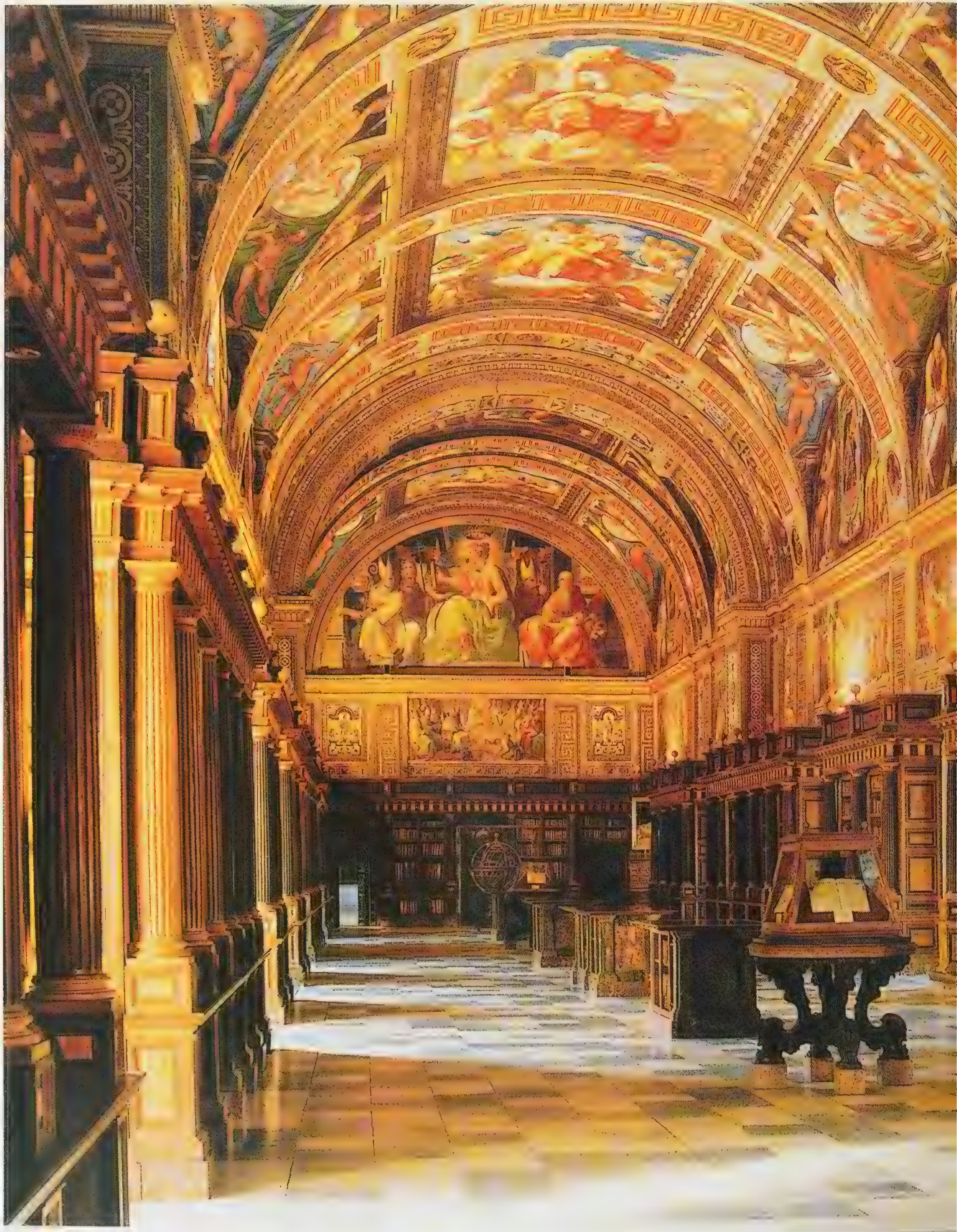
The seven artists responsible for the ceiling paintings were chosen by Titian and Sansovino. They were Giovanni de Mio, Giuseppe Porta (also known as Salviati), Ziambattista Zelotti, Giulio Licinio, Andrea Meldolla (also known as Schiavone), Battista Franco and the great Paolo Veronese. Their remit was to paint allegorical compositions with the object of reconciling the mythological tradition and the twelve Olympian gods with Christianity. This line was dictated not only by the papal entourage but also by the nature of the frescoes adorning the Vatican Library since the fifteenth century; and so Venice, the most faithful and reliable upholder of Catholic doctrine after the Holy See, could not possibly break away from the framework of such symbolism.

The most elaborate allegorical composition is the one by de Mio, which shows Zeus seated on the terrestrial firmament holding the attributes of power in his hands and gazing at the three Christian virtues, Faith, Hope and Charity. Elsewhere we see Mercury between Minerva and Neptune, and Arithmetic with Geometry, from Veronese's brush.

The central features of the wall frescoes are fourteen full-length figures representing philosophers: ten between the windows and one on either side of each of the two doors. These figures, depicted in painted likenesses of niches with scalloped arches, are the work of Titian, Veronese and Andrea Schiavone. The philosophers are not named, but it is to be assumed that they include Plato and Aristotle, and certainly Pythagoras, and there are also visual references to biblical figures.

30. *General view of the Biblioteca Marciana designed by Jacopo Sansovino.*







The Escorial library. Construction work on the building to house Philip II's collection in the Monastery of El Escorial was started in 1563 and completed in 1584, to designs by the most celebrated architect of his day, Juan de Herrera (1530-1597).¹⁵⁴ The library in the newly-built Royal Seat of San Lorenzo de El Escorial occupies a prime position over the arcade of the main gateway.¹⁵⁵

Herrera designed a room 70 metres long and 12 metres wide, of a height to match, crowned by a semicircular barrel-vault.¹⁵⁶ In appearance, the library is different from all others of that period, and indeed nothing like it is found anywhere in Europe until the late sixteenth century. The principles governing its architectural design spring from Herrera's initiative of changing the form and function of bookcases as they had been until then, replacing the desks hitherto used for book storage with bookcases set against the walls, consisting of uprights and horizontal shelves, and so creating two discrete zones: the bookcases and the mural frescoes, which are bound together by the vault that covers them both. The room is illuminated by twelve large windows, five facing east and seven facing west, and a row of five smaller lights.

The iconography. To help us to understand the iconographic scheme for the pictorial decoration of the library, we have the exact programme and detailed description

31. *General view of the Escorial library designed by Juan de Herrera.*

written by the person who selected the subjects of the compositions and supervised their execution: Fray José de Sigüenza (1544-1606), a theologian and historian who was Abbot of the Escorial when the library was being built.¹⁵⁷ Sigüenza, who was the heart and soul of the library, worked with Arias Montano and Fray Angelo Rocca on the iconographic programme, having previously secured the assent of the Holy See from Ranaldi, the Vatican Librarian.¹⁵⁸ Montano held that the pictorial decoration should be centred on traditional medieval education and the seven liberal arts (the trivium and quadrivium), whereas Rocca wanted to explore new ways of approaching the spirit of the compositions, but both shared the view that art should serve the interests of propagating the faith and combating heresy, an attitude that hints at the kinds of books kept in the Escorial library.

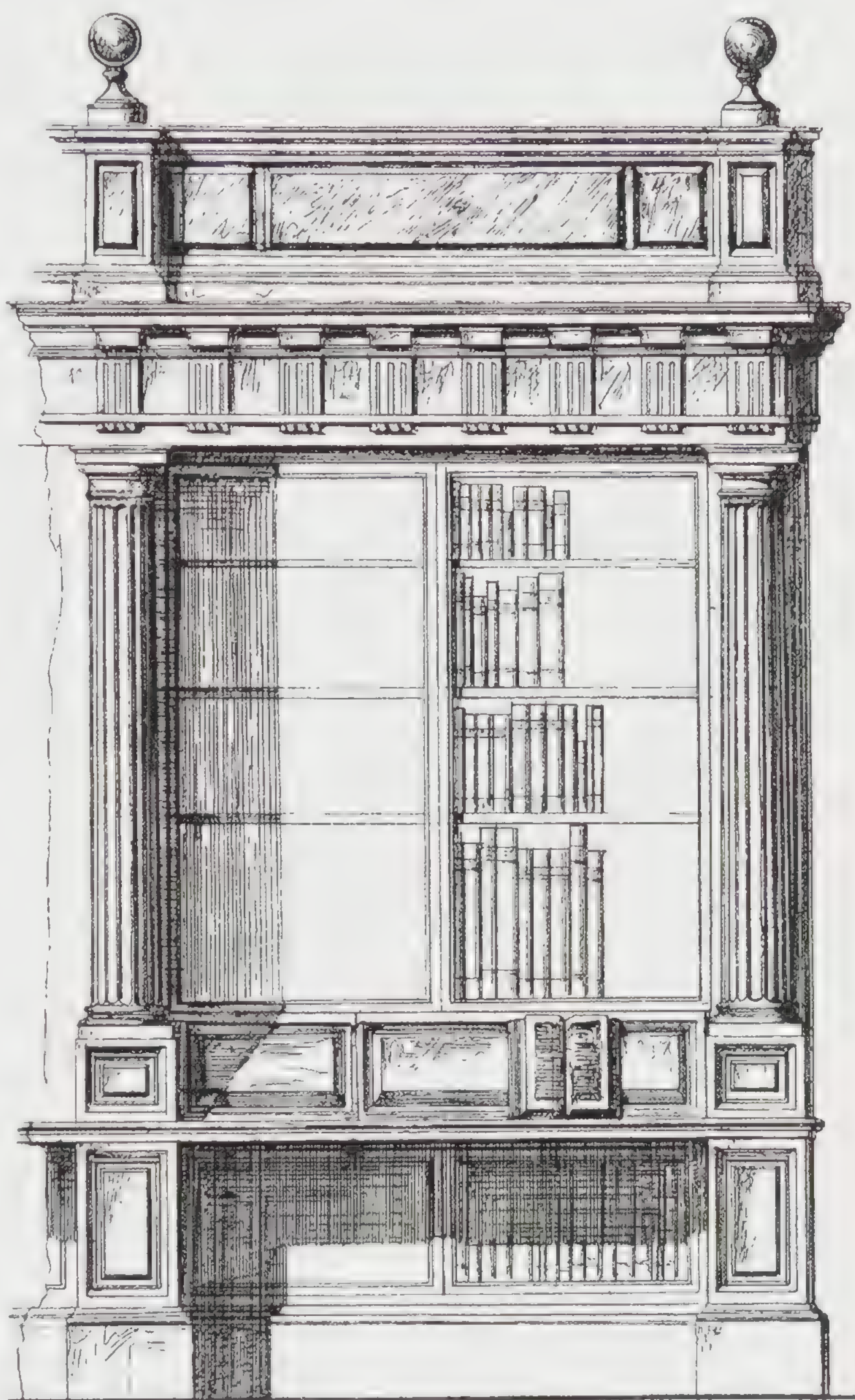
The monastic authorities awarded the contract for the pictorial decoration of the library to an Italian, Pellegrino Tibaldi, who was born in 1527 and died in 1592, a few years after the work was completed.¹⁵⁹ Pellegrino, a Mannerist painter, sculptor and architect, had worked in Rome and other Italian cities before emigrating in 1568 to Spain, where he succeeded Federico Zuccari as the principal court artist; but his masterpiece in the field of painting was undoubtedly the decoration of the Escorial library.

The iconographic scheme was designed to fit the shape of the visible surface of the barrel-vault. A row of pilasters divides the room into bays, with transverse arches springing from the pilasters across the width of the room. These arches are decorated with gold-highlighted meanders, broken at intervals by painted rosettes. The iconography was intended to demonstrate the validity of the equation Philosophy = Theology, as depicted in the lunettes at the two ends of the barrel-vault. Philosophy is surrounded by Socrates, Plato, Aristotle and Seneca; and above them is the School of Athens, with Zeno and the Stoics on one side and Socrates and the Academics on the other. Theology has as its attendants the four Western Church Fathers, SS. Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine and Gregory, with the Council of Nicaea above. In this composition we see Emperor Constantine the Great proclaiming that priests and other clerics are subject to no judge but God, and in this context Arius is shown being sentenced to excommunication.

The seven bays created by the colonnade are given over to representations of the traditional motifs symbolizing the seven liberal arts, but in new allegorical forms. One such is the Tower of Babel, below Grammar, to emphasize the necessity of studying other peoples' languages; another is Orpheus, with Eurydice, symbolizing music.

The furniture and fittings. The bookcases lining the walls are the only fixtures in the reading room. They were designed by Herrera himself and are notable for their Doric style, with many elements taken from the cornices of ancient Doric temples.¹⁶⁰

Their most characteristic features are the Doric columns with capitals of the appropriate type, standing on double rectangular panelled plinths. Above the column capitals is the architrave, the lowest part of the entablature, with metopes, triglyphs, mutules and guttae, surmounted by the cornice. At the top, directly above each column as if it were a prolongation of it, there is a decorative rectangular plinth matching the one on which the column stands, surmounted by a globe. These plinths, together with a band of wooden panelling against the wall, form a sort of parapet. Each section of the bookcase has three fixed shelves which, with the fixed shelf at the bottom of the bookcase, make five compartments for the storage of books. A shelf runs like an architrave above the plinths at the foot of the columns, with a sloping surface behind it forming a writing- or reading-desk. Most of the woodwork is mahogany, but the mouldings of the panelling and various other decorative elements are made of cedar, ebony and other woods.



32. *Elevation of a bookcase and section of desk in the Escorial library (Clark, The Care of Books, 270).*



The Bodleian Library in Oxford. The predecessor of the Bodleian Library was a room above the Old Congregation House, which was equipped for use as a library with funds provided by Thomas Cobham, a citizen of Oxford and Bishop of Worcester.¹⁶¹ Situated at the north-east corner of the University Church of St. Mary, it was the first ever purpose-built library. Work on it was begun in about 1320 but had still not been completed by the time Cobham died in 1327. The design and furnishing of the library conform to the medieval norm: it is an impersonal rectangular room with large windows in both side walls, with a wooden saddle roof. The desks would presumably have been set at right angles to the side walls, on either side of a central aisle.¹⁶²

When Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester, gave a priceless collection of books to the University, the authorities had to find new premises for the library, and so it was decided to build a new room above the Divinity School, architecturally the finest building in Oxford.¹⁶³ The decision was taken in 1444 but the new library was not completed until much later, and then only with financial assistance from the Bishop of London, Thomas Kempe:¹⁶⁴ it finally opened its doors to academics and students in 1488. In appearance it was just like Cobham's library. A row of symmetrical windows in the side walls determined the positions of the desks, which were arranged on either side of a central aisle. The library has an open saddle roof lined with planks, and the tie-beams are supported by curved wooden braces.

As it turned out, this library served the needs of the academic community for no more than sixty years. The main reason for its decline was the shortage of funds for its expansion and maintenance. Another factor was the librarian's outrageous negligence with regard to the borrowing of valuable manuscripts, which led to the irreparable loss of a large proportion of the library's holdings. The coup de grâce was delivered in 1550, when the King's Commissioners removed most of



34. *The arms of Oxford University supported by two angels, from John Scolar, Questiones super libros Ethicorum Aristotelis, Oxford, 1518.*

*The benefaction
of Humfrey,
Duke of Gloucester*

33. *The library built and fitted out with funds donated by Sir Thomas Bodley.*

the books that remained, so that by 1556 nothing was left but the desks. For the next forty years the university had no library.¹⁶⁵

When Sir Thomas Bodley wrote to the University on 23rd February, 1598, offering to pay for the resuscitation of the library, his offer was accepted. He was then aged fifty-four, and from then until the end of his life he devoted himself heart and soul to the University Library.¹⁶⁶

His first concern was to repair, restore and refit the library. For the structural work – in which he had Henry Savile¹⁶⁷ as his permanent adviser and assistant – he used an army of masons and other craftsmen to restore it to its former glory. No change was made to the outer shell of the building nor to the main architectural elements such as the door and windows.

The first task was to replace some of the roof beams, which had rotted, and to install new curved braces to support the tie-beams, with the braces resting on stone corbels in the side walls. In this way the roof was divided into parallel symmetrical sections which were subdivided into square compartments. The frames of these compartments and the roof beams were left in the natural colour of the wood, while the interior of each compartment is adorned with the arms of Oxford University. Wherever the frames of four compartments intersect, there is a boss with the coat of arms of the benefactor, Bodley himself, painted on it.

The ornate polychrome roof was the only architectural element that distinguished the new library from Duke Humfrey's, for the mural decorations were limited to the visible masonry, as they had been in the room above the Divinity School. A material change in the furniture and fittings was the use of the new bookcases, arranged according to the medieval way of thinking, i.e. at right angles to the side walls and in a specific position relative to the windows. The bookcases were double-sided, and level with the foot of the three shelves on each side there was a writing desk. The books – manuscript or printed – were no longer chained to the bookcases and the overall appearance of the room is reminiscent of the Merton College library, which was completed ten years earlier. A rectangular wooden frame with a triangular pediment was placed at the aisle end of each bookcase, to hold the catalogue of the books in that bookcase.

The library financed by Bodley, which was officially opened in November 1602, was the biggest and grandest of its time and was taken as a benchmark for great university libraries built in England after that. What is more, Thomas Bodley was not content with rebuilding Duke Humfrey's existing library: he then donated more funds for the construction of an extension to it. This formed a new wing with a north-south axis, lying across the east end of the Divinity School, and it was com-

pleted in 1613, shortly before his death. It is known to this day as Arts End, as it held the books of the School of Arts.¹⁶⁸

The architectural features of the Arts End differ only with regard to the design of the bookcases. The roof is identical to that of the room over the Divinity School, but much higher. The bookcases are set against the walls – all along the side walls,



35. *The Bodleian Library viewed from Arts End, with Bodley's library at the far end. Published by J.H. Parker, London, 1836.*

in fact – with an upper level reached by a gallery running along their whole length. Access to the upper level is by a small staircase built into the timber structure, and the gallery was supported by a colonnade with benches for readers. This two-tier construction gave rise to an innovation in the arrangement of the books: the larger, bulkier tomes were kept in the lower level and the smaller books on the gallery shelves.

Arts End

NOTES

VIII

Architecture

NOTES

1. See pp. 45 ff and 48 respectively.
2. See Staikos IV, 293.
3. See p. 445 and, more generally, O. Morisani, *Michelozzo architetto*, Milano 1951 (= Morisani, *Michelozzo*).
4. See generally E. Battisti, *Filippo Brunelleschi: The Complete Work*, New York, Rizzoli, 1981.
5. See p. 465.
6. See p. 480 ff.
7. See p. 468 ff and 488 ff.
8. See p. 488 ff.
9. See p. 495 ff.
10. See p. 499 ff.
11. See p. 87.
12. See p. 117.
13. See R. Tauci, 'La chiesa e il convento della SS. Annunziata di Firenze e i loro ampliamenti fino alla metà del secolo XV', *Studi storici sull'Ordine dei Servi di Maria* IV, 1942, 99-126 and especially, Morisani, *Michelozzo*, 91-92.
14. See R. Tauci, 'Delle biblioteche antiche dell'ordine e dei loro cataloghi', *Studi storici sull'Ordine dei Servi di Maria* II (1935-1936) 145 ff. (= Tauci, 'Delle biblioteche').
15. See L. Gori-Montanelli, *Brunelleschi e Michelozzo*, Florence 1957, 103 ff.
16. See J.F. O'Gorman, *The Architecture of the Monastic Library in Italy 1300-1600: Catalogue with Introductory Essay*, New York University Press for the College Art Association of America, New York 1972 (= O'Gorman, *The Architecture*), 49-51.
17. Uffizi 45 P (Florence).
18. On Niccolò Niccoli's collection and its incorporation into the Medici library see p. 146.
19. See R. Morçay, 'La cronica del convento fiorentino di San Marco', *Archivio Storico Italiano* LXXX¹ (1913) 1-29; *Filarete's Treatise of Architecture*, tr. John R. Spencer, 2 vols., New Haven/London (= *Filarete's Treatise*), vol. I, 1965, 321, vol. II, 1882.
20. See A. Visani, 'La biblioteca del convento di San Marco in Firenze', *L'Archiginnasio* XXXV (1940) 275-285; G. Marchini, 'Il San Marco di Michelozzo', *Palladio* VI (1942) 6, 18, 113; Morisani, *Michelozzo*, 46, 90-91; O'Gorman, *The Architecture*, 57-59; and generally N. Pevsner, *A History of Building Types*, London, Thames & Hudson, 1997³, 91-110.
21. See G. Morozzi, 'Restauro nell'ex convento di S. Marco a Firenze', *Bollettino d'arte* IV (1955) 350-354.
22. See p. 465.
23. On the formation of the library and the persons principally involved, see p. 74 ff.
24. See G. Volpe, *Matteo Nuti architetto dei Malatesta*, Venice 1989.
25. On its architectural design see J.W. Clark, *The Care of Books: An essay on the development of libraries and their fittings from the earliest times to the end of the eighteenth century*, Cambridge 1901 (= Clark, *The Care of Books*), 199-203; A. Campana, 'La biblioteca Malatestiana in Cesena', *L'Architettura* IV (1959) 704-709; G. Cecchini, *6 biblioteche monastiche rinascimentali*, Milan 1960 (= Cecchini, *6 biblioteche*), 6-7; Domenico, *La Biblioteca*; G. Cecchini, 'Evoluzione architettonico-strutturale della biblioteca pubblica in Italia dal secolo XV al XVII', *Accademie e Biblioteche d'Italia* XXXV (1967) 27-47 (= Cecchini, 'Evoluzione'); G. Conti, 'L'edificio: Architettura e decorazione', in *La Biblioteca Malatestiana di Cese-*

CHAPTER VIII

Architecture of the Cesena library and of monastic libraries in Italy

- na, ed. L. Baldacchini, Rome 1992, 55-118 (= Conti, 'L'edificio').
26. Cristoforo da San Giovanni in Persiceto was a Florentine sculptor who worked with Donatello and Michelozzo: see Domenico-ni, *La Biblioteca*, 11-12.
 27. See Clark, *The Care of Books*, 199; Conti, 'L'edificio', 80-85.
 28. On the columns, their proportions, their capitals and their decoration, see Conti, 'L'edificio', 93, 96-97.
 29. See Conti, 'L'edificio', 86 ff.
 30. See Clark, *The Care of Books*, 201-203; Conti, 'L'edificio', 94-95.
 31. See G.B. Uccelli, *Della Badia fiorentina*, Florence 1858; and esp. P. Sanpaolesi, 'Costruzioni del primo quattrocento nella Badia fiorentina', *Rivista d'Arte* XXIV, 1942, 143-179.
 32. Corbinelli (1376-1425), a member of Coluccio Salutati's circle from 1400, had studied under Malpaghini and Chrysoloras. In 1416 he was appointed to a post in the Florentine Signoria: see A. Mohlo, 'Antonio Corbinelli', in *DBI* 28 (1983), 745-747. On his collection see R. Blum, *La Biblioteca della Badia Fiorentina e i codici di Antonio Corbinelli*, Vatican City 1951.
 33. See P. Puccinelli, *Cronica dell'insigne ed imperial'abbadia di Fiorenza*, Milan 1664, 70; O'Gorman, *The Architecture*, 51-52.
 34. See Blum, *La Biblioteca*.
 35. See F. Moisè, *Santa Croce di Firenze*, 1845, 301 ff.; C. Mazzi, 'L'Inventario quattrocentesco della biblioteca di S. Croce in Firenze', *Rivista delle biblioteche e degli archivi* VIII (1897) 16-31.
 36. See H. Saalman, 'Michelozzo Studies', *Burlington Magazine* CVIII (May 1966) 242 ff.
 37. See G. Richa, *Notizie storiche delle chiese fiorentine*, vol. I, 110-111; O'Gorman, *The Architecture*, 52-53.
 38. See M.-H. Laurent, *Fabio Vigili et les bibliothèques de Bologne au début du XVI^e siècle*, Vatican City 1943, 122-136 (= Laurent, *Fabio*).
 39. See F. Malaguzzi-Valeri, *La chiesa e il convento di S. Michele in Bosco*, Bologna 1895, 33, 77; Laurent, *Fabio*, 137-143.
 40. See Laurent, *Fabio*, 144-156.
 41. See Laurent, *Fabio*, 157-161; M. Fanti, *San Procolo*, Bologna 1963, 116, 222.
 42. See L. Frati, 'La biblioteca dei Canonici Regolari di S. Salvatore di Bologna', *Rivista delle biblioteche* II (1889) 2; Laurent, *Fabio*, XXXIV-XXXVII, 266-347.
 43. See G. Rotondi, 'Fra Serafino Razzi e il suo viaggio in Lombardia nel 1572', *Archivio storico lombardo*, ser. 6, LI (1924) (= Rotondi, 'Fra Serafino'), 195; G. Zucchini, 'Le librerie del convento di S. Domenico a Bologna', *Memorie domenicane* (1936) 199-208, 269-279, (1937) 41-46, 80-90, 214-225; Laurent, *Fabio*, 11-107; *La biblioteca di San Domenico in Bologna*, ed. M. Casali, Bologna 1959; Cecchini, *6 biblioteche*, 9; V. Alce and P.A. D'Amato, *La biblioteca di S. Domenico in Bologna*, Florence 1961; Cecchini, 'Evoluzione', 19-31; O'Gorman, *The Architecture*, 39-41.
 44. Rossi, born at Modena, was an architect and engineer who in 1430 succeeded Aristotele Fioravanti as engineer in charge of the restoration work on the Church of San Michele in Bosco: see Zucchini, 'Le librerie', 205; Cecchini, *6 biblioteche*, 9.
 45. Pagno di Lapo Portigiani (1408-1470) was active mainly as a sculptor and worked on numerous projects designed and supervised by Michelozzo.
 46. See G.S. degli Arienti, *Le Porretane*, ed. G. Gambarin, Bari 1914, 361; and esp. Alce and D'Amato, *La biblioteca*, 75 ff.
 47. See Laurent, *Fabio*, 11-107.
 48. See J. Lomeier, *De bibliothecis liber singularis*, Utrecht 1669, 266.

49. See Laurent, *Fabio*, XXXII-XXXIV, 108-121, 236-266.
50. See K.W. Humphreys, *The Library of the Franciscans of the Convent of St. Antony, Padua, at the Beginning of the Fifteenth Century*, Amsterdam 1966. The two catalogues of this library mentioned by Humphreys refer to the years 1396/7 and 1499 and list 426 and 1,025 titles respectively.
51. See M. Savonarole, *Libellus de Magnificis Ornamentis Regie Civitatis Padue*, ed A. Segarizzi, Città di Castello 1902, 56; D. Gutiérrez, 'De antiquis ordinis eremitarum sancti Augustini bibliothecis', *Analecta augustiniiana* XXIII (1954) 164-372.
52. See L.A. Ferrai, 'La biblioteca di S. Giustina di Padova', in G. Mazzantini (Appendice), *Inventario dei manoscritti italiani delle biblioteche di Francia*, II, Roma, 1887, 549-661. The monastery library was greatly enriched by the gift of part of Palla Strozzi's collection: see p. 48. See generally Girolamo da Potenza, *Annali del monastero di S. Giustina, della sua formazione, cose avverse e prospere decorse di tempo in tempo, abbati perpetui e quinquennali...*, Padua 1612.
53. See G.M.U. de Gheltof, 'La chiesa e convento di S. Giovanni di Verdara in Padova', *Bollettino di arti e curiosità veneziane* IV (1894) 10-14.
54. See Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, II, 221; P. de Peppo, 'Giovanni Battista dal Legname', in *DBI* 32 (1986).
55. See R.W. Hunt, 'Pietro da Montagnana: A Donor of Books to San Giovanni di Verdara in Padua', *The Bodleian Library Record* 9 (1977), 17-22.
56. Marcanova was born at Venice in 1418 and died at Bologna in 1467. The greater part of his library eventually went to the Biblioteca Marciana. He was particularly interested in classical studies, an interest he shared with the churchmen Timoteo Maffei, Matteo Bosso and Celso Maffei: see L. Dorez, 'La bibliothèque de Giovanni Marcanova (...-1467), in *Mélanges G.B. de Rossi*, Paris/Rome 1892, 113-126; L. Sighinolfi, 'La biblioteca di Giovanni Marcanova', *Collecanea variae doctrinae Leoni S. Olschki bibliopolae Florentino sexagenario*, Munich 1921, 187-222; M.C. Vitali, 'L'umanista padovano Giovanni Marcanova (1410/18-1467) e la sua biblioteca', *Ateneo Veneto* XXI (1983) 127-161.
57. See Cecchini, 'Evoluzione', 35-37; O'Gorman, *The Architecture*, 68.
58. See Cecchini, 'Evoluzione', 35-37.
59. See A. Barzan, *Affreschi scoperti nella biblioteca del monastero di S. Giovanni di Verdara*, Padua 1946.
60. See the guidebook *San Giovanni Evangelista di Parma*, Parma 1961.
61. See Cecchini, 'Evoluzione', 34; O'Gorman, *The Architecture*, 69-70.
62. See A.I. Boselli, 'Le pitture della biblioteca dell'ex-convento dei benedettini in Parma', *Aurea Parma* II (1913) 167-172.
63. See A. Alciat, *Emblèmes*, Paris, de Marnef, 1576.
64. See A. Masson, *Le décor des bibliothèques du Moyen Âge à la Révolution*, Geneva, Librairie Droz, 1972 (= Masson, *Le décor*), 76-77.
65. *Ibid.*, 77. The saying, printed in Greek (ΣΠΕΥΔΕ ΒΡΑΔΕΩΣ), is framed by these words: MATURA/TARDIUS MODO TUTIUS/SAT.CITO SI SAT.BENE.
66. See L. Testi, 'I corali miniati della chiesa di S. Giovanni Evangelista in Parma', *La Bibliofilia* XX (1918-1919) 1-30, 132-152.
67. See Rotondi, 'Fra Serafino', 196.
68. See P. Roi, 'La chiesa e il convento di S. Sepolcro in Piacenza', *Bollettino d'arte*, 2nd ser., III (1923-1924) 356-379. On Tramello (1455-1535) generally, see P. Gazzola, *Opere di Alessio Tramello architetto piacentino*, Rome, La Libreria dello stato, 1935.

69. See O'Gorman, *The Architecture*, pls. 55-57.
70. See Cecchini, 'Evoluzione', 31-32; O'Gorman, *The Architecture*, 71.
71. T. Kaeppli, *Inventari di libri di San Domenico di Perugia (1430-1480)*, Roma 1962, 12-13. In the early part of the thirteenth century the *studia generalia* tended to be short-lived. They first appeared in northern Italy, for example at Vicenza (1204-1210) and Arezzo (1215-1255). See generally J. Verger, 'Patterns', in *A History of the University in Europe*, ed. W. Rüegg., vol. I, Cambridge University Press, 43, 46-47.
72. See G. Cecchini, 'La quattrocentesca biblioteca del convento di S. Domenico di Perugia', *Miscellanea di scritti vari in memoria di Alfonso Gallo*, Florence 1956, 45 ff.; Cecchini, *6 biblioteche*, 10-11; Cecchini, 'Evoluzione', 31.
73. See Kaeppli, *Inventari di libri...*, 21 ff.
74. See P. Bondoli, *Il monastero di Sant'Ambrogio Maggiore di Milano*, Milan 1925, 31-32.
75. On the Biblioteca Ambrosiana see p. 340.
76. See T. Kaeppli, 'La bibliothèque de Saint-Eustorge à Milan à la fin du XV^e siècle', *Archivium fratrum praedicatorum* XXV (1955), 5-74.
77. See A. Pica, *Il gruppo monumentale di S. Maria delle Grazie in Milano* [Monumenti italiani, 10], Rome 1937.
78. Decembrio was born at Florence in 1376 or at Pavia in 1392 and died at Milan in 1477. He may have studied under his father's teacher, Manuel Chrysoloras. He served as secretary to Pope Nicholas V and then as secretary to the ducal court of Milan. He translated Appian into Latin and completed the translation of Plato's *Republic*: see V. Zaccaria, 'P.C. Decembrio traduttore di Plutarco e di Platone', *IMU* 2 (1959) 194-195; P. Viti, 'Decembrio Pier Candido', in *DBI* 19 (1987), 488-498.
79. Kaeppli, 'La bibliothèque...', 7; O'Gorman, *The Architecture*, 64-65.
80. See Rotondi, 'Fra Serafino', 204.
81. See F. Reggiori, *Il monastero olivetano di S. Vittore al Corpo in Milano*, Milan 1954.
82. See C. Baroni, *L'Architettura lombarda da Bramante al Richini*, Milan 1941, 123; O'Gorman, *The Architecture*, 65-66.
83. See P. Gazzola, 'Alessio Tramello e il convento di S. Vittore in Milano', *Bollettino storico piacentino* XXXII (1937), 10-13.
84. See E. Carli, *L'Abbazia di Monteoliveto*, Milan 1961.
85. See Cecchini, *6 biblioteche*, 12-13; Cecchini, 'Evoluzione', 33-34; O'Gorman, *The Architecture*, 66-67.
86. See L. Fratti, 'I codici dell'abbazia di Monte Oliveto Maggiore presso Siena', *Bollettino della Società bibliografica italiana* I (1898) 63-67. Most of the manuscripts in the library were donated by Lovodico Petrucciani da Terni, who taught at Siena from 1438 to 1441 and bequeathed his books to Monte Oliveto Abbey in 1448. When Abbot Giulio Perini visited the Monte Oliveto library in the late fifteenth century it contained 165 codices.
87. See T. Gottlieb, *Ueber mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, Leipzig 1890, 209.
88. See Rotondi, 'Fra Serafino', 211.
89. *Ibid.*, 211.
90. *Ibid.*
91. See *Storia di Brescia*, ed. G.T. degli Alfieri, vol. II, Brescia 1963, 691-692.
92. See O'Gorman, *The Architecture*, 42-43 (pls. 20, 22, 23).
93. See p. 488 ff.
94. See W. Timofiewitsch, 'Ein neuer Beitrag zu der Baugeschichte von S. Giorgio Maggiore', *Bollettino del centro internazionale di studi di architettura Andrea Palladio* V (1963) 330-339.
95. See Elisabetta Scarton, *Giovanni Lanfredini:*

- Uomo d'affari e diplomatico nell'Italia del Quattrocento*, [Firenze, Biblioteca Storica Toscana, 52], Florence, L.S. Olschki, 2007.
96. See D. Bortolan, *S. Corona*, Vicenza 1889, 61 ff.; O'Gorman, *The Architecture*, 75.
97. See G. Fratini, *Storia della basilica e del convento di S. Francesco in Assisi*, Prato 1882; Gottlieb, *Ueber mittelalterliche...*, 181; L. Alessandri, *Inventario dell'antica biblioteca del s. convento di S. Francesco in Assisi compilato nel 1381*, Assisi 1906.
98. See F. Novati, 'La biblioteca degli Agostiniani di Cremona', *Il Bibliofilo* IV (1883), 27-29; D[avid] G[utiérrez], 'La biblioteca agostiniana di Cremona alla fine del secolo XVI', *Analecta augustiniana* XXIV (1961) 313-330.
99. See G. Mazzatini, 'La biblioteca di san Francesco (Tempio Malatestiano) in Rimini', *Scritti vari di filologia dedicati a Ernesto Monaci*, Rome 1901, 345-352.
100. On the growth of the library from the time of Pope Nicholas V onwards, see p. 97 ff.
101. On Platina see p. 97.
102. See p. 97.
103. On the architectural design of the Vatican Library and the rooms set aside for book storage and the reading room in the time of Pope Sixtus IV, see J.M. Paule Fabre, *La Vaticane de Sixte IV*, Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, École Française de Rome, 1895 (= Fabre, *La Vaticane*); E. Müntz and P. Fabre, *La Bibliothèque du Vatican au XV^e siècle*, Paris 1887 (= Müntz and Fabre, *La Bibliothèque*). This were the books that Clark (*The Care of Books*, 207-232) relied on for his description of the library's design, the way the books were arranged and the pictorial decoration of the room: see *Bibliotheca Vaticana a Sixto V, pont. max. in splendidiorem commodioremque locum translata et a fratre Angelo Roccha a Camerino, ordinis eremitarum S. Augustini, illustrata, Romae, MDXCI* (1591); Masson, *Le décor*, 76.
104. See Clark, *The Care of Books*, 210-212 (fig. 97).
105. See the diary that Platina kept while the work was in progress, published by E. Müntz in his book *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes*, vol. III, 1882 (= Müntz, *Les Arts*), 121 ff.; see also Müntz and Fabre, *La Bibliothèque*, 148 ff.
106. See Clark, *The Care of Books*, 211.
107. *Ibid.*, 211, 213-216.
108. See p. 96 (fig. 26). The fresco is now in the Ospedale di Santo Spirito, Rome.
109. Pietro Riario (1445-1474) was a man of letters and a patron of literature and the arts.
110. The future Pope Julius II (1503-1513): see M. Ott, 'Julius II, Pope (Giuliano della Rovere)', in *CE VIII* (1910), 562-564.
111. See Clark, *The Care of Books*, 215.
112. *Ibid.*
113. See p. 97 (fig. 27).
114. See Müntz, *Les Arts*, 126.
115. *Ibid.*, 130.
116. *Ibid.*, 124-126; Clark, *The Care of Books*, 219.
117. On the arrangement and contents of the manuscripts on each desk Clark, *The Care of Books*, 226-227.
118. See Clark, *The Care of Books*, 227-228.
119. *Ibid.*, 228 and, for a picture of a *spalliera*, fig. 100.
120. *Ibid.*, fig. 98 (drawn by E. Wilson).
121. *Ibid.*, 229-230.
122. See *Journal du voyage de Michel de Montaigne en Italie*, ed. Prof. Alessandro d'Ancona, Città di Castello 1895, 269.
123. See H. Stevenson, 'Topografia e Monumenti di Roma nelle pitture a fresco di Sisto V. nella Biblioteca Vaticana', *Al Sommo Pontefice Leone XIII. Omaggio Giubilare della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Rome 1881, 7.
124. Domenico Fontana (1543-1607) was born

CHAPTER VIII

Architecture of the Montefeltro studiolo and of the Medici Library

- in Switzerland and worked as an architect in Rome and elsewhere in Italy. From 1584 he was working with Cardinal Montalto on the construction of the Cappella del Presepio: see G.P. Vellori, 'Vita di Domenico Fontana da Mili, architetto', in *Le vite de' pittori, scultori e architetti moderni*, Rome 1672; J. Stauer, 'Fontana, Domenico', in *CE* VI (1909), 126-127.
125. See Clark, *The Care of Books*, 47-48.
126. Cesare Nebbia (1526-1614) painted frescoes in secular and religious buildings, mostly during Sixtus V's pontificate (1585-1590), the high point of his career being the painted decoration of the Sistine Chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore, which was built as a burial chapel for that pope. See generally Rhoda Eitel-Porter, 'Artistic Cooperation in Late Sixteenth Century Rome. The Sistine Chapel in S. Maria Maggiore and the Scala Santa', *The Burlington Magazine* (1997), 452-462.
127. Giovanni Guerra (1544-1628) worked as a painter, mostly in Rome, from 1562 onwards. In 1586 Pope Sixtus V commissioned him to do the wall-paintings of the staircase connecting the Vatican Sistine Chapel with St. Peter's Basilica.
128. On the contents of his library see *Federico da Montefeltro and his Library*, ed. Simonetta Marcello, New York, The Morgan Library and Museum, 2007.
129. See Clark, *The Care of Books*, 233; W. Liebenwein, *Studiolo: Storia e tipologia di uno spazio culturale*, tr. A. Califano, Ferrara/Modena 1988, 168, 181.
130. See *Memorie concernenti la città di Urbino*, Rome 1724, 77.
131. The most comprehensive work on the design and construction of the studiolo is *Lo Studiolo di Federico da Montefeltro*, ed. Giordana Benazzi, in two volumes: Olga Raggio, *Lo Studiolo...*, vol. I: *Il Palazzo Ducale di Gubbio e il restauro del suo studiolo*, and A.M. Wilmering, *Lo Studiolo...*, vol. II: *Le tarsie rinascimentali e il restauro dello studiolo di Gubbio*, Milan, Federico Motta Editore, 2007 (= *Lo Studiolo*, vols. I-II).
132. See 'Lo studiolo', in *Lo Studiolo*, vol. I, 78-167; and generally, 'Tecniche d'intarsio nell'Italia rinascimentale', in *Lo Studiolo*, vol. II, 60-133.
133. See p. 145.
134. See G. Milanese, *Le lettere di Michelangelo Buonarroti*, Florence 1875; Berta Maracchi Biogarelli, *La Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana nel secolo della sua apertura al pubblico (11 giugno 1571)*, Florence 1971.
135. See Clark, *The Care of Books*, 234-237; C. de Tolnay, 'La bibliothèque Laurentienne de Michel-Ange', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6^e ser., 14 (1935) 95-105; J.S. Ackerman, *The Architecture of Michelangelo*, The University of Chicago Press, 1986 (= Ackerman, *The Architecture*), 93-119; P. Portoghesi, 'La biblioteca laurenziana', ed. P. Portoghesi and B. Zevi, *Michelangiolo architetto*, Turin 1964, 209-350, 856-865; Masson, *Le décor*, 69; R. Wittkover, 'Michelangelo's Biblioteca Laurenziana', in *Idea and Image: Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1978, 11-71; G. De Angelis d'Ossat, 'L'architettura della biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana', in *Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana*, Florence, Nardini Editore, 1986, 35-47; Deborah Howard, *Architecture in Italy 1500-1600*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1995, 91-94.
136. See Ackerman, *The Architecture*, 117.
137. See Ackerman, *The Architecture*, 104-110, 303-305.
- Bartolomeo Ammannati (1511-1592), an architect and sculptor who studied under Sansovino, worked with his former teacher

- on the completion of St. Mark's Library in Venice and was named *Console* of the famous Accademia delle Arti del Disegno in Florence, founded by Cosimo de' Medici in 1563. See generally M. Calafati, *Bartolomeo Ammannati. I palazzi Grifoni e Giungi. La nuova architettura dei palazzi fiorentini del secondo Cinquecento*, Florence, L.S. Olschki, 2011.
138. See Howard, *Architecture...*, 91-94.
139. See Ackerman, *The Architecture*, 104.
140. See J. Kappraff, 'The Hidden Pavements of Michelangelo's Laurentian Library', *The Mathematical Intelligencer* 21/3 (1999), 24-29.
141. See A.G. Shannon and A.F. Horadam, 'Reflections of the Lambda Triangle', *The Fibonacci Quarterly* 40/5 (2002) 405-415; B. Nicholson, 'Under foot and between the boards in the Laurentian Library', in *Thinking the Unthinkable House* (CD ROM), 1997; B. Nicholson and J. Kappraff, 'The hidden pavements designs of the Laurentian Library', in *Nexus II: Architecture and Mathematics*, Edizioni dell'Erba, 1998, 87-98.
142. See G. Vasari, *La vita di Michelangelo*, ed. P. Barrochi, III vols., Milan 1962, 860 ff.
143. Giovanni Nani (Nanni), who was born at Udine in 1487 and died in Rome in 1561, was a versatile artist: painter, decorative artist and architect. In 1514 he went to Rome to study with Raphael. See Nicole Dacos and Caterina Furlan, *Giovanni da Udine 1487-1561*, Udine 1987.
144. See Clark, *The Care of Books*, 234-240.
145. *Ibid.*, 235-236.
146. *Ibid.*, 235 (fig. 101).
147. See Ackerman, *The Architecture*, 118-119.
148. See p. 83.
149. See Deborah Howard, *Jacopo Sansovino: Architecture and Patronage in Renaissance Venice*, New Haven/London 1976; Ead., 'The Golden Age: Jacopo Sansovino and the Romanization of Venetian Architecture', in *Venice: Art & Architecture*, ed. Giandomenico Romanelli, vol. I, Cologne, Könnemann, 1997, 316-339.
150. See A. Palladio, *Quattro libri dell'architettura*, Venice 1570 (Brunet IV/1, 320).
151. See Masson, *Le décor*, 70-75; Howard, *Jacopo Sansovino...*, 324; T. Hirthe, 'Die Libreria des Jacopo Sansovino', *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 37 (1986) 131-176; F. Valcanover, 'Profilo Artistico', in *Biblioteca Marciana Venezia*, ed. M. Zorzi, Florence, Nardini Editore, 1988, 36-49.
152. See M. Ivanoff, 'Il ciclo allegorico della Libreria Sansoviniana', in *Studi di storia dell'arte: raccolta di saggi dedicati a Roberto Longhi in occasione del suo settantesimo compleanno*, Florence 1961, 248-258 (also published in *Arte Antica e Moderna* 4 (1961) 248-253).
153. See L. Bortolotti, 'Grimani, Giovanni', in *DBI* 59 (2002), 613-622.
154. Herrera, one of the most famous Spanish architects of his day, represents the culmination of the Renaissance in Spain. He was a 'Renaissance man' in the truest sense: not only did he give his name to a style of architecture (the Herrerian), but he devoted his time to other fields of study as well, such as mathematics, and especially geometry.
155. See G. Kubler, *Building the Escorial*, Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1982.
156. See Clark, *The Care of Books*, 267-271; Masson, *Le décor*, 70, 75.
157. See José de Sigüenza, *La fundación del monasterio de El Escorial*, Madrid, Aguilar, 2006.
158. See Masson, *Le décor*, 75.
159. See G. Briganti, *Il Manierismo e Pellegrino Tibaldi*, Rome 1945.

160. See Clark, *The Care of Books*, 268 (fig. 118), 270 (fig. 119).
161. See M.B. Parkes, 'The provision of books', in *HUO* II (1992), 470-472; R. Gameson, 'The medieval library (to c. 1450)', in *LBI* I, 29.
162. See Clark, *The Care of Books*, 148-151; D. Rogers, *The Bodleian Library and its Treasures, 1320-1700*, Aidan Ellis, 1991, 8-9.
163. See Clark, *The Care of Books*, 247-248; Rogers, *The Bodleian...*, 10-20; J.N.L. Myres, 'Recent Discoveries in the Bodleian Library', *Archaeologia, or, Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity* CI (1967) 151-168; A.C. de la Mare in A.C. de la Mare and S. Gillam (eds.), *Duke Humfrey's Library and the Divinity School 1488-1988: an exhibition at the Bodleian Library, June-August 1988*, Oxford 1988, 18-49.
164. Thomas Kempe (1448-1489) was the nephew of John Kemp, Archbishop of Canterbury.
165. See J.N.L. Myres, in *The English Library before 1700*, eds. F. Wormald and C.E. Wright, 1958, 238-243.
166. See Clark, *The Care of Books*, 185, 266; Rogers, *The Bodleian...*, 22-71; S. Gillam, *The Divinity School and Duke Humfrey's Library at Oxford*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1988; G. Tyack, *The Bodleian Library*, Oxford, University of Oxford, 2000.
167. On Savile see p. 339, 424.
168. See p. 501 (fig. 35).

ABBREVIATIONS – BIBLIOGRAPHY – INDEX

ABBREVIATIONS

- Abad I = J.M. Abad, *La imprenta en Alcalà de Henares (1502-1600)*, Introducción ala «Tipobibliografía Española», 3 vols., José Simón Diaz, Madrid, Arco Libros, 1991
- Adams = *Catalogue of Books Printed on the Continent of Europe, 1501-1600*, in *Cambridge Libraries*, compiled by H.M. Adams, Cambridge, University Press, 1967
- Allen, I-XII = *La Correspondance d'Érasme*, tr. and comments from the edition of *Opus epistolarum Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami* by P.S. Allen – H.M. Allen – H.W. Garrod, ed. Marie Delcourt, Bruxelles, Presses Académiques Européennes, s.c., 1967
- Armstrong, *Robert Estienne* = Elizabeth Armstrong, *Robert Estienne, Royal Printer: An historical study of the elder Stephanus*, Cambridge 1954
- ASI = *Archivio Storico Italiano*
- AV = *Archivio Veneto*
- AVT = *Archivio Veneto Tridentino*
- Balayé, *La Bibliothèque* = Simone Balayé, *La Bibliothèque Nationale des origines à 1800*, Genève 1988
- BH I/1-5 = É. Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés en Grec par des Grecs aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, Paris 1885-1906
- BMC I-XII = *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century now in the British Museum*, London 1908-1985
- B.P.E.C. = *Bollettino del Comitato per la preparazione dell'Edizione nazionale dei Classici Greci e Latini*
- Brunet = J.C. Brunet, *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur des livres and Supplément*, 8 vols., repr. Paris, G.P. Maisonneuve & Larose, 1966
- B.S.H.P.F. = *Bullétin de la société de l'histoire du protestantisme français*
- Cammelli, M. *Χρυσολωρᾶς* = G. Cammelli, *Manuele Crisolora*, tr. D. Arvanitakis, Athens, Kotinos. 2006
- Campana, «Le biblioteche» = A. Campana, «Le biblioteche della provincia di Forlì, I: Cesena», *Tesori delle biblioteche d'Italia: Emilia-Romagna*, ed. D. Fava, Milano 1931
- Census = *Incunabula in American Libraries. A third census of fifteenth-century books recorded in North American collections*, ed. F.R. Goff, New York, Kraus/Reprint, 1973
- Charta I = Staikos, K. Sp., *Charta of Greek Printing. The Contribution of Greek Editors, Printers and Publishers to the Renaissance in Italy and the West*, vol. I, 15th century, Cologne, Dinter 1998
- CHBB = *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. 3, ed. L. Hellinga and J.B. Trapp, Cambridge, CUP, 1999

Csapodi, *The Corvinian* = C. Csapodi, *The Corvinian Library: History and Stock*, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1973

Csapodi, «Les livres» = C. Csapodi, «Les livres de Janus Pannonius et sa bibliothèque à Pécs», *Scriptorium* 28 (1974)

DBI = *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*. <http://www.treccani.it>

Domeniconi, *La Biblioteca* = A. Domeniconi, *La Biblioteca Malatestiana*, Cesena 1982

EHR = *English Historical Review*

Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce* = A. Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce et l'Hellénisme à Venise*, Paris 1875

Geldner = F. Geldner, *Die deutschen Inkunabeldrucker. Ein Handbuch der deutschen Buchdrucker des XV. Jahrhunderts nach Druckorten*, 2 vols., Stuttgart 1968-1970

GJ = *Gutenberg Jahrbuch*

Gilmont, *Jean Crespin* = J.-Fr. Gilmont, *Jean Crespin. Un éditeur réformé du XVI^e siècle*, Genève, Librairie Droz, 1981

GRBS = *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*

Greswell, *A View*, I-II = W.P. Greswell, *A View of the Early Parisian Greek Press*, vol. II, Oxford 1833, repr. Amsterdam, B.R. Gruner, vol. I, 1969

GSLI = *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*

GW = *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 8 vols., published by the Kommission für Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, repr. Stuttgart, A. Hiersemann, 1968

HBf = *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises. Les bibliothèques médiévales du VI^e siècle à 1530*, ed. André Vernet, Paris, Promodis – Éditions du Cercle de la Librairie, 1989

Heckethorn, *The Printers* = C.W. Heckethorn, *The Printers of Basle in the XV and XVI Centuries*, London 1897

Hoffmann I = S.F.W. Hoffmann, *Bibliographisches Lexicon der gesammten Literatur der Griechen*, Amsterdam, repr. Adolf M. Hakkert, 1961

Homère chez Calvin = *Homère chez Calvin, Mélanges Olivier Reverdin*, Genève, Librairie Droz, 2000

HUO = *The History of the University of Oxford* (Oxford), I. J.I. Catto (ed.), *The early Oxford schools* (1984); II. J.I. Catto – T.A.R. Evans (eds.), *Late medieval Oxford* (1992); III. J.K. McConica (ed.), *The collegiate university* (1986)

IGI = *Indice Generale degli Incunaboli delle Biblioteche d'Italia*, 6 vols., ed. T.M. Guarnaschelli – E. Valenziani, Rome 1943-1981

ABBREVIATIONS

IMU = *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica*

ITE = *Irodalomtörténeti Emlékek*

JEGP = *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*

LBI = *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland*, 3 vols

Lökkös = A. Lökkös, *Catalogue des incunables imprimés à Genève 1478-1500*, Genève, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire de Genève, 1978

Moeckli = G. Moeckli – P. Chaix – A. Dufour, *Les livres imprimés à Genève de 1500 à 1600*, Genève, Librairie Droz, 1966²

MTA = *Magyar Tudományos Akadémia*, Hungarian Academy of Sciences

MU = *Medioevo e Umanesimo*

NAV = *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*

NBU = *Nouvelle Biographie Universelle depuis les temps les plus Reculés jusqu' à nos jours*, 46 vols, Paris, 1852-1877

OAME = G. Orlandi, *Aldo Manuzio, editore*, 2 vols., Milan 1976

OCP = *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*

Proctor = R. Proctor, *The Printing of Greek in the Fifteenth Century*, Oxford 1900

REG = *Revue des Études Grecques*

Renaudet, *Préréforme* = A. Renaudet, *Préréforme et humanisme à Paris pendant les premières guerres d'Italie (1494-1517)*, Paris, Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1916

Renaudet, *Érasme* = A. Renaudet, *Érasme et l'Italie*, Preface de Silvana Seidel Menchi, Genève, Librairie Droz, 1998

Renouard = Ant. Aug. Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Alde, ou Histoire des trois Manuce et de leurs éditions*, Paris 1834

Renouard, *Annales* = Ant. Aug. Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Estiennes*, 2 vols, Paris 1843²

Schreiber = F. Schreiber, *The Estiennes. An Annotated Catalogue of 300 Highlights of their Various Presses*, New York, E.K. Schreiber, 1982

Staikos II = Konstantinos Sp. Staikos, *The History of the Library in Western Civilization. From Cicero to Hadrian*, vol. II, KOTINOS, Athens 2005

Staikos III = Konstantinos Sp. Staikos, *The History of the Library in Western Civilization. From Constantine the Great to Cardinal Bessarion*, vol. III, KOTINOS, Athens 2006

Staikos IV = Konstantinos Sp. Staikos, *The History of the Library in Western Civilization. From Cassiodorus to Furnival*, vol. IV, KOTINOS, Athens 2010

STCGB = *Short-title Catalogue of books printed in the German-Speaking Countries and German books printed in other countries*

TAPA = *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*

TCBS = *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*

The Great Libraries = Staikos, K. Sp., *The Great Libraries from Antiquity to the Renaissance (3000 B.C. to A.D. 1600)* [= *Βιβλιοθήκη. Από την Αρχαιότητα έως την Αναγέννηση και Σημαντικές Ούμανιστικές και Μοναστηριακές Βιβλιοθήκες (3000 π.Χ. - 1600 μ.Χ.)*, tr. T. Cullen], New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Press/London: The British Library, 2000

VBV = Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Le Vite*, ed. Aulo Greco, 2 vols, Firenze, Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento, 1970-1976

Verde = A.F. Verde, *Lo studio fiorentino 1473-1503. Ricerche e documenti*, 4 vols., Firenze 1973 - Pistoia 1977

ZB = *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*

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